THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.

POPULAR HISTORIES OF THE GREAT NATIONS.

A POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE JUBILEE OF VICTORIA, QUEEN AND EMPRESS, IN THE YEAR 1887.

By H. W. DULCKEN, Ph.D.

"Old England still throbs with the muffled fire
Of a past she can never forget;
And again shall she banner the world up higher,
For there's life in the Old Land yet."
Gerald Massey.

WARD, LOCK AND CO.,
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1888.

Dr. Dulcken, whose death took place on Sunday, Feb. 4, was not a particularly striking figure in our latter-day literary world, but he will be deeply regretted by the large circle which recalls his wide learning and accurate knowledge. He was the son of Madame Dulcken, the celebrated pianist, who numbered Queen Victoria among her pupils and Mendelssohn among her friends. In the early fifties he was associated with this Journal in a literary capacity, and many of the volumes of German translations in the famous "Bohn Series" were from his pen. He has in later years done duty as an energetic compiler of school-books and works of reference for Messrs. Ward and Lock, the well-known publishers, for whom he acted as literary adviser. He died at the age of sixty-one.

Photo by E. Wheeler, Brighton.

THE LATE DR. DULCKEN.

PREFACE.

THE present volume was written to form one of Ward, Lock & Co.'s *Popular Histories of the Great Nations*,—in which series the Histories of Rome, Greece, and France, have already appeared. It will be found to contain, in an abridged form, the substance of Ward, Lock & Co.'s *Illustrated History of England.* As in the larger work, the plan has been partly 'biographical' and partly 'constitutional'; the endeavour being, to tell the story at once of the rulers and the nation, and to present fairly and honestly, and without political prejudice or bias, the events and changes that have occurred during the successive periods of the life of the English nation;—avoiding anything like exaggeration or partisanship, and stating the facts of the History of England truly and impartially, leaving all readers to draw their conclusions from the evidence placed before them. At the same time the opinions of accredited historians have been given here and there, as worthy in themselves of attentive consideration.

The narrative of the more recent periods of the National History, especially that of the Victorian era, has been given at greater length than is usually the case in popular works of this size. The reason will be found in the pre-eminent importance of that era, and in the remarkable number of weighty events and momentous changes that have rendered memorable above all previous times the period of more than fifty years that has passed since the accession of Queen Victoria. The world's progress in political knowledge, and in appreciation of the rules that govern the prosperity of nations, like the march of improvement in social, national, and domestic life, and the well-being of

the masses, has been most remarkable, and renders Queen Victoria's reign an epoch that cannot be too attentively studied, as bearing upon the national life.

The rise and progress of the great colonial empire of Great Britain, the establishment of vast independent communities in Australia and New Zealand, etc., has also been treated as an important part of the History of England; for in their loyalty and sympathy with the mother country, these colonies are assuredly to be considered as a part of that Greater Britain destined to spread throughout the New World the best and most valuable traditions of the old. Australia and New Zealand, and even the new possessions of England in the Fiji Islands, are living records of the triumph of liberty, self-government, and the principles of equity and justice; and their story emphatically belongs to the History of England.

The narrative has also been brought down to the latest date, containing the momentous political changes of recent years, and closing with the Jubilee of 1887, on the completion of the fiftieth year of Queen Victoria's reign.

H. W. D.

WARWICK HOUSE,
May, 1888.

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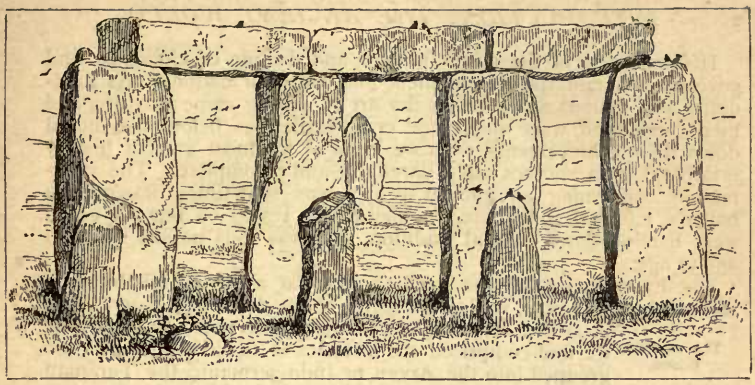


REMAINS OF A DRUIDIC TEMPLE.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Introduction:—The Ancient World.

Short Account of the Nations before the beginning of British History: Races and their Religions: Ancient Egypt and its Kings: Babylonia and Assyria: The Israelites and their Fortunes: The Phœnicians and their Kingdom: The Later History of the Israelites: The Medes and Persians: The Greeks; their Communities and Influence: The Romans under Kings and Consuls: Julius Cæsar.

THE history of the British Islands commences, as it were, in the midst of that of the nations of old. Long before the very existence of this far-off corner of the world was known beyond the confines of its own white cliffs, mighty empires had arisen, flourished, and fallen; and the stupendous Roman Empire had almost attained the utmost limit of its extension, when the first authentic records were given to the world concerning the region whence an empire mightier, more extensive, and more enduring than Rome was to arise in the course of the ages.

History treats of the origin, growth, and decline of kingdoms and governments, and the development and decay of nations. As kingdoms and nations arose before the art of writing came into use, and men carried on wars and made civil regulations before they noted down their achievements, what we know of the most ancient history is derived from sources alike unreliable and incomplete. The information concerning an ancient people was sometimes drawn from ballads, national songs, etc.; sometimes it rested on reports which were handed down in oral tradition, and was thus passed on from age to age.

The East, the land of the morning, in so far as it was inhabited by men of the white race, is also the scene of the dawn of history. The Asiatic, European, and North African races, among whom we find comprised the histories of the ancient world, are grouped into the Aryan or Indo-germanic, the Turanian or Mongolian, and the Semitic race. Although the Mongols of eastern Asia, especially the Chinese, developed a high degree of civilization at an early period, they exerted no influence on the progress of the human race generally. We have, therefore, to seek for the commencement of history in the story of the Aryan and the Semitic nations. The Aryans came from the highland of Thibet. One division of the Aryan race settled in the region to the north of the Hindu-Kush Mountains, and called by the ancients Sogdiana, Bactria, Hyrcania, and Arachosia; while another penetrated into the north-western region of India, now known as the Punjaub, and took possession of the rich and fertile country on the shores of the Indus. The former division became known as the Iranians, or Zend nation; the latter, from the principal river of their new country, obtained the name of Indi or Hindus. These Hindus were at first divided into numerous tribes, under chiefs and kings, worshipping and offering sacrifices to the sun-god Indra, the all-embracing Varunas, and the other forces of nature, as is shown in the Vedas or sacred poems. These Vedas are written in the Sanskrit tongue, a dead language singularly copious and beautiful in structure. One portion, the Brahmana, enlarged by the priests, contained the most ancient laws of ritual, while the Sutra discussed matters of religious faith. After a time the priests introduced a system of Pantheism, setting up Brahma as the soul of the world, and bringing the entire nation under the sway of ecclesiastical law. Then the distinctions of caste were introduced, dividing the nation into definite and rigidly separated ranks, of which the Brahmin caste was the highest, the three other castes named in the Vedas being the warriors, the agriculturists and traders, and the Sudra or slave caste. There are many mixed castes, the lowest being the Pariahs. The Brahmin religion taught that Brahma assumed the threefold personality of Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Siva the destroyer. As a rival faith to Brahminism arose, in the sixth century B.C., Buddhism. The founder of this religion, Buddha, "the awakened," taught a doctrine of mercy for all, and whose faith, in spite of Brahmin opposition, rapidly spread.

The various Races.

Zend nation and Hindus.

The fruitful country watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, and the verdant terrace region of Mesopotamia (the land between the rivers),

was the habitat of the Semitic nations, among whom the Babylonians and Assyrians were the chief.

Egypt, the valley of the Nile,—fertilized every year by the overflowing of the mighty river, the secret of whose sources has been recently wrung from nature, after remaining for ages the problem of the world,—is designated as the cradle of civilization in the most ancient Hebrew and Greek writings. Though the ancient priestly records of Egyptian history cannot be accepted as authentic, it is certain that civilization in that wonderful country dates from more than 3,000 years before Christ. Thus the change in the length of the year from 360 to 365 days was made in Egypt about 2800 B.C. The religion of the people had a close affinity to the natural features of their country. The great force of nature which bestowed fruitfulness on the land, the Sun, was the chief object of their adoration. The sun-god was Ra, and the title Ra was afterwards added to the names of various local deities worshipped in different temples. Ra was chiefly worshipped in Memphis and Heliopolis, the city of the sun. The sacred bull Apis was worshipped at Memphis as an incarnation of the god Ptah. Considering the human being as a manifestation of the divine nature, the Egyptians sought by embalming the bodies of their dead and of sacred animals, and depositing them in closely-sealed sepulchres, to preserve them from corruption. Astronomy, medicine, architecture, painting, sculpture, and many other arts and sciences made up the learning of the Egyptians.

The gods of the Egyptians.

From Menes (about 3000 B.C.), the supposed founder of the city of Memphis, to the invasion of the Hyksos, a foreign shepherd-tribe of Semitic descent, there existed a long line of kings, who adorned the state of Memphis with large buildings, especially along the western side of the precipitous mountains, where the catacombs with their monuments, and the kings' graves with their pyramids, extended for miles. The most remarkable names among the royal race of Pharaoh at Memphis were Chephren and Cheops, 2500, the builders of the highest pyramids.

The Pharaohs of Egypt.

The empire attained its highest pitch of prosperity with this race of kings, under the greatest of whom, Ramesis II., the Sesostris of the Greeks, the rule of the Pharaohs extended over the greater part of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia. Gigantic palaces, obelisks, and sepulchral caverns, wherein were deposited the mummies of the kings, still bear witness to the grandeur and magnificence of this line of monarchs. Esarhaddon of Assyria made Egypt into a province of Assyria, establishing twenty governors over the separate divisions. The mighty city of Thebes, with her "hundred gates," and countless palaces, temples, monuments, and catacombs, was the pride and admiration of the ancients, as her ruined remains are still the marvel of travellers in the present day. The Egyptians have surpassed every other nation in their veneration for their rulers, to whom they have given divine honours.

Ancient Babylon and ancient Assyria had an early mythical history, from which, however, it is to be recognised that the beginning of its civilization came from the shores of the Persian Gulf with a

people known as the Akkadians or Elamites, the inventors of the cuneiform writing which was afterwards adopted by the Babylonians, Assyrians, Medes, and Persians. About 2300 B.C. the kings of Elam extended their dominion over Babylon and Mesopotamia to Syria.

As the founder of the Babylonian kingdom, with its square-built capital, Babylon, on the Euphrates, Nimrod is mentioned, 2100 B.C., who is entitled, "a mighty hunter before the Lord." A hundred years later, Ninus, 2000, king of old Assyria, is said to have established the great city of Nineveh, on the Tigris, and conquered old Babylonia, with Armenia, Media, and other countries.

Before 1500 B.C. Assyria had separated from Babylon and achieved its independence by long wars. The first king's name recorded in this region is that of Sargon I. Under Tiglath-Pilesar the Assyrians extended their conquests northwards, probably to the Black Sea.

Sennacherib (712) threatened Judah with conquest; but sudden mischances necessitated his hasty retreat to Nineveh, where he soon afterwards met his death at the hands of his sons. "And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword." But another son, Esarhaddon, 675–626, revenged his father's death, and drove his unnatural brothers out of the country. After the death of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, the kingdom of Nineveh began to degenerate. Nineveh was razed to the ground, 606, and the two conquerors divided the kingdom of Assyria between them. "Nineveh is laid waste," cried the prophet Nahum; "all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually? Thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria: thy nobles shall dwell in the dust: thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them."

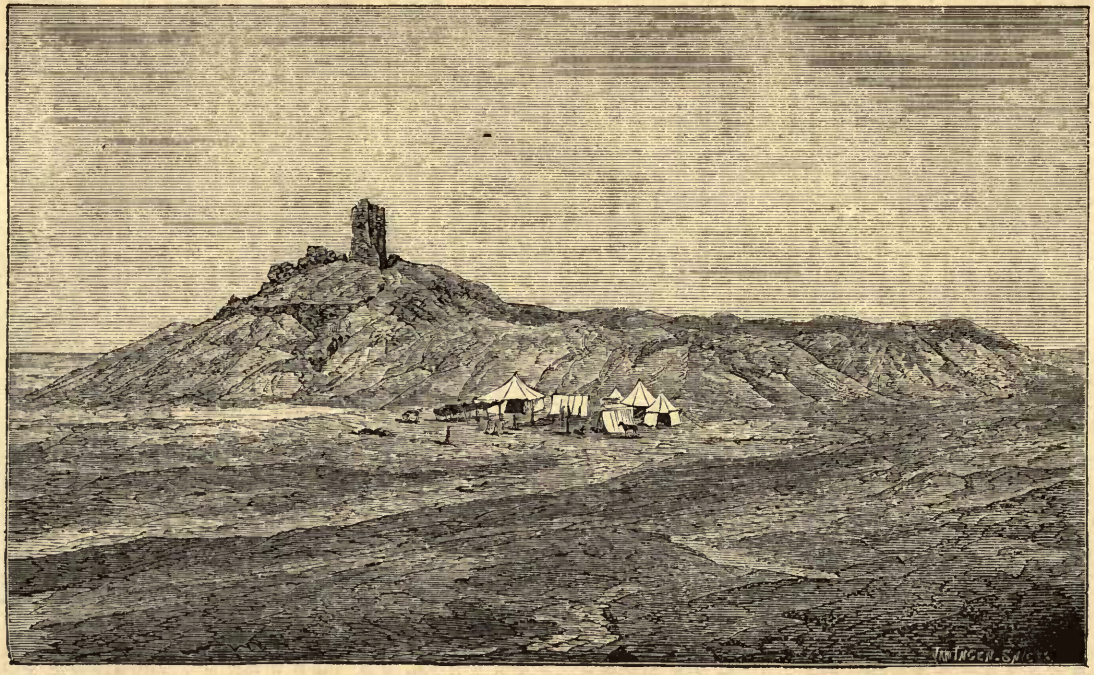
Layard considers the ruins of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamles, which form a long quadrangle, to be portions of one and the same city; and the remains correspond perfectly with the dimensions attributed by Diodorus to the city of Nineveh. These four mounds of ruins were, in Layard's opinion, palaces, each of which occupied the centre of a particular quarter.

Ruins of Babylon.

From that time the Chaldeans had the ascendency, particularly during the reign of the son of Nabopolassar, the warlike and powerful Nebuchadnezzar, 604–561. After he had subjugated all the country from the Tigris to the Mediterranean Sea, Nebuchadnezzar enlarged and beautified the town of Babylon.

Of the actual condition of Babylon, travellers give dreary descriptions. "At the present time this noble country lies almost uncultivated and useless under the savage, destructive power of Turkey; and the old garden of God has become a wide field for plunder; but old ruins of great cities and boundary walls with the canals and system of irrigation, show what prosperity once existed here."

While the uniformity of the plain of the Euphrates and Tigris is aptly associated with the origin and development of great despotic empires, the rich and varied regions of the mountain region in the west of the valley of the Jordan soon became the home of different separated nations. The land on the right bank of the Jordan



MOUND OF BIRS NIMROUD, ON THE SITE OF ANCIENT BABYLON.

was called Canaan, the southern coast line from its inhabitants, Palestine, the northern part Phœnicia. One nation of shepherds of Semitic descent, dwelling in Mesopotamia, held to the belief in one God, who, as the Creator and Preserver of the universe, was omnipotent over all the changing life of nature. Abram, afterwards called Abraham in the Scriptures, 2000 B.C., one of the progenitors of this nomad nation, at the command of Jehovah quitted his native pastures, and with his herds, young men, and maids, and his brother's son Lot, settled in the lowland Canaan, where they continued their shepherd life, and were called by the inhabitants Hebrews, a word meaning "the strangers from the other side." Isaac, whom Sarah bare to Abraham in her old age, established his race; while Ishmael, Abraham's son by his bondwoman Hagar, wandered into the wilderness, and is regarded as the progenitor of the race of Arabs.

Abraham and the Patriarchs.

The history of the patriarchs is such a true and charming picture of the simplicity of manners and honesty of peaceful nomads as cannot be paralleled by any other we possess of the ancient world. Before all, Joseph's noble form shines forth. He appears calm and composed in unmerited misfortune. As a faithful servant of his Egyptian master, he withstands dangerous temptations; and at last obtains the reward of his virtue through his acute interpretation of dreams, a gift greatly admired in the East.

After Joseph, Moses, about 1500 B.C., is the next great figure in the Hebrew world. Around his name is woven all the interest of the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage, the institution of the Passover, and the triumph over the Pharaoh and his war chariots and armed hosts. For a long time Moses continued to lead the murmuring and rebellious people in the Arabian desert.

Before his death, 1450 B.C., he appointed Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, to be his successor; exhorted the assembled people to steadfast reliance on the God of their fathers, and urged them to the extermination of the Canaanites.

The taking of Jericho opened the way into the country. A portion of the old inhabitants perished by the sword or went into exile; of the remainder, some were associated with the victors, while others remained as independent tribes among the Israelites. Then there rose up courageous leaders, who overthrew the enemy in victorious battles. They receive in the Bible the name of the Judges. The most celebrated among them, besides the heroic Deborah, were Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson the Strong. But the people persistently demanded a king, who, as their permanent chief, should lead them to battle and to victory. Reluctantly yielding to their clamour, Samuel, about 1055 B.C., anointed Saul the son of Kish as the first king of the Israelites. The disobedience of Saul caused Samuel to reject him, and secretly to anoint the youthful David, of the tribe of Judah, as king; and after a long contest, the death of Saul and of his son Jonathan, at the battle of Gilboa, put David in possession of his throne. David's reign, from 1033 B.C., is the most splendid period of Israelitish history.

Judges of Israel.

The reign of Solomon, his son and successor, was celebrated

throughout the East as the period of the glory of Israel, especially through the building of the magnificent temple at Jerusalem, and the great extension of prosperity and commerce.

But even Solomon's brilliant reign had its darker side. Out of the patriarchal government a despotic monarchy had arisen, with Oriental splendour and luxury, and with taxes and villeinage, which weighed upon the people with a heavy burden, and devoured all the revenues. When Solomon's own son, Rehoboam, followed in his father's course, and rejected with scornful threats the petitions of the people, ten tribes revolted from him, and chose Jeroboam, of the tribe of Ephraim, for their king (979 B.C.). Through this division of the government there arose two kingdoms, of unequal size: the kingdom of Israel, or Ephraim, composed of ten tribes, with the chief towns, Sichem, Thirza, and Samaria; and the kingdom of Judah, consisting of two tribes, with Jerusalem for its capital.

Separation of Israel and Judah.

Between the coast of the Mediterranean and cedar-crowned Lebanon dwelt the maritime and commercial nation of Phœnicians. Their chief towns were Sidon, "the market of the nations," and the rich and powerful Tyre. Under Hiram, the contemporary and friend of Solomon, they attained to great prosperity. The Phœnicians were especially noted for their maritime enterprise.

When Hiram's race was exterminated by the high-priest of the goddess Astarte, who then united in his own family the regal power and priestly office, the Tyrian commonwealth became entangled in dissensions resulting in civil war. Pygmalion, the great-grandson of the high-priest, murdered his uncle, the husband of his sister Elissa, who is generally known as Dido, which induced the latter to emigrate from the country with a certain number of the discontented Tyrians. They founded the "new town" of Carthage, on the north coast of Africa, opposite the island of Sicily, which soon out-shone the fame of the mother country, through warlike undertakings, trade, and navigation.

Dido and Carthage.

Idolatry and wickedness defaced the reigns of Jeroboam, "who made Israel to sin," and of his successors. Judah also experienced dark days under the successors of Rehoboam.

The kingdoms of Israel and Judah, instead of standing together to oppose the powerful enemy with their united forces,—instead of putting their trust and confidence in the protection of Jehovah, and maintaining the old national laws and customs,—disputed with each other, made alliances with foreign nations, implored aid and protection at the altars of heathen gods, and gave themselves up to sloth and luxury. The Assyrian invaded the kingdom of Ephraim, conquered the chief town Samaria after a three years' siege, and carried off the king and the greater part of the population into Assyrian captivity, in 719, to the farther side of the Euphrates and Tigris. The captives found new abiding-places in distant Armenia, and the "towns of the Medes"; while foreign tribes, whom the Assyrian king sent for from Babylon, Hamath, and the Euphrates, peopled the green hilly country of Samaria. From the mingling of the new occupiers with the remnant of the Israelites, the Samaritans took their origin.

Quarrels between Israel and Judah.

Judah remained tributary to Assyrian sway, and was treated with some consideration. When the powerful Shalmaneser died, however, Hezekiah, king of Judah, 725–696 B.C., thought the hour of deliverance had come. He entered into an alliance with the Egyptians, and fortified Jerusalem. But the people of Judah returned to their idols, and the captivity of the nation was the terrible punishment. Jerusalem, weakened by famine, fell, as Jeremiah had predicted, into the hands of the enemy. Nebuchadnezzar burnt the temple and town, laid hands on the sacred vessels and works of art, put out the eyes of the king, and, after killing both his sons, carried him off with the chief of the people in chains to captivity in Babylon, 586. Only the poor country people were left behind.

PRIEST OF THE ISRAELITES.

The Babylonian captivity.

Afterwards Babylon was conquered by the Persians, and Cyrus the king allowed the Jews to return to their homes, rendered them assistance, and gave up to them the plundered treasures belonging to the temple, 539. "I stirred up Koresh (Cyrus), mine anointed, for a deliverer," cried the mighty unknown prophet, whose prophecies were subsequently collected with those of the elder Isaiah, "and I will make plain all his paths. He shall build me a city, and release my captives."

The Medes and Persians belong to the Zend nation, and were consequently descendants of the primitive Iranians, who probably made their earliest settlement in Bactria.

For five centuries the Medes remained under the rule of the Assyrians, until, like brave men, they shook off the foreign yoke. Soon, however, disorder and lawlessness crept in among them. The Medes therefore chose Dejokes, 780–655 B.C., who had won renown as a just and wise judge, to be their king.

Nineveh destroyed.

At last the king of the Medes succeeded not only in liberating his country but accomplished the conquest and destruction of the kingdom of Nineveh, and materially enlarged his own territory (606).

The great king Cyrus was killed in a great battle near the river Jaxartes, in which the Persians suffered a complete defeat from the army of Tomyris, queen of the Massagetæ. The reign of Cyrus' fierce and warlike son, Cambyses, the conqueror of Egypt, lasted only seven years, 529–522 B.C.; but those years were full of calamity both for the Persians and the population of the Nile valley. Not content with the subjugation of the fertile land of Egypt, he determined to conquer also the country of Ethiopia. But the two armies perished in the Libyan desert; some of the soldiers fell a prey to hunger and exhaustion, while the rest were overwhelmed by the terrible whirlwind of sand. Furious at these disasters, Cambyses returned to Memphis. There he found a city rejoicing and gaily decorated, for a new Apis had been found. After striking the Apis dead with a dagger with his own hand, he caused some of the people and the priests to be tortured and put to death, committing cruelties without limit or measure. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, ascended the throne after the death of Cambyses, whose possession he was compelled to secure by long wars against the Babylonians and other revolted nations. In the Persian Empire the culture of the East attained its completion, the next development of progress in the human race was to be brought about by the Hellenic, or Grecian people.

The most ancient inhabitants of Greece were those called Pelasgi, who were probably spread over the whole country, though Thessaly and Arcadia only are known as their authenticated dwelling-places.

Pelasgi and Hellenes.

Evidences of the civilization of the Pelasgi are seen in the ruins of ancient towns and royal citadels, and the traces and remains of water-works, dams, and canals, as well as in the indestructible Cyclopean walls, built up of rough masses of stone, or square blocks without mortar, in the Peloponnesus, and other parts.

The Hellenes (according to Homer, Achæans) were divided into four tribes; Dorians and Achæans in the Peloponnesus; Ionians in Attica, the islands, etc.; Æolians in Bœotia and elsewhere. The earliest history is associated with separate heroes. In the descriptions of the journeyings, adventures, and battles of these heroes, history, tradition, and poetry are interwoven in an inextricable mythical whole.

The most famous event of the Greek heroic times, and one typical of a more noble and advanced civilization, is the Trojan war, which has been so frequently celebrated in historical traditions, poetry, and art.

Soon after the conclusion of the great war against Troy, there arose great disturbances and revolutions in Greece. Separate Hellenic tribes drove out the old inhabitants from their former possessions; the latter in their turn ousted other tribes, until at last, the weaker part of the population—or rather those of them who did not prefer submission and bondage under the war-like new-comers,—resolved to emigrate, and accordingly established transmarine colonies.

Trojan war, and Greek Colonies.

The Greek population became the means of a wide diffusion of Greek language and culture. Thus Masalia, or Massilia, the modern Marseilles, in southern Gaul, was founded by the inhabitants of the Ionian town Phocæa, after their flight from Cyrus; and Saguntum in Spain, founded by Zacynthos, was remarkable both for its trade and the love of freedom and patriotism which it exemplified at the beginning of the second Punic war. These and other Greek colonial towns were the great nurseries of civilization, culture, and noble forms of life for the whole Western world.

Through their emigration, the simple habits of the Dorians had gradually deteriorated, hatred between the conquering and conquered races disturbed peaceful unity, and disorders perplexed the governments. This, about the year 884, caused Lycurgus, a patriotic Spartan, to form the design of procuring the predominance of Sparta over the other States by the restoration of the ancient Dorian institutions.

Spartan Laws; Lycurgus.

The results of the Lycurgan constitution soon showed themselves. In a short time the poor, petty State obtained the sovereignty or hegemony over the Peloponnesus and the whole of Greece. While the Spartans maintained for centuries the aristocratic military constitution of Lycurgus, the lively and excitable Athenians introduced among themselves very various kinds of government in succession. Solon,—one of the seven wise men, who had assisted his native town to obtain possession of Salamis,—saved the country by means of his new code of laws. This was in 593.

Athenian Laws; Solon.

Solon's code is a mingling of aristocratic and democratic elements.

Through the subjugation of the Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor by Cyrus and the conquest of Thrace and Macedonia by Darius, the Persians had come into frequent contact with the Greek world; and the ambition of the former and the love of liberty innate in the latter necessarily ere long produced occasions of strife. The attempt of the Greeks of Asia Minor to shake off the hated yoke, thus easily gave rise to a general war.

Darius, in the year 490, despatched a fleet manned with numerous troops. The Persians, under Hippias, landed on the Attic coast, and encamped on the plains of Marathon. The Athenians then sent hastily to demand help of the Spartans; but when the latter replied that they must follow their old custom of waiting for the full moon before marching to battle, and must therefore delay ten days longer, the Athenians went forth boldly to meet their enemies under the guidance of ten generals.

Darius and his Defeat: Marathon.

The most distinguished of these commanders was Miltiades. Under

his directions the Athenian hoplites, aided by 1,000 Platæans, completely defeated their foe in the battle of Marathon, in 490. Darius' son Xerxes, who succeeded him in 485, took up his father's scheme of revenge, and made such extensive preparations, that Herodotus says he collected an army of 1,700,000 men, and a fleet of more than 1,200 large ships.

Xerxes: Thermopylæ and Salamis.

In 480, Xerxes appeared at the narrow Pass of Thermopylæ, which was guarded by the Lacedæmonian king Leonidas, with three hundred Spartans and about a thousand of the allies. These brave men solemnly devoted themselves to death, to save their country from subjugation by the foe. Themistocles now became the deliverer of Greece. The memorable battle of Salamis, 480, was fought, in which the Greeks obtained a decisive victory. The Greeks, under the leadership of Pausanias, in 479, won such a complete victory in the great battle of Platæa, over the enemy, three times their number, that only 40,000 of the Persians escaped to the Hellespont.

Pausanias and Platæa.

Under Pericles, Athens attained to the highest splendour abroad. The age of Pericles is justly extolled as the fairest and most prosperous period of Greek history, when inward greatness was combined with simplicity of manners, and intellectual culture with strength and social virtue.

The Age of Pericles.

The Athenian citizens afterwards became an unstable and fickle multitude, vacillating between arrogance and despondency, between infidelity and superstitious excitement. Under these circumstances Athens was compelled to look idly on, while Platæa, its most faithful confederate, was subdued by the Spartans and Lacedæmonians, after a truly heroic resistance; and to see those citizens taken who could bear arms, and their wives and children carried into captivity.

Fall of Platæa.

The Spartans had recourse to the cunning, enterprising Lysander, their astute general, on whose energy and talent they could rely; and when Lysander had subdued the allied islands and towns, and firmly secured them by the introduction of aristocratic forms of government, he, in conjunction with king Agis, surrounded the distracted city of Athens both by sea and land. The long walls and fortifications were torn down with rude scorn, amid the playing of flutes; the ships, with the exception of twelve, were given up to the Spartans.

Sparta abused her powerful position by oppressing the other States, and thus soon drew down upon herself the hatred of her allies, as Athens had formerly done. The Spartans had long ago fallen away from the simplicity and strictness of morals inculcated by Lycurgus. Foreign wars had brought wealth; wealth engendered avarice and love of pleasure, which again gave birth to a host of vices.

The commonwealth of Thebes was then directed by two men, united by close friendship and distinguished alike by love of freedom, patriotism, and virtue, as well as for warlike skill and bravery, Epaminondas and Pelopidas. These great men joined their powers in the endeavour to raise their country.

The Lacedæmonians once more marched into the country with an

Leuctra and Mantinea.

army, but in spite of their spirited resistance, sustained a terrible defeat in 371, at the battle of Leuctra, when Epaminondas, putting into practice his new tactics, broke through the Lacedæmonian ranks in a sudden charge, and Pelopidas with his chosen band covered the flank and rear of his army. The bloody battle of Mantinea, in 362, was gained by the Thebans; but the victory was dearly bought by the death of Epaminondas.

North of Greece lies the wild, mountainous country Macedonia, the inhabitants of which consisted of a number of people of various origin, among whom there were also probably some Pelasgian and Greek races. The latter dwelt in the old country of Emathia, whose chief town was Edessa, afterwards called Ægæ, the original capital of the Macedonian kings, whose family was descended from the Heraclidæ of Argos. War, hunting, and breeding of cattle formed the only occupations of the rude, hardy people, who generally went into battle on horseback, under princes of the tribes, only honoured those who had slain an enemy, and varied their simple, uniform life by noisy feasts, warlike games, and splendid banquets.

Character of the Macedonians.

Philip succeeded to the throne in 360—a man who was entirely fitted to seize the sovereignty of Greece, which, since the battle of Mantinea, had been a matter of dispute. With him commenced a new era. Philip began rapidly to extend his kingdom. Already during the Phocæan war he had conquered Torone and other Greek towns in Chalcidice and razed them to the ground; he had then, after a three years' siege, subdued by force and treachery the wealthy town Olynthos, which could bring 10,000 heavily-armed infantry and 1,000 horsemen into the field, transformed the town into a heap of ruins, and either sold the citizens and inhabitants into slavery, or established them in distant parts of Thrace. Philip won, in 338, the battle of Chæronea, which put an end for ever to Greek freedom. At Chæronea, Philip's son, Alexander, an heroic youth of nineteen years, gave the first proofs of his talent as a general and his courage as a soldier. Emboldened by success, Philip called together a national assembly at Corinth in 337, with intent to conclude an Hellenic peace and league under Macedonian leadership, and prepared for an expedition against Persia. He had already been appointed chief commander, when he was murdered, by an offended member of his body-guard, Pausanias, in 336.

His Victory at Chæronea.

After Philip's death, his high-spirited son Alexander, a man very keenly susceptible to everything that was great and noble, ascended the Macedonian throne, at the age of one-and-twenty years. In the year 334 B.C. Alexander set forth on the expedition against Persia, with a small but brave army, commanded by the best generals, Perdiccas, Clitus, Parmenio, Hephæstion, Craterus, Ptolemæus, Antigonus, and others.

The king, after the conquest of Egypt, established on a branch of the Nile, the city of Alexandria, which he with true prescience foresaw was destined, by reason of its favourable position, soon to become the central point of commerce and of all the culture and literature streaming from the West to the East.

ROMAN EMPEROR VIEWING THE CORPSE OF ALEXANDER.

After most arduous marches over the snow-covered Hindu-Kush mountains, the Indian Caucasus, where great numbers of the soldiers perished from hunger and fatigue, the valiant conqueror, during the next two years, 329 and 328 B.C., succeeded in subduing the mountainous districts in the south-east of the Caspian Sea, and on the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes. When Darius received intelligence that Alexander had made his way through the difficult rocky passes of the mountainous country of Persia, and had conquered Susa, he fled into the mountainous country of Bactria, but was there slain. By arduous marches Alexander pressed forward still farther towards the East, and penetrated as far as Hyphasis, on the boundary of the Punjaub. He had intended to add India to his conquests. But the Macedonian soldiers raised so loud a murmur of discontent, that Alexander, though with an inward struggle, turned his face towards home, whither they clamorously demanded to be led.

Alexander's Advance towards the East

But a violent fever caused his swift death in the year 323 B.C. To the question to whom he wished to leave his kingdom, he is said to have answered, "To the most worthy."

After many bloody and horrible wars, in which Alexander's whole family was destroyed, and all the ties of nature were shamefully violated, his generals seized the different countries for themselves, and raised them into independent kingdoms.

Kingdoms of his Generals.

The final subjugation of all under Roman law was hailed as a happy event, bringing safety and order to the distracted community.

Italy was inhabited in the most ancient times by Pelasgi, Tyrrhenes, who had come into the country from abroad, and by native herdsmen and peasant people of Iberian-Gallic descent, such as Umbrians, Osci, Sabelli, and others. In Etruria the Tyrrhene Pelasgians—a civilized people accustomed to maritime industry—are supposed to have been at an early period partly subjugated, partly driven away, by the Etruscans or Tuscans, who had penetrated southwards from the Alpine regions of Rhœtia; while the native populations, on the other hand, continued free and independent, under different names, until they were at length subdued by the power of the Romans.

The Etruscans in Italy.

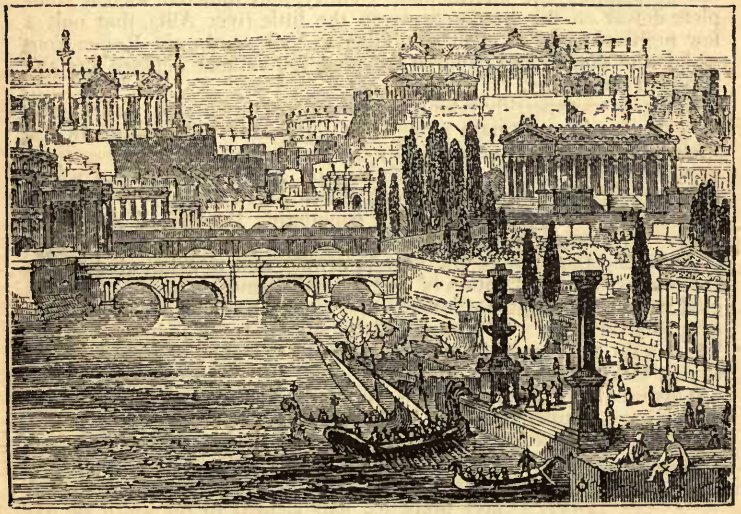
The Roman State consisted of King, Senate, and People—populus, that is to say, the totality of the Patricians. The royalty of ancient Rome was limited by the will of the nation, which made itself known partly in a direct manner in the assemblies of the nation, partly by means of an authority conferred upon the Senate. It was thus "a chief power, established and recognised by the people, and accorded by them from free choice," having its "source of justification" in the people, and returning again to them after the king's death, to be conferred on another person.

After the expulsion of Tarquinius, the highest power was vested in the aristocratic families who had been chiefly instrumental in the abolition of royalty; and by division and the limitation of the period of office, it was made accessible to various candidates. The Senate, which had been increased by new members (conscripti), was con-

sidered as guardian of the Commonwealth and the laws. This assembly had the office of proposing and ratifying the laws determined on, and the confirmation of the officers chosen by the popular assembly of the Centuria.

The Senate decided questions of war and peace, and, as a Court of Supreme Jurisdiction, watched over religion, the administration of government and the law, and the regulation of the finances. Under its auspices, two Consuls, who were first called Prætors, annually chosen by the Patricians, carried on the government of Rome.

The new Commonwealth had to wage great conflicts within and without. The wars of the young Republic with this powerful enemy were subsequently embellished by Roman historians with all kinds of heroic legends in glorification of the founding of the free State.



VIEW OF ANCIENT ROME RESTORED.

The Romans then created a new dignity, the Dictatorship, the advantage of which they soon experienced in 496, in the victory over the Latini at Lake Regillus, on the north side of the Latin mountains, on the way from Rome to Præneste. Three years later, in 493, a treaty was concluded, in which equal rights were secured to both States.

Scarcely, however, were the Patricians relieved, by the death of Tarquin at Cumæ in 495, from the fear of a return of the royal family, than they disregarded these regulations, oppressed the people, and made tyrannical use of their rights and privileges. Among these privileges may be especially reckoned the severe laws concerning debt. The Plebeians, as free landowners, though without civil rights,

were obliged to render payment of land-tax, to give military service without pay, and to furnish arms and equipment.

The warlike spirit of the Romans was shown in their victories over the Æqui and Volsci, to combat whom the brave Cincinnatus was called from the plough to the honours of the Dictatorship. An attempt to carry out, by means of the ten men or Decemviri, the laws obtained from Greece, though it promised success at first, was frustrated by the tyranny of Appius Claudius. In a popular tumult the power of the "wicked ten" was overthrown.

The Gauls, who had been settled for a century and a half in the territory of the Po, after having destroyed the old Etruscan town of Melpun, crossed over the Apennines and laid siege to the town of Clusium in the year 396. They then proceeded towards Rome, without devastating the intermediate country, and inflicted such a complete defeat on the Roman army on the little river Allia, that only a few fugitives escaped over the Tiber to Veii; and even Rome, from which the women and children had fled, fell without defence into the hands of the enemy.

The city was speedily rebuilt after the departure of the Gauls; and in 366, after an obstinate struggle of ten years, the position of the Plebeians was much improved by the granting of the three rogations or demands of the Tribunes Licinius and Sextus, the third of which enacted that of the two Consuls one must be a Plebeian.

Rome next achieved the task of conquering the various nations of Italy. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, was compelled to give up the idea of humbling the pride of the Roman people, and to acknowledge that the conquest of this "nation of kings" was beyond his power. He was glad to quit the country where his first victory had taught him what it cost to gain even a temporary advantage over the indomitable foe. "If I gain such another victory," he said, "I shall return without a soldier to Espinius."

This was the loftiest period of the Republic. Austere virtue, strict morals, and simplicity of life kept the great nation from the snares of wealth and luxury. Virtue and nobility of soul alone procured respect and consideration; Patricians and Plebeians alike vied with each other in heroic courage and martial glory. Class prejudice had yielded to the spirit of patriotism. "It would be easier to turn aside the sun from his course," said the great King of Epirus, "than Fabricius, the Roman general, from the path of honour."

Republican Triumphs. Pyrrhus.

Then came the three great wars with Carthage; of which by far the most arduous and important was the second.

Four great victories were the fruit of the heroic march of Hannibal, the great Carthaginian leader, across the Alps into Italy. At the Ticinus, the Trebia, Lake Thrasymene, and Cannæ, he triumphed over the Roman valour and discipline. After Cannæ, Hannibal is said to have despatched to Carthage, as a token of his victory, three bushels of gold rings taken from the arms of the slain knights. He took up his winter quarters in Campania and in the powerful city of Capua. But the luxurious life of Capua corrupted his troops, and the tactics of Fabius Maximus

Carthage and Rome.

turned the scale of victory. After a splendid series of campaigns Hannibal was obliged to quit Italy, and the defeat of his army at Zama decided the contest in favour of the Romans. The destruction of Carthage was merely a question of time, in view of the bitter hostility of Cato the censor and his party at Rome; and in 146 the doomed city fell. Before this time Roman conquest in Asia had already begun, and the provinces of Asia and Africa attested the astonishing advance of the Roman rule.

But with increased power and extended territory came corruption and degeneracy. The rights for which the people had manfully striven were disregarded and lost; and the fate of the Gracchi, who perished for attempting to restore, by irregular means, the old influence of the plebeians, manifested how the liberties and nobleness of Rome had sunk. For a time the optimates, or aristocratic families, engrossed the whole power of the Government. But their flagrant abuse of their authority aroused a natural opposition; and Caius Marius, the rough soldier, the peasant's son, became the representative of the plebeian faction, as his rival, Cornelius Sulla, became the head of the aristocratic party. The alternate triumphs of the two leaders became the signal in Rome for massacres and proscriptions; and thus the highest interests of the State were in the hands of two cruel and unscrupulous military chiefs.

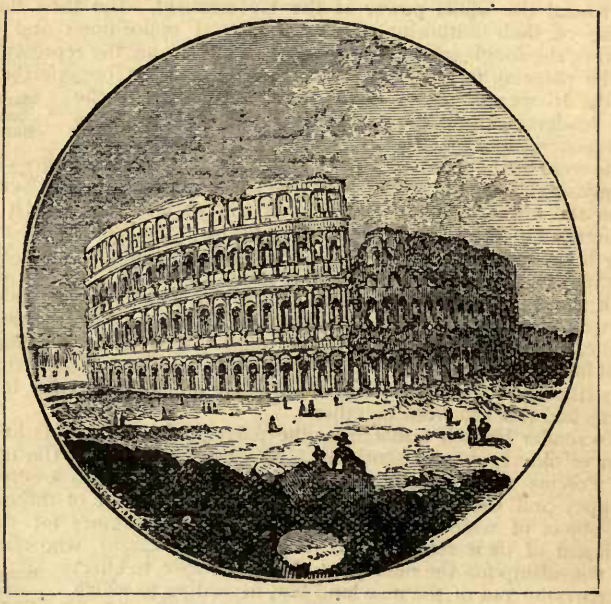
Marius and Sulla.

Invasions from the North—the descent of the Cimbri and Teutones upon the fertile plains of Italy—mark this period, giving, as it were, a foretaste of the danger that was in future times to menace and at length to overthrow the Roman rule; and the influence of Marius was in great part based upon the success with which he had driven back these formidable invaders. After the two rival generals had passed away, each having "slaked his burning heart in blood of Rome," Cneius Pompey and Caius Julius Cæsar take their places as rival leaders, disputing the chief power between them. At first, however, though they secretly distrusted each other, their joint interest compelled them to work together.

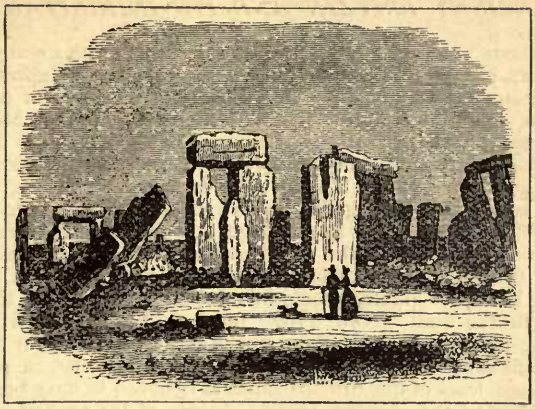
To render himself a match for the party of the aristocrats and the men of old republican sentiments, at whose head stood the upright M. Porcius Cato, Cæsar, in the year 60, concluded a treaty with Pompey and Crassus, called a Triumvirate, or union of three men, the object of which confederacy was mutual assistance for the attainment of their selfish aims. Supported by Cæsar, who obtained the consulship for the next year, Pompey strove to effect the carrying out of the new land-law, according to which upwards of 20,000 citizens, for the most part old soldiers belonging to his army, were endowed with landed possessions in the territory of Capua. From that time forward these three men, without regard to the Senate, ruled the State with the assistance of the popular party, which had been won over by the distribution of corn, by grants of land, and other regulations and devices. Cæsar, as governor of Gaul, fought eight famous campaigns against the various tribes who inhabited the country, put down a tremendous revolt, and added a new province to the Roman Empire. Then returning, crowned with victory, and idolized by his soldiers, he triumphed over Pompey, and

Pompey and Cæsar.

became supreme in Rome, with authority greater and more recognised than even that of Marius or Sulla had been, only to fall beneath the daggers of a conspiring faction on the Ides of March, 44 B.C. It was during his campaigns in Gaul that Cæsar paid those two hostile visits to the British shores, with which the history of these islands definitely begins.



THE COLOSSEUM AT ROME.



STONEHENGE.

CHAPTER I.

Ancient Britain and its Inhabitants.

Mythical Accounts of Ancient Britain: Earliest knowledge of Britain: The "Tin-islands": Meaning of 'Britain,' 'Albion,' 'Ierne'; no British History till 55 B.C.: State of Britain on Cæsar's Invasion: its Inhabitants: Prehistoric Britain conjecturally Described—Tribes of Gaels and Cymry: Tacitus—Contrast of Gauls and Teutons: Barbarous Condition of the Britons: The Druids: Druidism and its Nature.

THERE is proof demonstrative that all England, and many parts of Scotland, formed, during many ages, the solid bottom of the old sea. At what period Britain was raised above the waves, or when it received its first inhabitants, cannot be determined. One legend declares that the original inhabitants, a Celtic population, had for their first king, Samothes, the eldest son of Japheth, called by Moses Meschech; that after three hundred years the island was conquered by a giant son of Neptune, Albion, whose brother, Berosus, subjugated the island to the west, now called Ireland, and ruled there; and another represents a Trojan colony as having settled in the

island about 1100 B.C., under Brutus the Trojan, the great-grandson of Æneas, just as Francus, the grandson of Hector, is represented as the ancestor, in an equally obscure and legendary form of ancient tradition, of all the Franks. The chronicler, Geoffrey of Monmouth, A.D. 1120, gravely relates that Brutus, having killed, as had been foretold, his father Silvius, son of Æneas's son, Ascanius, left the home of the Trojan exiles in Italy for Greece, where he attacked king Pandrasus and compelled him to give him his daughter in marriage, and to supply him with a fleet, with which he sailed to the western Mediterranean; after subduing part of Gaul, Brutus landed in Britain, "which was then inhabited by none but a few giants," whom he compelled to retire to the mountains. Brutus built "New Troy" on the Thames, and from him a long line of kings, among whom was Shakespeare's "poor distressed Lear," was said to have sprung. As early as 1000 B.C. a portion at least of the British islands is believed to have been known to the greatest trading people of the ancient world, the Phœnicians, who from their vast commercial seats, Tyre and Sidon, coasted the whole length of the Mediterranean, and issuing through the "Pillars of Hercules," the Straits of Gibraltar of the moderns, visited some islands called the Tin-islands, or 'Cassiterides,' in the western ocean, which are supposed to be the Scilly Islands and part of Cornwall. It has been conjectured that the Phœnicians first got the name for tin,—in Greek 'cassitreros,' Sanscrit 'castira,' Arabic 'casdir,' probably meaning shining,—along with the metal from some island on the coast of India, where much tin is found, and that they afterwards gave the name of Cassiterides to Cornwall—there is a Cassiter Street in Bodmin—and to the Scilly Islands, when they began to bring tin from these parts. The name Britain, 'Britannia,' by which the larger island was known to the Romans, and the British Isles to the Greeks, is derived by some from the Celtic 'Bruit-Tan,' "tin country," which the Phœnicians translated by 'Cassiterides'; but by others from the Trojan Brutus; and by others again from Prydain, the leader of a Cymric colony from Armoric Gaul, now Brittany. The Greek philosopher Aristotle, in the fourth century B.C., mentions the two large 'Britannic' islands, and speaks of the larger—England and Scotland—under the name of Albion, probably from the Celtic, meaning "high island," or from its chalky white cliffs; and he mentions the smaller—Ireland, the Roman 'Hibernia,'—under the name of 'Ierne,' the classical form of the Celtic 'Eeri' or 'Eeirin,' from 'iar,' "western," or from 'Iar-inn,' the "western isle." Milner justly observes that the application of the term Scotland to the northern part of the island is comparatively of modern origin, and that the names Scotia and Scots were originally used to designate a part of Ireland and its inhabitants. But though the Greek colonists of Marseilles, the ancient 'Massilia,' and Narbonne, then called Narbo, traded through Gaul with Britain, purchasing cattle, skins, tin, lead, silver, iron, etc.; and though the Romans had begun to speak of the island in the second century B.C., British history is a blank till the invasion of Julius Cæsar, the Roman commander in Gaul, afterwards called France, about half a century before the birth of Christ.

The Myth of Brutus and New Troy.

The Phœnicians trading to Britain.

Dr. Lappenberg, in his valuable History of England under the Anglo-Saxon kings, admirably translated by Thorpe, gives a graphic account of the prehistoric era in Britain. He says: "More than 1,000 years before the birth of our Saviour, Gades and Tartessus had been founded by the Phœnicians, whose fearless traders we behold in our dim vision of those remote times when tin was becoming less abundant from the ports of Spain, after a tedious coasting voyage of four months, fetching that metal from those islands which Herodotus

ANCIENT BRITONS WITH CORACLES.

denominates the Cassiterides, or islands producing tin, and which now bear the name of the Scilly Islands. Herodotus was unable to ascertain the position of these islands; nor does he even mention the name of Britain. It is probable that the Phœnicians never sailed there direct from their own coast, though Midacritos, the individual who is recorded as having first brought tin from the Cassiterides, seems by his name to have been a Phœnician. The earliest mention of the British islands by name is made by Aristotle, who was born in 384 and died in 323 B.C., and

Herodotus and the Cassiterides.

who describes them as consisting of Albion and Ierne. The Carthaginian Himilko, who between the years 362 and 350 B.C., had been sent by his government on a voyage of discovery, also found the Tin Islands, which he calls Oestrymnides, near Albion, and two days' sail from Ierne, in Mount's Bay. His example was, some years after, followed by a citizen of the celebrated colony of the Phocians, the Massilean Pytheas, to the scanty fragments of whose journal, preserved by Strabo and other ancient authors, we are indebted for the oldest accounts concerning the inhabitants of these islands. The Massilians and Narbonnese traded at an early period, by land journeys to the southern coast of Gaul, with the island Ictis (Wight), or St. Michael's Mount, and with the coasts of Britain. This early commerce was carried on both for the sake of the tin, an article of great importance to the ancients, and of lead; though these navigators extended their commerce to other productions of the country, such as slaves, skins, and a superior breed of hunting dogs, which the Celts made use of in war. British timber was employed by Archimedes for the mast of the largest ship of war which he had caused to be built at Syracuse. Gold and silver are said to have been found there; also an inferior kind of pearl, which is still to be met with. This country and its metals soon became an object of scientific inquiry to the Greeks, as is proved by a work upon the subject by Polybius, the loss of which must be painfully felt by every one acquainted with the acuteness and sound judgment of that historian. The Romans first became acquainted with Britain in their lust for universal dominion. Scipio, in his inquiries concerning it among the merchants of the then most distinguished Celtic cities —Massilia, Narbo, and Corbelo—had received no satisfactory answer; and Publius Crassus is named as the first Roman who visited the Cassiterides. He is said to have noticed the defective method of mining employed, and to have shown the inhabitants the art of obtaining more tin by digging deeper into the rock. This was, probably, the officer of that name who, by Cæsar's command, had achieved the conquest of the Gaulish nations inhabiting along the shores of the British Channel."

Early British Products.

Till then, the theatre of the great events of the ancient world had been the shores of the Mediterranean. The city of Rome had gradually extended its power from the neighbourhood of the Seven Hills, and, prostrating in succession the Carthaginian, Macedonian, Greek, and Eastern powers, now ruled all the coasts of the Mediterranean.

The whole of northern and western Europe was occupied by barbarous tribes who bore nearly the same relation to the populations under the sway of Rome that the North American Indians bear now to the inhabitants of the British Islands. Britain was then peopled by various rude tribes. A very small portion of the island was under cultivation. In the south were vast tracts of heath, with here and there patches of grass and corn. The west and north, covered with forests, lakes, and mountains, were inaccessible to strangers; and in the east, near the estuaries of the rivers vast marshes extended. The southern parts of the island probably received their first immigrants

from Gaul; the west from Ireland, which was peopled from Gaul or Spain, and the north and east from Scandinavia and Germany. The numerous tribes that occupied Britain about fifty years B.C. seem to have chiefly belonged to the two great branches of the Celtic stock —the 'Gaels' or Gauls and the 'Cymry,' who are often confounded with the Cambri, an essentially Germanic nation, the former of whom are still represented in Ireland, the Scottish Highlands, and the Isle of Man, and the latter in Wales. Each of these petty tribes was ruled by an independent chieftain. The most important tribes in the south were the Cantii, Trinobantes, Cenimagni, Catienchani, and Silures, and in the north the Caledonians.

The Celtic Tribes in Britain.

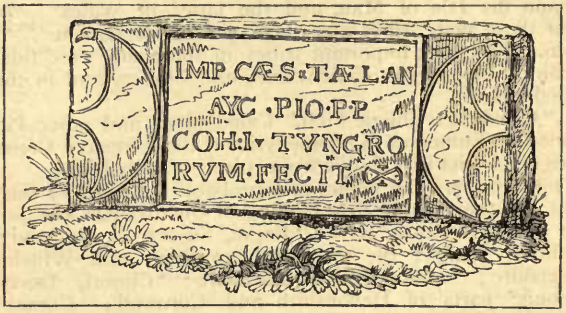
The "Caledones aliique Picti," Caledonians and other Picts, are mentioned by Eumenius in a panegyric on the Emperor Constantine. The origin of Pict is probably from 'picti'—painted men.

The following are the names and probable localities of the British tribes at the time of the first landing of the Romans on the south-eastern coast:—'Cantii,' Kent; 'Regni,' Sussex, Surrey, and part of Hampshire; 'Belgæ,' the west of Hampshire, with Wiltshire and Somersetshire; 'Durotriges,' Dorsetshire; 'Cimbri,' Devonshire; 'Damnonii,' parts of Devonshire and Cornwall; 'Cornabii,' the extreme part of Cornwall; 'Trinobantes,' Essex; 'Atrebatii,' Berkshire and part of Bucks; 'Dobuni,' Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire; 'Cenimagni,' Suffolk; 'Simeni,' or Iceni, Norfolk; 'Catieuchlani,' parts of Bucks and Northampton, with Bedfordshire, Hertford, and Huntingtonshire; 'Coritani,' Lincoln, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and part of Northamptonshire; 'Cornavii,' Stafford, Worcester, Warwick, Cheshire, and Shropshire; 'Silures,' Monmouth, Hereford, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor; 'Demetæ,' Pembroke, Cardigan, and Caermarthen; 'Ordovices,' Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Caernarvonshire, Denbighshire, and Flintshire; 'Parisii,' the south-east of Yorkshire; 'Selantii, Lancashire; 'Brigantes,' Durham, York, Cumberland, Westmoreland; 'Otadeni,' Berwick, East Lothian, Roxburgh, and part of Northumberland; 'Gadeni,' Selkirk, Peebles, West Lothian, with parts of Mid-Lothian and Northumberland; 'Selgovæ,' Dumfries, and part of Kirkcudbright; 'Novantæ,' Wigton, with parts of Kirkcudbright and Ayr; 'Damnii,' Lanark, Renfrew, and Stirling, with parts of Ayr, Dumbarton, and Perth; 'Epidii,' Argyll; 'Venicones,' Fife, Forfar, Kinross, Clackmannan, with parts of Perth, Kincardine, and Aberdeen; 'Tæxali,' or 'Tæzali,' the rest of Kincardine, and Aberdeen; the 'Caledonii,' across the country from Inverary to Inverness; Vacomagi, on the borders of Loch Lomond; 'Ceroes,' parts of Argyle and Inverness; 'Cantæ,' or 'Decantæ,' the east of Ross; 'Creones,' the rest of Ross; 'Logi,' or 'Lugi,' the south-east of Sutherland, and part of Caithness; 'Mertæ,' or 'Smertæ,' central part of Sutherland; 'Carnonacæ,' south-west of Sutherland; 'Cornavii,' the east and north of Caithness; 'Careni,' the west of Caithness and north-east of Sutherland.

Distribution of Tribes.

The opposite characteristics of the two races, the Celts and Teutons, are finely described by Tacitus; and Sir James Mackintosh justly

observes that the unprejudiced and unaffected description of the Gaulish character and usages by that great man is not only an admirable specimen of his calm observation and simple elegance, but is deserving of the utmost consideration as a picture, by the hand of a master, of a condition of society which has been seldom paralleled.



ROMAN MEMORIAL STONE WITH INSCRIPTION.

"Among the Gauls," says Tacitus, "the multitude are in a state of servile dependence upon the equestrian and sacerdotal orders. Most of them, indeed, for the sake of exemption from taxes, or deliverance from debt, or protection against danger, have enslaved themselves to the nobility, whose power over them is as absolute as that of a master over his slaves. The Druids have the care of education; they alone cultivate knowledge; they conceal from the vulgar the secret doctrines, in which their pupils only are initiated. Their sacred and scientific duties privilege them from taxes and from military service; they determine the greater part of litigated questions; it is their business to allot rewards and punishments. The party who refuses to abide by their decision is punished by interdiction from sacrifices, which disables him from public office, brands him as impious and criminal, and cuts off his whole intercourse with his fellow-creatures. These powers are rendered more dreadful by the proneness to a dire superstition which taints the Gaulish character. All the political authority which such prerogatives as the priesthood suffer to exist, is exercised by a turbulent and factious nobility, whose constant occupation is to recruit and exercise their devoted adherents.

The Gauls described by Tacitus.

"The chieftain, or vergobret, has an uncontrolled power of life and death over all the laymen of his tribe. Their domestic life corresponds to their ecclesiastical and civil polity. Husbands have the power of life and death over their wives and children. At the death of a nobleman, if there be a suspicion against the wives, they are put to the torture as slaves; if they be thought guilty, after cruel torments, they die in the flames."

Very different is the account given by Tacitus of the German nations, in whom he appears to have seen the men whose descendants should one day be foremost in the progress of the world. The historian describes their generous though disorderly freedom, as if it were no less characteristic of the race than their fierce blue eyes, their red hair, their huge frame, better fitted for violent effort than for patient industry. "Their kings are chosen from the royal race; their leaders are selected on account of their valour. The power of the kings is not without bounds. The generals command more by example than by authority. The chiefs regulate ordinary business: great affairs are brought before the whole tribe, by the king and other chieftains, and determined by the suffrages of all. These assemblies take cognisance of capital crimes, and elect judges for the districts, to each of whom a council of a hundred assessors is also appointed. Though almost without clothing, and without towns, and though a lasting appropriation of land to individuals was unknown to them, yet they alone, among barbarians, rejected polygamy. Female purity was respected; the female sex, therefore, were held in honour. By a rare example, slaves were treated with lenity; sometimes indeed killed in moments of anger, but never subjected to cruel punishment or more cruel labour."

The Character of the Germans.

Only the tribes of Britons in the districts which lay nearest to the coast of Gaul had received some varnish of civilization. They stained and tattooed their bodies. They wore chequered dresses like the Scottish Highlanders. Their fingers were plentifully ornamented with rings, and from their necks chains of brass or iron were suspended over the breast. A small shield, some javelins, and a sword rounded at the end were their arms. Though they exhibited considerable skill in war, especially in the use of their war chariots, which had scythes fastened to the wheels, and were used for cutting down the ranks of the enemy, they had nothing that might be called a fortress. Their houses, chiefly clusters of wooden thatched huts, supported on stone foundations, were generally in the depth of a forest, their only defence being a ditch and a rampart formed of timber. Those on the coast raised corn to export, and also devoted themselves to the training of wild horses. Farther inland the Britons were clad in skins, and subsisted almost entirely on the flesh of their flocks and on milk. And in the northern wilds they were nearly savages, wearing scarcely any covering and living on the animals caught in the chase, while all the bonds of family life were disregarded. Of the inhabitants of Caledonia, Tacitus says, "Red hair and huge limbs denote their German extraction."

Social Condition of the Britons.

Throughout the whole country one religion seems to have prevailed —Druidism—from δρῦς, Welsh 'drew,' Cornish 'dar,' an oak, from their veneration for the oak and its parasite the mistletoe. The priests and priestesses, called Druids and Druidesses, led an austere and recluse life; they wore a peculiar garb, and were regarded with very great veneration. They had extensive powers. They possessed all civil and criminal jurisdiction; the petty princes were appointed or removed by them; all private relations were under their control; and as by their excommunication an offender was cut off from all

A DRUID WITH HIS INSIGNIA OF OFFICE.

company and intercourse with his fellows, their decrees were most scrupulously obeyed. They had the charge not only of all religious ceremonies and festivals, but also of the educa-

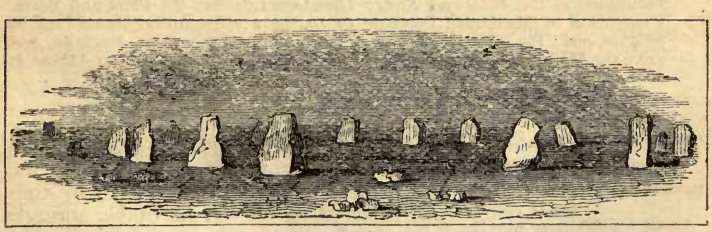
Power of the Druids.

tion of the youth; and they were free from all taxation and from war service. The Druids taught the doctrine of the transmigration and immortality of the soul; they professed magic and astrology, and interpreted omens. One of the lessons they inculcated was, that "the first three principles of wisdom are—obedience to the laws of God, regard for the welfare of man, and fortitude under the accidents of life." They seem to have held a kind of polytheism; and probably, as with the Greeks and Romans, every great natural object had its presiding genius. Hardly anything is known of their terrible rites, except that frequently human victims were offered on their altars. The great ruins at Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain and at Avebury in Wiltshire, are commonly regarded as remains of Druidical temples. The bards formed a part of the Druidical caste. They were generally attached to the family of the chieftains, whose praises they sang, accompanied by their wild harps; and they followed the warriors into the field to excite their valour by chanting the achievements of their ancestors.

Obscurity concerning their Rites.

The Druids held four great festivals, in February, May, August, and November, when their worship was performed in open temples formed of circles of large stones. Besides the celebrated remains at Stonehenge, there are traces of these temples at Avebury, Dartmoor, and Shap in Westmoreland. That at Stonehenge consists of two circles of vast stones, some still retaining their upright position, but others stretched upon the earth, either by the hand of man or the "war of elements." These stones average fourteen feet in height, seven in breadth, and three in thickness. There are thirty-nine in the outer circle, of which about one-half remain upright. A space of eight feet divides the outer from the inner circle, the stones of which are smaller; and in the centre of this inner division is a large flat stone, supposed to have been the altar. The whole is surrounded by a trench. In these inclosures the Druids offered sacrifices and prayer, heard causes, and pronounced judgment, and, not unfrequently, practised the arts of divination. A white bull was their usual sacrifice; but Tacitus says: "They held it right to smear their altars with the blood of their captives, and to consult the will of the gods by the quivering of human flesh."

Druidic Temples.



CIRCLE OF DRUIDIC STONES IN CORNWALL.

"JUMP DOWN, FELLOW-SOLDIERS!"

CHAPTER II.

Britain under the Roman Conquest and Rule.

55 B.C. TO A.D. 449.

First Roman Invasion under Julius Cæsar, 55 B.C.: His Retreat: Second Roman Invasion under Cæsar, 54 B.C.: Capture of Cassivelaunus: Retreat of the Romans: Third Roman Invasion under the Lieutenant of the Emperor Claudius, A.D. 40: Reduction of S.E. Britain—Settlement of the Romans: Fall of Caractacus: Reduction of the Isle of Anglesey, A.D. 59: Revolt of Boadicea, A.D. 59-62—her death: Governorship of Agricola, A.D. 78-85: Defeat of Galgacus: Circumnavigation of Britain: Introduction of Roman Civilization: The *Caledonian* Frontier: Visit of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 121—his Wall: Antonine's Wall, A.D. 140: Campaign of the Emperor Septimius Severus in North Britain, A.D. 209. Divisions of Roman Britain: the Government: Classification of the Cities: The Roads: Baths, Circuses, and Temples: Paganism: Introduction of Christianity: Depredations of the *Saxons*: Revolts in Britain under Carausius, in 286, and Allectus, in 293: Incursions of the *Picts* and *Scots*: Theodosius defeats the Picts and Scots: Usurpation of Maximus: Peopling of *Brittany*: Roman Britain relieved by Stilicho, 396: the Thirty Republics: Final Withdrawal of the Romans, A.D. 418: the Hallelujah Victory over the Picts and Scots, 429: *Federal Monarchy under Vortigern*, 425: the "Groans of the Britons," 446.

CÆSAR'S EXPEDITIONS TO BRITAIN.

THERE was little material wealth to tempt the great Roman general to venture across the Channel from Gaul; but the necessity of keeping his forces in a high state of efficiency by constant warfare, in preparation for the inevitable struggle with his rival Pompey for the sovereignty of the Roman world, and the prospect of an increase of his popularity at Rome by his adding, if only in name, another province—which was

Astute Policy of Cæsar.

reported by traders to be very fertile—to the already overgrown dominions of the Republic, induced Julius Cæsar to organize an expedition to Britain, after his reduction of Gaul. There is also no doubt that a chief reason for Cæsar's resolution to take possession of Britain sprang from the assistance the Britons had given the Gauls, armed parties having been frequently sent over to join the Gaulish armies. The Britons were informed of his intention to invade their country; and seeing how successful he had been in Gaul, they sent ambassadors for the purpose of making their submission to the conqueror, and to offer hostages. Cæsar received the messengers with courtesy, but gave no decided answer to their proposals. When they returned, he sent one of his chiefs, Comius, with them as ambassador; but at the same time he sent Volusenus, a naval commander, with a single galley, to survey the coast. On the return of their ambassadors, the Britons—whether they had received any information of the expedition of Volusenus, or whether they only suspected the faith of Cæsar, is not known—seized Comius, and put him under restraint, in irons. When Volusenus returned, his report caused Cæsar to determine in what direction to send his expedition, which consisted of 12,000 men and eighty vessels. Thus, under pretext of avenging the aid which had been given by the Britons to some of the Gallic tribes in his late campaigns, Cæsar embarked near Calais with the infantry of two legions, about 12,000 men, on the 25th of Aug., 55 B.C., and after a few hours' sail approached the coast between Deal and Dover; on seeing the heights covered with armed barbarians, he sailed northwards into Pegwell Bay, and prepared to effect a landing near the ruins of Richborough Castle. The Britons offered a desperate resistance: and, when they brought forward their scythe-armed chariots, prevented the Romans from wading through the surf from the galley to the beach. But the standard-bearer of the tenth legion boldly dashed through the waves. Readers of Cæsar's Commentaries will remember the gallant legionary's appeal to his comrades. "Jump down, fellow-soldiers, unless you wish to betray your eagle into the hands of the enemy. I certainly shall fulfil my oath to the State and the commander." The legionaries, imitating his devoted heroism, pressed on, and drove the barbarians from the shore. The Romans then proceeded to form their first encampment in Britain, near the Isle of Thanet; and the chiefs, discouraged by Cæsar's success, made overtures of submission. A storm, however, in which the Roman fleet was nearly destroyed, raised their hopes; their emissaries were recalled from the camp, and a treacherous attack was made on the seventh legion. Reinforcements were brought up on both sides, and after a prolonged struggle the Britons suffered a second overthrow. The approach of winter, and the knowledge of the spread of disaffection in Gaul, and perhaps the necessity of increasing the invading forces after such exhibitions of courage on the part of the natives, led to Cæsar's withdrawing shortly afterwards from this reconnaissance as, in his Commentaries on the Gallic War, he professes to have regarded it; but at Rome a thanksgiving of twenty days was decreed. During the winter Cæsar collected in Gaul about 800

The first Landing in Britain.

Second Invasion of Britain.

galleys, in which, early in the summer of 54 B.C., he embarked five legions, about 30,000 men, and 2,000 cavalry. The extent of his fleet alarmed the Britons, who retired from the coast and allowed him to effect his landing on the shores of Kent unmolested. The name Kent is generally derived from a Celtic word signifying a corner or projection, as the Kentish land projected into the sea, forming an angle or corner at the Isle of Thanet. In Cantire in Scotland the same word occurs, and in the same meaning. The natives joined their forces under Cassivelaunus, as Cæsar calls him, the King of the Cassii and Dobuni, a chief who contested every inch of ground with the Romans in their attempted march into the interior. The perfidy of the other chieftains at length obliged Cassivelaunus to retreat across the Thames; he was immediately followed by Cæsar, who after a severe siege captured and burned Verulamium, now St. Albans, and Cassivelaunus and the other southern chieftains had soon to submit. After appointing his ally Mandubratius in place of Cassivelaunus, and fixing the amount of annual tribute to be paid,—for the collection of which, however, no steps seem to have been taken,—Cæsar returned to Gaul.

Britain disregarded for a Century.

The commotions that shortly afterwards ensued in the Roman world—the subversion of the Republic at the close of the struggle between Cæsar and Pompey; its nominal restoration under the Triumvirate of Mark Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus; the establishment of the Empire under Octavian, afterwards Augustus, and the wars in Germany under the latter and Tiberius—secured to the Britons for nearly a century immunity from Roman conquest. The insane Roman Emperor, Caligula, spoke of invading Britain, when his troops gathered shells for him on the opposite coast as trophies of his conquest of the ocean, A.D. 40; and three years later his successor in the purple, Claudius, sent four legions under Aulus Plautius to reduce the island. To this interval of ninety-seven years, during which the Britons retained their original independency, belongs Shakespeare's prince "the radiant Cymbeline," Cunobelin. A number of coins of gold, silver, and bronze, bearing the name of Cunobelin in various forms, attest at once the importance of this monarch and the civilization of Britain at that period. The letters Cam. Camv. etc., often occurring on the coins, are supposed to signify Camalodunum, now Colchester, the residence of the King.

Roman and British Leaders.

When the Romans interfered in British affairs, it was at the instigation of a chief, Beric, who had been expelled from the island by a family quarrel. Plautius, who was aided by Vespasian, afterwards Emperor, was soon followed by his imperial master, and the legions succeeded in reducing the country from Essex to Hampshire; and the unfortunate son of the Emperor received the glorious name of Britannicus, in honour of the brilliant Roman successes. On a coalition of the tribes under Caractacus, the valiant chieftain of the Silures of South Wales, Claudius entrusted the conduct of the war to Ostorius Scapula, A.D. 47; Scapula established a Roman colony at Camalodunum, and raised a line of forts along the Avon and Severn, to overawe the reduced tribes and check the incursions of the enemy.

ROMAN CENTURION CAPTURED BY BRITONS.

Though all the country south of the Tyne was reduced, and Caractacus himself was obliged to retreat to the fastnesses of Wales, the Romans had to maintain every inch of ground against the unwearied Britons. Caractacus was betrayed by his step-mother Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, after the fall of his stronghold, Caer Caradoc, and was sent in chains to Rome; but his noble bearing and assertion of his rights before Claudius procured for him a pardon. His fame preceded him in Italy: the people were eager to see the man who, for so many years, defied the empire. His family supplicated for mercy. He himself, however, addressed the Emperor with a manly dignity, alike removed from meanness and insolence. Claudius accordingly treated him with lenity and respect, not unaware how much the dignity of the vanquished enhances the glory of the conqueror. The unconquerable Silures renewed their attacks on the Romans, and kept up the animosity of their countrymen by this example. Ostorius, weary of an obscure and destructive warfare, died; and his successors were for years confined to the defensive. It has been noticed by Gibbon as a remarkable fact that the conquest of Britain should have been undertaken in the reign of Claudius, the most timid of the successors of Julius Cæsar, and completed under Domitian, the most slothful of the line. Under Claudius' successor, Nero, the command of the legions was conferred on Suetonius Paulinus, who, in A.D. 59, began an attack on Mona, now the Isle of Anglesey, a great seat of the Druids. As in many other cases the priests of the national religion were found to be the most devoted supporters of the national independence; and Suetonius hoped by extirpating the Druids to break the spirit of resistance, while he found in the existence of human sacrifices a pretext for his severity. The sacred oaks of Anglesey were cut down, and the Druids were burnt on the pyres on which they had intended to sacrifice the invaders. Suetonius had to hasten back to repress an insurrection in the Roman territory, which had been excited by the Queen of the Iceni, Boadicea, the widow of the powerful King Prasutagus. She had been treated with more than Roman inhumanity. For the offence of protesting against the horrible cruelties inflicted on her people, the Iceni, by the Romans, she had been seized and publicly scourged like a slave, and her daughters given up to the outrages of the soldiery by Roman tribunes. The fury of the insurgents fell upon Colchester, where a temple had been erected to the deified Claudius as the conqueror of Britain. The ninth legion, 6,000 men, under Petilius, who marched to its assistance, was cut to pieces; the town was stormed and razed, and the garrison was put to the sword. The insurgents now advanced upon Londinium, London, which had been a town of some importance even at the time of Julius Cæsar's invasion, and had become one of the chief Roman colonies. Its name is supposed to have been derived from Llyn Dyn, the city of ships, which was Romanized into Londinium. Suetonius had now arrived in London; but he found it necessary to evacuate the town, which the insurgents laid in ruins. Verulamium, St. Albans, met with the same fate. Seventy thousand of the Romans and their adherents are said to have been massacred in this insurrection.

Suetonius captures Mona.

It was not till A.D. 62, that Suetonius, having assembled a force of 10,000 men, was able to offer battle to Boadicea, when he totally overthrew the insurgents, whose loss is said to have amounted to 80,000. Here, as elsewhere, the numbers are probably unreliable; the Romans had a practice of exaggerating the enemy's losses, and making light of their own. The contest is supposed to have occurred at the place afterwards known as Battle Bridge in the north of London. Boadicea in despair poisoned herself, and the insurgent tribes one after another submitted. Their chains were rivetted on the Britons more securely than ever; and the severity with which Suetonius treated them provoked several unavailing insurrections. But the jealousy of the Emperor Nero led to the speedy recall of Suetonius; and under the succeeding governors, Turpilianus, Trebellius, and Bolanus the Roman rule was comparatively mild, as it was, on the one hand, the policy of the Romans to punish all insubordination with ruthless severity, on the other, they did not wish to excite rebellion.

Revolt of Boadicea.

On the assumption of the purple by Vespasian, who had at one time been a general in Britain, in A.D. 69, the Roman aggressions were renewed; Petilius Cerealis subdued the Brigantes, A.D. 71, and his successor, Julius Frontinus reduced the Silures, 75–78. Vespasian superseded the latter by the father-in-law of the great Roman historian Tacitus, Cnæus Julius Agricola, who administered the Roman part of the island from A.D. 78–85. After a second time reducing the isle of Anglesey, Agricola in 81 drew a chain of forts to form the Roman frontier between the firths of Forth and Clyde; and in 84 he advanced beyond this frontier and carried his eagles to the foot of the Grampians, where he totally defeated the Caledonian prince Galgacus, notwithstanding the remarkable bravery of the northern warriors.

Agricola's able Rule.

When on the coast of Scotland, Agricola was desirous of conquering Ireland, which he regarded as a medium of communicating with Spain and as a position for overawing Britain; but, though informed by an exile Irish chief that the island might be conquered by one legion, 6,000 men, and a few auxiliaries, he did not carry out his designs in that direction. After his fleet had circumnavigated the island, Agricola returned to the southern portion, and devoted himself to rendering the island permanently attached to Rome, by introducing the manners and customs of the capital.* He prevailed on the chieftains to assume the Roman dress and to leave their forest homes and reside near the Roman colonies; he erected for them houses, baths, and temples on the Roman models, and supplied their children with means of instruction in the Latin language. By these politic measures the Britons within

Wise Administration following Conquest.

* The Roman governors of Britain during the conquest were eleven in number; namely, Aulus Plautius, A.D. 43–47; Ostorius Scapula, A.D. 50–53; Aulus Didius, A.D. 54–57; Veranius, A.D. 58; Paulinus Suetonius, A.D. 58–62; Petronius Turpilianus, A.D. 62–65; Trebellius Maximus, A.D. 65–68; Vectius Bolanus, A.D. 69–71; Petilius Cerealis, A.D. 71–75; Julius Frontinus, A.D. 75–78; Cnæus Julius Agricola, A.D. 78–84.

the Roman lines were gradually reduced to the condition of servile provincials; and the Roman supremacy was unquestioned as far north as the borders of the Scottish Highlands. But beyond that frontier the Romans could not push their conquest; and the most they could do with the Caledonians was to draw walls across the island to keep them by themselves. For a time a Roman post was advanced to Loch Ness, and a town was built at Inverness, but the forces were soon withdrawn; and the Emperor Hadrian, who, in his progress through the provinces of the vast Roman empire, visited Britain in A.D. 121, built a wall from Newcastle to the Solway Firth, some remains of which are now termed the 'Picts' Wall.' The frontier was advanced so as to include the Scottish Lowlands by his successor, the Emperor Antoninus Pius, whose general, the proprætor Lollius Urbicus, in A.D. 140, built a new rampart along the line of Agricola's forts, between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, to which he gave the name of Antonine's Wall, and the remains of which are now called Graham's Dyke. It was found, however, difficult to maintain this advanced frontier against the Caledonians. To strike terror into the latter, the Emperor L. Septimius Severus, who succeeded to the purple in A.D. 193, forced his way to the north of the island; but his loss,—50,000 men,—was so great that he abandoned the northern portion of the province and caused Hadrian's Wall to be repaired as the frontier, A.D. 209. Severus died shortly after his return from the north, at Eboracum, York; his son, Caracalla, before leaving York for Rome, concluded a peace with the Caledonians; and thenceforward Hadrian's Wall, 12 feet high, 8 feet thick, and 68 miles long, was regarded as the limit of the Roman province in the north.

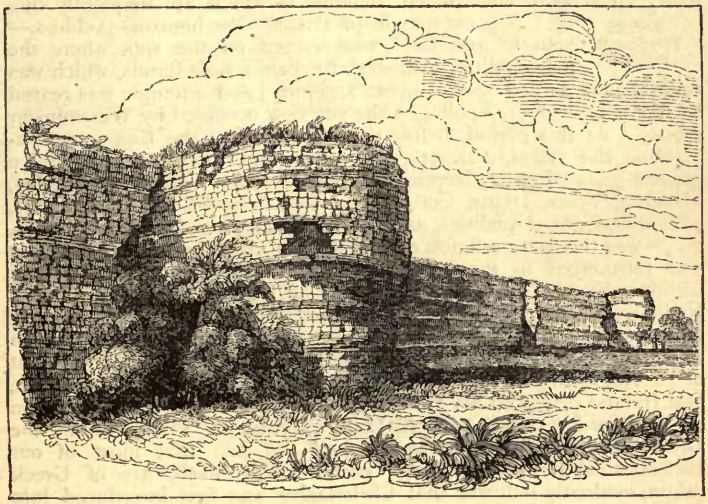
Hadrian's Wall.

Severus in Britain.

In A.D. 197, early in the reign of Severus, Roman Britain was divided into two provinces, Upper Britain, 'Britannia Superior,' and Lower Britain, 'Britannia Inferior'; and about a century later into four provinces, viz., First Britain, 'Britannia Prima,' the part south of the Severn and Thames; Second Britain, 'Britannia Secunda,' all west of the Severn and the Dee; Flavian Cæsariense, 'Flavia Cæsariensis,' the part from the Humber to the Thames, excepting Wales; and Greatest Cæsariense, 'Maxima Cæsariensis,' the part north of the mouth of the Humber and the Mersey. In A.D. 369, the part north of the Wall of Severus, from the Tyne and Eden to the Forth and Clyde, was added as a fifth province under the name of 'Valentia,' and later the name of 'Vespasiana' was applied to a tract north of Valentia. Before the subdivision, the country had been administered by an officer who had held the nominally highest office, the Consulship, and who was assisted by a Quæstor, or collector of taxes. After the subdivision the consular legate was superseded by a Vicar, 'vicarius,' who resided at Eboracum, York; and each of the provinces had a deputy-governor. The Vicar and his deputies, who held their commissions direct from the Emperor, were prohibited from intermarrying with the Britons, or acquiring any property among them. As the residence of the Vicar, York was the most important city; and next to it was Londinium, London. There were thirty-three other Roman towns 'civitates,'

Division and Method of Administration.

nine of which were colonies—communities of veteran legionaries, who had been rewarded for their courage and fidelity by grants of the conquered land, and who formed so many bulwarks of the empire. From the time of the Punic Wars downwards, military colonies of this kind had been a great source of the Roman strength. These colonies possessed the rights of Roman citizenship—that is, any one of the colonists had the right of voting in the popular assemblies if he went to Rome, was eligible to all public offices, had the right of appeal to the Assembly, or even "to Cæsar," from any sentence involving loss of life, personal freedom, or political or social privileges, and had the right of contracting a lawful marriage, and the right of acquiring,



ROMAN WALLS IN BRITAIN.

transferring, or holding property of all kinds according to the Roman laws. Twelve of the towns were designated 'Municipia,' administering their own internal affairs, and had the "Roman citizenship" in various degrees. Two of these, York and St. Albans, were especially favoured, and put practically on a level with the colonies, while the other ten possessed only the rights of the "Latin Name," the relationship of the members of the old Latin League to Rome nearly eight centuries before. The remaining twelve Roman towns were termed Stipendiary, from their paying an annual tribute, and they every year received a governor, whereas the colonies and municipia elected their own magistrates. The chief coast establishments of the Romans were at Portus Dubris, now Dover, and Rutupiæ, now Richborough, near Sandwich. The

Civitates and Municipia.

terminations '-chester' and '-caster' in the names of towns, as Manchester, Colchester, are from the Latin 'castra,' camp.

Roman Roads.

Four great roads—called 'strata,' whence our 'street'—were made to open up easy communication throughout the province:—'Watling Street,' from Richborough through London to Caernarvon; 'Ikenild or Icknield Street,' from St. David's through Birmingham, Derby, and York to Tynemouth; 'Irmin or Ermine Street,' from St. David's to Southampton, and the 'Fosse,' from Cornwall to Lincoln. While the Romans thus brought the province into a high state of commercial and agricultural prosperity, they adorned their cities in imitation of Rome, and carried with them all the civilization of the capital. Thus public baths, various temples, and many villas were constructed, remains of which are frequently dug up.

Roman Temples in Britain.

A great temple of Diana,—the huntress-goddess,—'chaste and fair' was erected on the spot where the metropolitan cathedral, St. Paul's, now stands, which was even then a sacred spot of great antiquity; and a temple was reared to her twin brother, Apollo, on the site now occupied by Westminster Abbey. At this period, before the conversion of the Emperor Constantine the Great, A.D. 312, paganism—the worship of the twelve greater gods—Jupiter, Neptune, Apollo, Mercury, Vulcan, Mars, Juno, Minerva, Vesta, Diana, Ceres, Venus—of deified heroes, rural gods, personified moral qualities, as Faith, Modesty, etc., the local deities, etc.,—was the State religion of the Roman empire. But Christianity was introduced in the second century at the latest; and British bishops, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelphius of Richborough, sat in the Council of Arles, which condemned the heresy of the Donatists, 314, while the Bible was translated into the British or Gaelic tongue. Pelagius, the founder of Pelagianism and opponent of St. Augustine, in the beginning of the fifth century, was a Briton, and Ireland produced his greatest disciple, Cœlestius. The derivation of the word "church" itself, 'kirk,' Teutonic 'kirche,' from the Greek 'kuriakon,' 'Lord's house,' and the fact that most of our ecclesiastical terms, including 'ecclesiastical' itself, are of Greek origin, evidently indicate that Christianity was first introduced into England by missionaries from the Eastern, or Greek, and not from the Western, or Roman Church. This theory is affirmed by the traditions of the English Church, and by the Eastern method of keeping Easter in the Anglo-Saxon Church, which differed widely from the Roman usage. The Roman geographers and historians do not give us very accurate ideas of Britain, or of the events that occurred there; nor can we rely upon them for the events of the period. Thus we do not know exactly when, or by whom, Christianity was introduced into the island; though we are told that one of the British sovereigns, called

Early Records of Christianity.

St. Lucius, who began to reign A.D. 179, was "the first Christian king of Britain, and in the world." Upwards of one hundred years after, we find the persecution set on foot by Diocletian against the Christians extending to this island; and in A.D. 303, St. Alban,—who visited Rome, and served in the Roman army under Diocletian,—became the first martyr, and was canonized.

ABORIGINES OF BRITAIN.

Among the signs of the decay of the Roman empire was the appearance, on its various frontiers, of barbarian assailants. In Britain the lines of forts in the north of the Roman province had afforded, generally, protection against the Caledonians; but the island was, towards the close of the third century, attacked from a new quarter. The 'Franks' and 'Saxons,' two barbarous peoples, which held the north-west of Europe, from the mouth of the Rhine to the Cimbrian Chersonese—now 'Jutland'—swept, with their piratical craft, the North Sea, and made descents upon Gaul, France, and Britain. So rapidly did these become formidable that the Emperor Diocletian, about A.D. 300, created a new officer, the "Count of the Saxon Coast," to organize a system of defence against their incursions; and this officer was invested with the command of all the Roman forces from the mouth of the Humber

New Barbarian Nations in Europe.

to Land's End. The first two who were raised to this dignity,—Carausius in 286, and Allectus in 293,—proclaimed themselves emperors; but after the reduction of the latter by the Emperor Constantius I. Chlorus, the central imperial authority was again recognised in Britain. During the reign of this Emperor the northern frontier was harassed by the Picts and Scots. It is most probable that "Picts" is simply another name—from their custom of painting their bodies—for the chief tribe of the aboriginal inhabitants of the North, the Caledonians, of whom we hear no more in the chroniclers, though their emigration or extermination is not mentioned: while the Scots were composed of some fierce tribes which had crossed the North Channel from Ireland. After the death of Constantius I. Chlorus, at Eboracum, York, in 306, his son Constantine I., afterwards called the Great, assumed the title of "Cæsar," or that of the second imperial person in the State, and afterwards shared with Galerius and Licinius the title of Emperor, and eventually became sole Emperor. Constantine is believed to have had some British blood by his mother Helena; but he never honoured the island with his residence, nor was Britain ever afterwards the seat of the Roman Court.

The ravages of the Picts and Scots were resumed. Notwithstanding the decay of Rome, the invaders were repulsed for half a century, till the reign of Valentinian I., when, in 368, they actually advanced to London, while the Franks and Saxons renewed their devastations; they were repulsed by his son Theodosius, afterwards the Great, who, when himself Emperor, overthrew at Aquileia, in the north-east of Italy, in 388, a Briton, Maximus, who, after several successes as Roman commander in Britain against the Picts and Scots, had proclaimed himself Emperor and established his court at Augusta Trevirorum, now Treves. The failure of the designs of Maximus, who had planted a large colony of British warriors in Armoric Gaul, now Brittany, and in whose cause so many fell at Aquileia, increased the misfortunes of Britain; the natives had under the Roman rule become unfitted to defend themselves, and when the Roman legions were absent the massacres and devastations of the invaders were unrestrained. The great invasions of the barbarians, under which the western half of the Roman empire eventually fell to pieces, had become so important that the legionaries could not be spared to defend Britain. Stilicho, the celebrated Vandal general of Theodosius the Great and of the timid and indolent Honorius, gave temporary relief to the island in 396. Again the legionaries had to be withdrawn to meet the Vandals and Goths; and the despairing cities of Britain rose in revolt and established thirty independent republics. The Emperor Honorius accorded his sanction to the new arrangement, 409. Nine years later, 418, the legionaries were sent to Britain to repel the Picts and Scots: and after repairing the forts they were finally withdrawn.

The Picts and Scots.

The Romans attacked in Gaul.

The enervated Britons, despite some successes, were unable to drive back the barbarians, who continually made descents on the coast. Under the leadership of a bishop who had been sent to refute Pelagius's doctrines, St. Ger-

Misery and Misfortunes of the Britons.

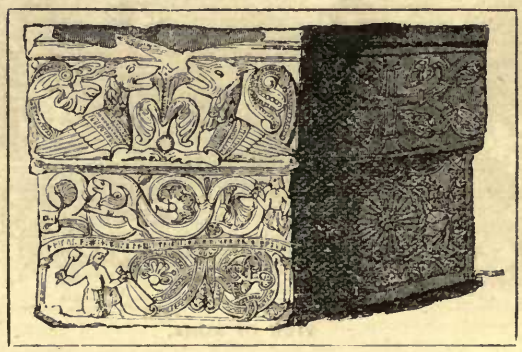
VIEW OF ROME.

main of Auxerre in the department of Yonne in central France, they gained the "Hallelujah Victory," so named from the British battle-cry, over the Picts and Scots in 429. But the success was transient. Their republics had rapidly passed into monarchies or tyrannies; and the cities engaged in internecine war, while the barbarians swept the land. From these commotions, about 425, a federal monarchy was established under Vortigern, or Gwerthegen, an ambitious and unscrupulous prince, in the south of Britain; but another federation

was formed under Ambrosius, who is said to have been the son of a Roman consul; and the intestine war continued.

Such were the calamities of the Britons that in 446 they forwarded a piteous appeal, called "The Groans of the Britons," to the great "Patrician," or peer of the first rank, Aetius, who was then at the head of the Roman forces in Gaul. The tenour of this epistle was in conformity to its superscription: "The barbarians," say the unhappy writers, "on the one hand chase us into the sea; the sea, on the other, throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us, of perishing by the sword or by the waves." Aetius was desirous of assisting them; but all the legionaries were required to meet Attila, the "Scourge of God," who, at the head of his hordes of barbarous Huns, was then desolating the western Roman provinces.

Vortigern now summoned a council of the chiefs of the various cities; and, the Roman dominion being at an end, persuaded them to establish a connection in another quarter.



RUNIC MEMORIAL.

CHAPTER III.

The Heptarchy, and the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom to Alfred the Great.

(A.D. 449—901.)

The Britons purchase the Alliance of Hengist and Horsa, the Jutes, A.D. 449: the Teutonic Invasion. Characteristics of the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. The seven Kingdoms called the Heptarchy—Kent, 450; Sussex, 477; Wessex, 495; Essex, 527; East Anglia, 570; Northumbria, 617; Mercia, 625. Character of the German Invasion: Kingdoms of the Britons. Occasional Union under a Bretwalda, etc. Extinction of the Heptarchy by Wars—Ina's Successes: Progress of Mercia: the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom founded by Egbert, 827-836: State of Scotland and Ireland. Second Introduction of Christianity, 597. Depredations of the Vikings: Ethelwulf, 836-856: Athelstane's Viceroy: Ethelwulf's Deposition: Ethelbald, 856-860, and Ethelbert, 856-866: Ethelred I., 866-871: Great Invasion of the Norsemen, 871: Guthrum seizes East Anglia. Alfred the Great, 871, Oct. 26, 901: his Education: the Danish Conquests: Alfred's Naval Victory in the Channel, 875: his Camp surprised: his Flight. Peace purchased from Guthrum, 876: Second Flight of Alfred: his Camp at Athelney, his Victory: Peace with the Danes, 880. Danish Invasion under Hastings, 893. Alfred's Literary Acquirements: his Patronage of Learning and Commerce: his Code: his Death. Anglo-Saxon Institutions—Frank-Pledge, Vassalage, Compensation. Extension of Frank-Pledge and Vassalage. Classes of Property and of Persons. Thanes, Ceorls, Theowas. Privileges of the King. The Witena-

gemot, and Provincial Governors. The Law Courts—Sac, Hall-mot, Folk-mot, Shire-mot, King's-Council. Compurgators—Jury. The Ordeal. The Clergy. Agriculture: Trade: the Arts: Social Condition.

Hengist and Horsa Summoned.

AT the time when the council summoned by Vortigern assembled, 449, two Teutonic chieftains, Hengist and Horsa, with about 1,500 followers, happened to be off the British southern coast on board three galleys. Vortigern and his vassals, quickened by the rumour that another inroad of the Scots and Picts was about to be made, entered into a treaty with Hengist and Horsa, the stipulations being that the Saxons should give their aid in repelling all enemies in return for the cession of the fertile isle of Thanet, which was to be their residence. To purchase the alien defenders was a confession of their own utter helplessness; and it is not surprising that the new defenders of the Britons soon became their masters, passing from the condition of temporary mercenaries to that of permanent conquerors. The success of each body tempted others to follow: and in the course of a century and a half seven great settlements are recorded, forming the seven kingdoms called from their number the Saxon Heptarchy—from ἑπτά, *seven*, and ἀρχή, kingdom.

The invaders, from whose incursions the British coasts had long suffered and who now arrived in large bodies, from the coast tracts between Jutland and the mouth of the Rhine, belonged to the Low German (or coast, as distinct from High German or interior) branch of the Teutonic family, and consisted of three principal tribes—the Saxons in Mecklenburg, Hanover, and Holland, the Angles, in Schleswig and Holstein, and the Jutes, a branch of the Goths, in Jutland and the mainland of Denmark.

The German invaders were robust and tall, and distinguished by their fair complexions, light hair, and blue eyes. They were socially divided into four classes—the nobles, freemen, freedmen, and slaves: and the nobles held all political power, one of their number being elected in time of war to act as dictator or king. Despite the great ferocity of these barbarians, the family relations were carefully observed and the honour of their wives particularly defended. Their religion was polytheistic, the worship of the heavenly bodies and deified heroes, and occasionally involved the offering of human victims. Their chief religious festivals were in February, September, and November; and on the 25th of December the Geol, or Jule, the beginning of their year, was celebrated with great conviviality and with devotional rites. Magic and astrology were cultivated, and a firm belief in lucky and unlucky days and in omens prevailed. Religion rather ministered to than checked their natural ferocity: for one of their main tenets was, that in the hall of Woden the spirits of the brave would drink ale from goblets formed of the skulls of their slain foes.

Religion of the Saxon Nations.

The first Teutonic Settlement in Britain was that of the Jutes, under Hengist and Horsa. According to the native British legend, which seems to have been invented to excuse the weak resistance of the Britons, Vortigern, despite the prophecies of the magician Merlin, ceded to Hengist all Kent for the hand of his daughter Rowena;

but Vortigern's son Vortimer, aided by Vortigern's rival Aurelius Ambrosius, rebelled, and expelled Hengist, upon which Rowena caused Vortimer to be poisoned. Hengist was now restored, but the discontent of the natives was excited by the large reinforcements that were being constantly brought over from Germany; and, to appease this, Hengist invited a conference of chieftains at Stonehenge. Here he gave a banquet, and the British chiefs, who came, unarmed, to the number of 300, were all massacred, except Vortigern. However this may have been, it is certain that hostilities early broke out between the Britons and their German defenders. Horsa is said to have perished in battle at Aylesford in 455; but in 457, by a battle at Crayford, the possession of Kent passed to Hengist, who reigned for 40 years, and transmitted his authority to his son Eric, surnamed Æsc, 'ash-tree,' who reigned 24 years, and from whom the succeeding kings of Kent were called Æscings, 'sons of the ash.' Of the Kentish kings, Ethelbert, who succeeded in 568, is the best known; he was the first of the Teutonic kings who promulgated a code of written laws; and he cultivated intercourse with the Continent, and supported the spread of Christianity.

The Jutes: Massacre of British Chiefs.

Hengist and the Æscings.

The second Teutonic Settlement was that of the Saxons, under Ella and his three sons, who landed in Sussex in 477, and in 490 captured the castle of Pevensey, when Ella assumed the title of king of the 'South-Saxons,' or 'Sussex' (to which Surrey was afterwards added), his capital being Chichester, named after his son and successor Cissa.

The third Teutonic Settlement was that of the Saxons, under the formidable Cerdic and his son Cynric in 495, in Hampshire; they were reinforced in 514 by Jutes under Cerdic's nephews Stuf and Wightgar, to whom Cerdic afterwards assigned the Isle of Wight. After a great victory over the natives at Charford in 519, Cerdic assumed the title of king of the 'West Saxons' or 'Wessex.' He extended his dominion into Bucks, and his son conquered Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Oxfordshire, and established his capital at Winchester. The greatest of the native princes in the resistance to Cerdic was the legendary Arthur, king of the Silures, with his "Knights of the Round Table." According to tradition he was murdered by his nephew Modred, and buried in Glastonbury Abbey, where his tomb was shown by the monks to Henry II.

The race of Cerdic.

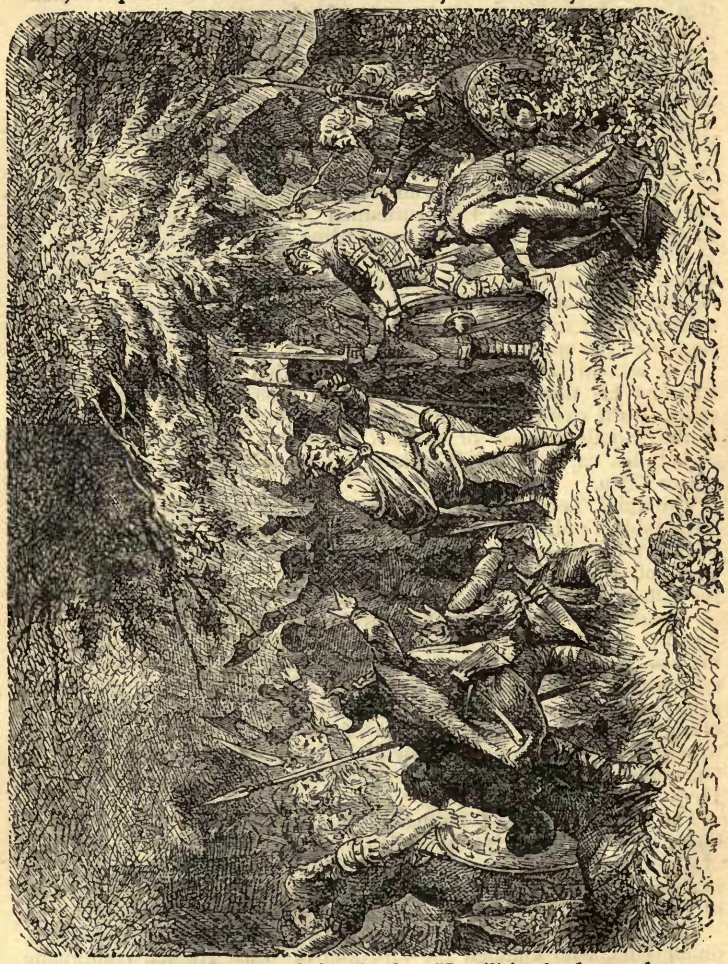
The fourth Teutonic Settlement was that of the Saxons in 527, under a king Æscevine or Erkenwin, who founded the kingdom of the 'East-Saxons,' or 'Essex,' including Middlesex. On the marriage of Æscevine's son Sleda with the daughter of king Ethelbert of Kent, about 570, the kingdom was united to that of Ethelbert.

The fifth Teutonic Settlement was that of the Angles, about 570, under Uffa, who founded the kingdom of 'East Anglia,' comprising Cambridge, the Isle of Ely, Norfolk, the 'North-folk,' and Suffolk, the 'South-folk.'

The sixth Teutonic Settlement was that of the Angles, who in 547 attacked in two bodies the country between the Humber and the

The Angles on the East Coast.

Forth. The leader of the one, Ella, conquered the British State Deira, Deifyr, which possessed the country between the Humber and the Tyne; while the leader of the other, Ida, conquered the British State Bernicia, or Berneich, which held the



AN ANGLO-SAXON CHIEF AND HIS WARRIORS.

tract between the Tyne and the Forth. Hostilities broke out between the two Anglian communities; but after some years peace was concluded, and they were united into the kingdom of 'Northumbria,' under Ella's son Edwin, in 617.

The seventh Teutonic Settlement was that of the Angles from Bernicia and Deira under Crida, and afterwards under the fierce Penda, about 625, who conquered a midland tract, to which the name of the kingdom of 'Mercia,' or the March, as being the borderland west of East Anglia and Deira, was given. The Mercians eventually extended their power over all the midland counties.

Amongst modern historians, the best Anglo-Saxon scholars, including Palgrave, Lappenberg, and Kemble, consider that the history of the Anglo-Saxons does not become authentic until after the introduction of Christianity, and look upon Hengist and Horsa as mythical personages.

The character of the Germanic invasion differed materially from the Roman conquest, though neither extended beyond the Forth and Clyde. The Romans allowed the natives to remain as a subject population in the conquered territory, whereas the Germans took exclusive possession of the whole of the land over which they extended their power, and expelled from it most of the Britons, who were driven into the western parts of the island and especially into Wales, while others emigrated to Armoric Gaul, the north-west of France, which thence received the name of Brittany; and those that remained in the Saxon parts were made slaves. The population was thus totally changed in a large part of the country; and within these limits the British tongue was extinguished. The name of the conquerors was given to the country,—Angleland, or England, 'land of the Angles,'—and later the name of Anglo-Saxons, 'Saxons of England,' was applied to the whole of the immigrants when the Saxons of Wessex became predominant. The seven Teutonic kingdoms, Wessex, Sussex, Kent, Essex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria, the Saxon Heptarchy, occupied the south, east, and middle of England. The west remained in possession of the Britons, who formed five kingdoms, Damnonia or West Wales (Cornwall and Devonshire), Cambria (Wales), Cumbria (Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and part of Yorkshire), Reged (Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigton, and Ayr), and Strathclyde (Dumbarton, Renfrew, and part of Lanarkshire), with Dumbarton, 'Alclyde,' as capital. Occasionally the British kingdoms formed a federation, under a ruler called Pendragon. North of the Forth the Picts, or aboriginal Caledonians, still dwelt, under a king; while the western Highlands were held by the Scots, or Dalriads, who, since their immigration from Ireland, had been ruled by the dynasty of Fergus, their leader. The whole of Britain was thus divided into fourteen petty kingdoms. Similar divisions prevailed in the sister island, Ireland; though it was, in the early centuries of the Christian era, while Britain was comparatively barbarous, a great seat of learning and religion, the "Island of the Saints," and it sent forth scholars and priests to impart the light of civilization to the rest of western Europe.

The Britons driven away, not subjugated.

State of Scotland and Ireland.

The hostility of the Britons and the Picts and Scots compelled the several Teutonic kingdoms frequently to form a union, of all or the majority, for purposes of mutual defence, the chieftain who was recognised as the common king being designated the 'Bretwalda,'

which has been interpreted by some historians as probably meaning "ruler of the Britons." Frequent conflicts, however, occurred between these kingdoms of this aggressive race, and the dignity of Bretwalda was doubtless frequently an incentive to encroachments on the part of the most powerful chieftain. The office of Bretwalda, like that of the monarchy in each of the seven kingdoms, seems to have been elective, but it was of course conferred on the ruler of the leading kingdom. The first was Ella of Sussex; the second, Cerdic's grandson, Ceawlin of Wessex; and the third, Ethelbert of Kent, in whose reign Christianity was introduced among the Saxons; the fourth, Redwald of East Anglia, who, about 617, restored Ella's son Edwin to Northumbria, from which he had been driven by a usurper, Ædefrid; the fifth, Edwin of Northumbria; the sixth Oswald of Northumbria in 634; the seventh, Oswy of Northumbria in 656; and the eighth and last, Egbert of Wessex, under whom the Saxon Heptarchy became one kingdom, in 827

Supreme or leading Chief.

From frequent warfare against each other, and the gradual extinction of the original royal families of Kent, East Anglia, and Northumbria, there had been by this time effected a complete change in the relations of the seven Teutonic kingdoms in England. Ina of Wessex subdued Kent, obliged Essex and Sussex to recognise his supremacy, and obtained several successes over the Mercians and the Britons of Cornwall; and he increased the prosperity of his kingdom by publishing a code of sixteen laws for regulating the administration of justice, fixing compensation for crimes, and limiting the hereditary feuds of families. His religious zeal led to his founding several religious establishments; and on his voluntary abdication, after a reign of thirty-seven years, he went with his queen Ethelberg to Rome, where he founded a Saxon college, and to him some have attributed the institution of "Peter's Pence," at first called "Romescot," for the support of this college. Afterwards Wessex became a prey to foreign aggression and civil discord, till the accession of Egbert, who, having been exiled in his youth, had found a refuge in the camp of the celebrated Frankish Emperor of the West, Charlemagne. On his return and accession, Egbert put in practice the lessons he had learned in Charlemagne's army, and soon restored her former glory and power to Wessex. While Wessex had again swallowed up Sussex and its dependencies, Mercia had obtained Kent, Essex, and East Anglia. The Heptarchy had thus become a triarchy—Mercia, Wessex, and Northumbria. Of the three kingdoms, Mercia had attained to the greatest power: the ambitious Ethelbald, 716–755, even reduced a part of Wessex; and in 736 Ethelbald proudly designated himself "King of England"; and his successor Offa, 755–796, actually entered into a treaty of alliance with Charlemagne. But shortly afterwards the kingdom declined, and when the king Beornwulf, in 823, invaded Wessex, he was not only repulsed by Egbert, but the latter invaded Mercia and detached from it Kent and Sussex; and Beornwulf's power received a fatal blow immediately afterwards by the revolt of East Anglia to Egbert.

Feuds and Conquests; Egbert.

The Heptarchy becomes a Triarchy.

Beornwulf was allowed to retain his kingdom on condition of becoming tributary to Egbert, a position which was soon after accepted by the ruler of Northumbria, 827, and Egbert was crowned at Winchester as King of the Saxons. Nearly thirty years subsequently, in 853, Kenneth of the Scots added the kingdom of the Picts to his own, by a great victory, according to the chroniclers. Britain was now, therefore, divided between three powers—the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Egbert, the east, middle, and south of England; the principalities of the Britons, west of England; and Scotland. About the same time a great change took place in Ireland. Large bodies of Scandinavians made frequent descents on the coast, and finally effected a permanent settlement; they became one of the most powerful races in Ireland, and were called Ostmen, or Eastmen, and a portion of the present mixed race of Ireland is descended from them.

Egbert, by the vigour of his personal character and his success as a warrior, absorbed into his own dominion the Saxon kingdoms of Kent and Essex, as his predecessor Ceadwalla subdued and annexed Sussex, and established a controlling influence over Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria; but the latter were, in respect of internal government, independent. Egbert was not, as our school histories tell us he was, the first king of England, that is, the sole king; but he was the most powerful of the Saxon kings, and as such chosen Bretwalda, or chief king, who, in case of the union of the kingdoms against a common enemy, would act as leader.

The history of the gradual fusion of the Heptarchy, or of the Octarchy, which some modern historians prefer to speak of—for Northumbria had been divided into Deira and Bernicia, and there were still contentions and rival claimants—is a tangled thread. The fact remains that Wessex was the most powerful of all the Saxon kingdoms, and that its king, Egbert, a direct descendant of Cerdic—who, in 495, landed on the Hampshire coast, near the mouth of the Avon, and was the first king of Wessex—exercised an authority greater than that possessed by any of his predecessors. Egbert moulded his policy on that of Charlemagne, the great warrior-king of the Franks.

A considerable change had taken place among the Teutonic settlers, from the introduction of Christianity, which was effected by Pope Gregory the Great. When Gregory was one day passing through the market-place at Rome, before he had become Pope, he saw three Anglian youths exposed for sale as slaves. He was impressed by their tall figures and fair complexions, and asked from what country they came. On being told that they were Angles, he remarked, "Nay, rather angels, if they were only Christians"; and when, on asking their province, he was told that they came from Deira (Deifyr), he said, "De ira" (the Latin for "From anger"); "yes, they are called from God's anger to His mercy." He asked the name of their king; he was told that it was Ella, on which he exclaimed, "Allelujah! God's praises must be sung in their country." Gregory was himself desirous of proceeding on a mission to Britain, but his presence in Rome was required by the ecclesiastical authorities. On becoming Pope, he despatched a body

"Non Angli, sed Angeli."

of forty missionaries under a Roman monk, Augustine, who landed in Kent in 597. Ethelbert's queen, Bertha, was daughter of the Christian king, Caribert of Paris; and Augustine was by her influence received at a conference by Ethelbert, and assigned a residence in the Isle of Thanet. Shortly afterwards Ethelbert was baptized, and his example was followed by most of his subjects, and the Jute kingdom of Kent became professedly Christian; upon which Gregory created Augustine the first Archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all Britain, to which dignity he was consecrated at Arles in France in 597. It is probable that the Teutons in Britain had already some acquaintance with the docrines of Christianity through their British bondsmen, Christianity having been introduced during the Roman occupation; but little influence had been obtained over the Teutonic heathens till the zeal of Bertha seconded the efforts of Augustine, and the ministers of Christianity were till then regarded as magicians, so that when Ethelbert first received the missionaries, he sat under an oak, the sacred tree, in the open air, and every precaution was taken against the missionaries' exercising their spells and incantations. Ethelbert's nephew, king Sebert of Essex, who is said to have founded the University of Cambridge in 644, was shortly after converted by the missionary Mellitus, whom he made the first Bishop of London, and for whom he built St. Paul's Cathedral, on the venerable site on which Diana's temple had been erected by the Romans; and at the same time the church of St. Peter was built upon the site of the temple of Apollo, on the spot where Westminster Abbey now stands, which was then an islet, Thorney Island, formed by the Thames and a small branch. After the death of these two princes the old religion of Woden regained for a time its superiority. Ethelbert's daughter, Ethelburga, married King Edwin, of Northumbria, and procured his conversion by a bishop, Paulinus, in 627. On the spot on which Edwin was baptized, a cathedral was raised to St. Peter, and became the seat of the Archbishop of York, whence Christianity was disseminated throughout the north of England. On the death of Edwin in an insurrection of his nobles, Christianity was abjured; but when Oswald restored the authority of the Crown, in 634, he invited a bishop from Icolmkill, or Iona, then a great ecclesiastical seat, and Christianity again supplanted idolatry, and from that time made steady progress throughout the island, so that, ere the seven kingdoms had been united under Egbert, the Anglo-Saxons of the plains, as well as the Britons of the hills, were professed Christians; and the Papal See derived a considerable revenue from "Peter's Pence," which was, according to some, first instituted by Offa of Mercia, to atone for the murder of Ethelbert of East Anglia, in 792, according to others by Ina, and was named from being collected on St. Peter's Day.

Augustine first Archbishop of Canterbury.

Spread of Christianity in England.

The conquest of the Britons of Denbigh and Anglesey completed Egbert's kingdom; and his territory now embraced the whole of England proper, with portions of Wales and of the Scottish Lowlands. But he was not permitted long to enjoy his conquests, for a new enemy, of kindred race with the Angles and Saxons, appeared to

ST. AUGUSTINE RECEIVED BY KING ETHELBERT.

harass the British coasts. These were the Norsemen, Northmen, or Scandinavians, the name of Scandinavia being then applied to the countries now known as Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Scandinavia was divided into a number of principalities, each under a petty king. In the rugged valleys of the interior ruled the 'Fylkar' kings, or kings of peoples. The islands on the coast were held by the 'Naes' kings, the word Naes, whence 'Ness,' signifying in the northern tongue a headland. The deep bays and fiords gave shelter to the ships of the pirate kings.

The Norsemen or Danes.

The land kings themselves not unfrequently resorted to piracy as an amusement for the summer months, or as a means of increasing their resources, attacking one another's dominions with the greatest ferocity. "The victors of one day were the victims of the next; and he who was consigning without pity the women and children of other families to the grave or to famine, must have often found on his return but the ashes of his paternal habitation, and the corpses of those he loved." So prevalent and absorbing was this piratical instinct, that in Iceland and elsewhere, wealthy parents would insist on having their treasures buried with them, in order that their sons, having no inheritance, might be compelled to associate themselves with the Sea-Kings.

The Norsemen carried the law of primogeniture to such an extreme that younger sons had no share whatsoever in their father's patrimony, except such an allowance as enabled them to sally forth to find subsistence elsewhere. Hence hordes of pirates issued from the North, well supplied with arms, and ships to collect booty from any quarter. These professional pirates took the name of Vikings, or Vickings, being called 'Sea-kings,' and their galleys, bearing the standard of a black raven on a blood-red field, had already appeared on every coast of the Baltic and the North Sea. With the worship of Woden they retained all its original ferocity; and the towns that they visited were not only razed to the ground, but the inhabitants, old and young, male and female, were indiscriminately slaughtered. They had landed in Holy Island in Northumbria as early as 787, and in 794 they devastated the north of Ireland. Each year they returned in larger bodies, and they made the British coasts their winter quarters; but they received some severe checks from Egbert, who defeated them with great slaughter at Charmouth in Dorsetshire in 832, and in 835 at Hengsdown Hill in Cornwall. Egbert was succeeded in 836 by his son, the feeble Ethelwulf, 836–856, whose education in a monastery had totally unfitted him for defending his kingdom against the terrible Vikings. Finding the cares of State too much for him, he assigned the government of Essex, Kent, and Sussex to his eldest son, Athelstane; and on the death of the latter his second son, Ethelbald, seized and retained the government of the western counties, and compelled his father in 856 to abdicate. Ethelwulf died in 858, and in 860 Ethelwulf's third son, Ethelbert, had held a part of the kingdom during Ethelbald's reign, and he continued in his position till his death in 866. From 850 till Ethelbert's death the kingdom was torn by intestine quarrels and harassed by the constant descents

Ethelwulf, Ethelbald.

Ethelbert, Ethelred I.

of the Vikings, who were by each success becoming bolder, and penetrating farther inland. The kingdom was again nominally re-united under Ethelred I., 866–871, Ethelwulf's fourth son, in 866; but the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms existed now only in name, and the tributary rulers of the old Teutonic kingdoms were asserting their independence of the authority of Egbert's line.*

In 869, Ethelred I. obtained a victory over the Norsemen at Ashton in Berkshire. But the last year of his short reign, 871, was marked by a great invasion of the Norsemen—20,000 Danes—the greatest armament that had yet issued from the fiords of Scandinavia. They landed in autumn on the coast of East Anglia—Norfolk and Suffolk—where they spent the winter in a fortified camp, collecting horses for the great campaign, and enlisting bodies of disaffected Northumbrians. In spring they marched upon York and seized the town. They reduced the whole country from the Humber to the Tyne, and advanced upon Nottingham, which they captured. Here they were met by the Anglo-Saxon army under Ethelred I., who was accompanied by his famous brother earl Alfred, the first that bore that title in this country, and Burrhed the vassal ruler of Mercia. After sustaining for some time a siege in Nottingham, the invaders were obliged to evacuate the town and retire upon York, where they received reinforcements. Again they crossed the Humber, and after desolating Lincolnshire advanced into East Anglia, where they seized and put to death the vassal king, St. Edmund,—over whose remains a splendid monastery was subsequently erected at Bury St. Edmund's in Suffolk,—and they placed one of their own chieftains, Guthrum, on the throne. Passing into Wessex, they surprised Reading, which they were preparing to make a fortress and arsenal when they learned the approach of the Anglo-Saxon army. The native forces were commanded by Ethelred I. and Alfred, his younger brother. The Danes were posted on an eminence at Æscesdune, or Ashdown, in Berkshire, and were protected by a thick underwood. The armies met, and a desperate hand-to-hand encounter ensued. The Danes wavered, then broke, and retreated in confusion, followed by the victorious Saxons as far as Reading. But the Norsemen rallied, and within a fortnight defeated the Anglo-Saxon army at Basing. In a third battle at Merton, the issue of which was doubtful, Ethelred was mortally wounded; he died in a few days.

Great ravages by the Danes.

Battle of Æscesdune.

The majority of the Saxon monarchs were crowned at Kingston, 'the King's town,' on the Thames. The coronation stone on which the king sat when the crown was placed on his head, is still preserved in the town as a valuable and interesting relic of the past.

Alfred the Great, 871–901, the grandson of Egbert, and the fifth son

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* The words *Konung*, *Kyning*, *King*, *Kong*, *Koenig*, and others like them in the Teutonic languages, denoted every sort of command, from the highest to that of a very narrow extent. In an ancient Francic version of the New Testament, Cornelius, the pious centurion, is styled *Konung*. It would be a gross fallacy to understand these terms in their modern sense when we meet them in Anglo-Saxon history.—*Sir J. Mackintosh.*

of Ethelwulf, succeeded his brother Ethelred on the throne of Wessex, and in the nominal sovereignty of the rest of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom which Egbert had created. He was then in his twenty-second year, having been born at Wantage in Berkshire in 849. His moral training had been carefully attended to by his mother, the pious Osburga, who also imbued him with a love for learning; and afterwards his step-mother, Judith, daughter of King Charles the Bald of France, bestowed a mother's care upon him. The idol of both his parents, he was sent at the age of six to Rome to receive the Pope's blessing; and on that occasion he was crowned as the future king of England, though the Pope must have been aware of his distance from the inheritance; and a year or two later the boy-prince accompanied his father on a pilgrimage to Rome, if indeed he did not, as some historians suggest, remain in that city until the arrival of his father Ethelwulf, who, in 855, set out on his memorable journey to the Eternal City. All united in showing honour to the powerful Saxon monarch who had given such proofs of his devotion to the Church. He remained in Rome more than a year, and then, after Easter, 856, Ethelwulf and Alfred, then eight years old, started on the return journey.

Residence in Rome.

This memorable sojourn in the ancient capital of Christendom, the most famous city of the whole earth, must have made a great impression on the mind of Alfred, young as he was. "One cannot but feel," says Mr. Thomas Hughes, "that such an episode in his young life must have been full of fruit for him upon whom was so soon to rest the burden of a life-and-death struggle with the most terrible foes, and of raising a slothful and stolid nation out of the darkness and exhaustion in which that struggle had left them." Dr. Pauli says: "The impressions which at this period his susceptible spirit received proved indelible; we recognise them in later days influencing the Saxon king, who, next to the love for his own people and their language, which he inherited from his mother, cherished an affection for those we call classic, and who steadily endeavoured to cultivate his desire to become familiar with them in spite of the greatest obstacles."

His Accession at a dangerous Crisis.

At the age of twenty Alfred took part with his brother Ethelred, as has been related, in the battle at Ashdown, and two years later in the engagements at Nottingham, Basing, and Merton. The popular voice called him to the throne in preference to Ethelred's two infant sons, and he immediately devoted himself to delivering the country from the attacks of the Norsemen, among whom the Danes were now most prominent in the descents on Britain. But Alfred was unable to make head against his powerful enemies, and after several defeats he was obliged to conclude a peace by which he renounced his rights over all but Wessex, in the very year of his accession. The Danes took advantage of the armistice with him to reduce Mercia and the portion of Northumbria between the Tyne and the Forth. Alfred now made an attempt to cope with the Danes on their own element, the sea, though the Anglo-Saxons had completely departed from the habits of their ancestors. He built a small squadron, the foundation of the British Navy, with which he obtained some successes over the Vikings in the Channel in 875.

Hitherto the Norsemen had abstained from attack in the winter months, which had led to the Anglo-Saxons being off their guard during that period. Guthrum, the Danish king of East Anglia, took advantage of this, and suddenly advanced upon Chippenham, on the left bank of the Avon, where Alfred had a villa. The royal villa was seized, the forces lying in its neighbourhood were dispersed, and Alfred himself was now reduced to the condition of a solitary fugitive, and had to assume various disguises.

William of Malmesbury, in the twelfth century, thus describes the place of the king's retreat: "Athelney is not an island of the sea, but is so inaccessible on account of bogs and the inundations of the

SHIP OF A VIKING WARRIOR.

lakes, that it cannot be got to but in a boat. It has a very large wood of alders, which harbours stags, wild goats, and many beasts of that kind. The firm land, which is only two acres in breadth, contains a little monastery, and dwellings for monks."

One of the most interesting relics of that period consists of an ornament of gold "apparently intended to hang round the neck," and now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. On one side is displayed a female figure holding flowers, with an inscription, 'Aelfred me haed gewercan,' Alfred had me wrought. On the reverse is a flower. This ornament, known as King Alfred's Jewel, was found in the island of Athelney. The inscription and border are finished in a good and artistic style.

On one occasion the king took refuge in the hut of his own herdsman; and the wife of the latter, not recognising Alfred, asked him to attend to some cakes that were being baked on the hearth. Alfred, meditating on his misfortunes, forgot to turn the cakes, and when the housewife observed that her cakes were burning she scolded him severely; the king bore her reproaches meekly, and afterwards, when his dignity was known to her, expressed his thankfulness for her hospitality.

The Story of the Cakes.

In the next year, 876, Alfred offered to purchase the retreat of the Danes by a sum of money; this second peace was sworn to by Guthrum and his Danes upon their holy ring; but the impolicy of buying a peace was speedily seen. Guthrum returned in a few nights at the head of the Danes, routed Alfred's forces, and surprised Exeter. In the next year, 877, Alfred succeeded in driving them back upon Mercia; but within a twelvemonth they returned and carried all before them. Alfred had again to take refuge in flight in the disguise of a peasant. He escaped to Somersetshire, which was then covered with morasses and forests. Here he took up his abode in a small island, Athelney (then 'Æthelingay,' Isle of Nobles), at the point where the waters of the Tone and the Parret met. Here he gathered round him a band of devoted warriors, whom he exercised in frequent sallies.

Alfred and Guthrum.

Their spirits were greatly raised by a victory which they gained near Kynwith Castle in Devon over a new body of Danes. After this Alfred disguised himself as a harper and penetrated into the Danish camp near Westbury; and he was conducted even to the royal tent of Guthrum. He carefully observed the arrangements of the camp, and returned to his island to marshal his men for a final attempt. His attack was quite unexpected; and after they had suffered prodigious slaughter the Danes fled to a neighbouring entrenchment which they had constructed. Here they were closely besieged by Alfred, and Guthrum was at length fain to conclude peace on condition that he should become a Christian; but East Anglia, Norfolk and Suffolk, was guaranteed to him, and shortly afterwards a large part of Mercia was added. The fate which the Teutonic settlers had brought upon the native Britons had now befallen themselves; and the Anglo-Saxons recognised the Danes as the owners of a large part of England, 880.

Victory over Guthrum, and Peace.

Alfred was now able to spend a few years in rebuilding the ruined cities, arranging the land forces on a new plan—the establishment of a national militia, under which every freeman was available for military service, the command being vested in the dukes or heretochs of counties, equipping a fleet, and drawing up a code of laws. But in 893 he had again to meet a body of invading Danes under their fierce chieftain Hastings, when the Norsemen settled in England again rose in arms against the Anglo-Saxons at the sight of the raven standard. That they were at first but unquiet subjects, appears from the account of their doings in the history of the Anglo-Saxons. About this time a large fleet of Danes, under the command of Hastings, that famous sea-king, arrived in the Thames, and, crossing the country, sought the alliance of Guthrum, who with his soldiers was following the

ALFRED IN THE PEASANT'S HUT.

peaceful occupations of husbandry, and the most useful arts of civilized life, when their Northern brethren landed. Hastings, finding that he could not win Guthrum from his allegiance to Alfred, after wintering at Fulham, crossed over into Flanders, where he remained for some time at Ghent. Meantime Alfred continued to increase his navy, to build ships of a larger size, and of such forms as were better adapted to ride out the storm, and to grapple with the enemy on their own element. The Saxon and Danish ships were constantly coming in contact on the ocean, and now victory generally declared itself in favour of the former. In 884 another Danish fleet invaded England and besieged Rochester; but the citizens valiantly defended the place until Alfred with his army arrived to relieve them. No sooner did the Saxon king appear, than the Danes abandoned their fortress, leaving behind the horses and captives they had brought over from France; and, hurrying off with their ships, they again set sail for the coast of Gaul. No sooner were they driven out of England, than Alfred had to hasten into East Anglia, where a strong force of Northmen had arrived, and who seemed determined to force the followers of Guthrum into rebellion. Many of the Danish settlers preferred their old piratical habits to the more peaceful mode of life which Alfred had compelled them to adopt, and readily took down the battle-axe from the smoke-discoloured beam where it had so peacefully rested, and withdrew the club, bristling with iron spikes, the "star of the morning," from its hiding-place, to join the new comers. The first Danish ships the Saxons attacked, they either captured or sunk, and the Northmen are said to have fought so fiercely that every soul on board perished. Another fleet arrived, and gained some slight advantage over the Saxons; but in the end Alfred conquered, and compelled the Danes who occupied East Anglia again to settle down to their peaceful occupations. Baffled in his attempt on Kent, Hastings made a sudden attack upon Essex, but was followed by Alfred's forces and totally defeated at Farnham in Surrey. Hastings and the remnant fled to the Isle of Mersey, and after three years, during which the neighbouring country was harassed by frequent sallies, left the island. The Norsemen of Northumbria and East Anglia were severely punished for aiding the invaders, and Alfred now attained to the zenith of his power. Wessex and the greater part of Mercia formed his kingdom, the rulers of Northumbria and East Anglia were tributary, and the princes of the Britons and the Scottish king formed alliances with him. The remainder of his life was devoted to the arts of peace.

Invasion of Hastings.

By diligent study Alfred had acquired a knowledge of the Latin language about 887, and he now translated the universal history of Orosius (a Spanish presbyter of about 420), the Latin "Ecclesiastical History of England," of Beda (the "Venerable Bede," a monk of Jarrow, 672–735), the "Consolation of Philosophy," of the Roman philosopher and statesman Boethius (500), Pope Gregory's "Pastoral Care," etc. Alfred himself was a devoted student; he divided his time into three equal portions—for sleep and bodily exercise, for business, and for study and devotion,—and he measured his time by burning candles of equal

Extent of Alfred's Kingdom;—his Works.

length, within lanterns, to protect them from draughts. He founded several schools, and urged his people to send the children to them; and tradition has connected his name, though doubtfully, with Oxford University. Literature and learned men were patronised by him in a remarkable degree. In this reign Anglo-Saxon literature attained its highest development. The only important works up to that time had been the poems of Cædmon, a monk of Whitby, who lived about 580; but even before the Saxons took possession of England, the "Gleeman's Song," the "Battle of Finsburgh," and perhaps the "Tale of Beowulf," with other metrical works, had been composed in the Saxon tongue; and about 700 the Venerable Bede's work in Latin. In and shortly after Alfred's reign, several Anglo-Saxon works in prose and verse were executed, as the metrical version of the Psalms, with prose translations of other parts of the Bible; and under Alfred the Saxon Chronicle was begun—a work composed by ecclesiastics and continued under every reign till 1154. Grimbald, a celebrated French scholar; the Irishman Joannes Erigena, the most distinguished Greek scholar of his day; Asser the biographer, and many other literary men, were entertained at Alfred's court. He also encouraged commerce and manufactures, and the settlement within his territory of skilled foreign workmen; and he promoted in every way the general prosperity of the kingdom. A legal code was drawn up under his direction; but several institutions ascribed to him were the work of preceding or subsequent Anglo-Saxon kings.

Anglo-Saxon Literature.

Alfred the Great died on the 26th of October, 901, in the 53rd year of his age, and 29th of his reign, at Farringdon, in Berkshire. He was buried in the monastery at Winchester, which he had founded. In 1642, the Parliamentary troops broke open the tombs and scattered the ashes of the dead, the great Alfred's among others.

SAXON PRINCESS.

Laws, Customs, Institutions, etc., of the Anglo-Saxons.

ANCIENT CUSTOMS OF THE SAXONS.

THE close of Alfred's reign forms a suitable point for reviewing the institutions and customs of the Anglo-Saxons. Among nations only slightly civilized, the laws of the State occupy but an unimportant position, and are frequently confounded with those of the family. The most of the Teutonic, or German, institutions rested on three general and very ancient customs, which are found also among the Celts and among many nations in the first stage of their development. These are the

System of Guarantees.

system of "Guarantees" or "Frank-pledge," of "Companionage and Vassalage," and "Compensations" or fines. The first of these, Guaranteeship, placed under the 'mund' or 'mundbyrd,'—complete protection,—of the head of the family every one who lived under his roof, and he was responsible for them. The second custom consisted in warriors choosing their own chieftain ('Heretoch,' leader of the army, duke), banding themselves in certain numbers under his command, following him to war, while they received his protection in exchange for their services. This was the germ of the subsequent Feudal System. The third custom was intended to prevent hereditary feuds: it consisted in exacting from the offender a certain number of cattle as compensation, part of which, called 'were,' went to the injured party or his relatives, and the rest, called 'wite,' was given to his lord or prince; and the amount of compensation was fixed according to the rank of the person injured, as well as the gravity of the offence.

Real property, which had formerly been held in common among the Germans, gradually acquired a new value, and legislation was required to protect proprietors and enable them to transmit their possessions. The heads of each family had been individually responsible for all the members of their household, all under their 'mundbyrd'; this individual responsibility now became collective, to meet the altered circumstances. The population was divided into 'Hundreds,' or 'Wapentakes,' and into tenths, or 'Tythings,' the former containing a hundred and the latter ten families. To these new divisions responsibility was transferred. If the "compensation" fixed by law could not be paid by an offender, it was exacted from the tything; or, if it was too large for the latter, from the hundred. Every free man above twelve years of age was enrolled in one of the tythings. In this half-barbarous society, the rich alone could, by attaching to themselves a body of dependants, assure their independence and security. Most men who had no property, or whose property was insufficient to procure these two advantages, betook themselves to the rich, and obtained the protection they required in exchange for their personal services or for a rent charge on their lands.

Joint Responsibility. Hundreds and Tythings.

There were three kinds of real property:—(1) that held in perpetuity, without any obligation towards the donor; (2) that to which certain conditions were attached by the donor; and (3) that which was held on an annual rent. The first kind was called 'Bokland,' from the book or charter by which the title was conveyed. The second was called 'Folkland,' originally Benefices, and afterwards a 'Fief'; and the third was said to be held in 'Soccage.' These three kinds of real property constituted three classes of persons, those of the first class being regarded as superior to those of the second, and those of the second to those of the third. Every man who could not offer a sufficient 'Frank-pledge' by himself was obliged to attach himself as vassal to a superior, who became responsible for him. The descendants of those who were distinguished in battle received the title of Noble-born, 'Ætheling,' from 'Æthel,' noble, and 'ing,' son, and usually

Bokland, Folkland, and Soccage.

adopted as an honourable distinction the name of their illustrious ancestry, like the Uffingas, or descendants of Uffa. The whole population was divided into three classes:—Thanes, Ceorls or churls, and Theowas or Esuas. The Thanes were subdivided into the King's-Thanes, also called Ealdormen or Earls, who served as the cavalry in war; a lower class, called the Gesiths or Sitheundmen; and a third, the 'Soldiers,'—'Milites' of Latin writers,—both the Gesiths and the Soldiers being designated Lesser-Thanes, in contradistinction to the King's-Thanes, and their qualification being at least five "hides" of land. Each hide has been variously estimated at 60, 80, or 100 acres. The Ceorls were chiefly freemen who were engaged in agriculture, and who rented their land from the Thanes. The richest of the Ceorls, those who had freeholds or those who had by prescription obtained such rights over their territory that they could not be evicted, were called Socmen. The Theowas or Esuas were serfs, and amounted to nearly two-thirds of the population: most prisoners taken in war and those who were unable to pay their debts were reduced to this class. The higher ecclesiastics were regarded as on a level with the King's-Thanes, and the lower with the Lesser-Thanes.

The three Ranks, Thanes, Ceorls, and Theowas.

Among the Teutonic invaders of Britain, as among the other branches of the race, it was customary to confer the royal title on members of certain privileged families, and the dignity was only temporary; the royal authority commenced and ended with the particular war for the conduct of which it was called into existence. But perpetual war tended to make the dignity life-long; yet it long continued elective, the individual being chosen as much for his personal bravery as for his high birth. The change in appointment was accompanied by a change in the name: the 'Heretoch' was thenceforward designated the King, Cyning. The name is variously derived. "The position of the Anglo-Saxon King in his relations with the nobles and the freemen was a lofty one: and even to modern conceptions his privileges were extensive. But there were many stringent and salutary checks upon a capricious and systematic abuse of power. The power of the king in England was never despotic or irresponsible. The elective principle, though generally in abeyance, was never wholly abandoned. The territorial nobles were not dependent on the king for their lands, their arms, or their rank: they were inspired by the love of freedom, and they retained the habit, as well as the right, of making and administering the laws. In the Folk-mot of his hundred and the Shire-mot, or county court, the freeman possessed his machinery for combination: the pursuits of agriculture invigorated his physical powers, and both the traditions of his ancestors and the example of his neighbours fostered in him a passion for independence.

Royal Rank and Authority.

Liberties of the People.

The notion of territorial title was never involved in the idea of an Anglo-Saxon king; he was king of the tribe and people, not of the land they occupied. Gradually the king became possessed of many privileges. He had the right of calling out the national levies, the "posse comitatus," literally, "force of the county," all able-bodied

males who had attained to manhood, for the purposes of attack or defence. Like all the other freemen, he was a landed proprietor, and depended for much of his subsistence on the produce of his estates; but his means as a landowner were very disproportionate to his station, and the principal part of his expenditure was derived from (1) free-will offerings, or gifts in kind from his people, which were gradually converted into settled payments or taxes; (2) customary aids from the freemen, as at his marriage or that of his children, or on a royal progress, or on a festival at court; and (3) from a portion of the fines inflicted on criminals, the king being guardian of the public peace, and from the forfeited lands of felons, and treasure-trove, the king being the representative of the whole State. As sole protector of aliens, he was probably entitled to a portion of their wealth or service. The king fixed the tolls on land and water carriage, and regulated all fiscal matters. He might demand the services of the freemen for receiving and conducting ambassadors, or foreigners of distinction, from one royal abode to another; forage, provisions, or building materials for a royal residence, were conveyed for him; and accommodation was due to him, when hunting or fishing, for his hawks, his hounds, and servants. The great officials, and perhaps even the members of the Witena-gemot, were appointed by him; and as head of the Church he had considerable influence in the election of bishops and in the establishment or abolition of sees. The law assured him a special protection; and from the time of the legislator and king Ethelbert, the 'were,' or pecuniary compensation due for an outrage on the royal person, was fifteen times that of a simple thane. The right to entertain a comitatus, or body of household retainers, became in process of time the source of other and more extensive attributes of royalty, and in the end established a new order of nobles, whose origin was in the Crown itself. The institution of nobles by service was one of the principal causes of the decline and downfall of the nobles by birth and property, and therefore of an organic change in the whole system of Anglo-Saxon polity. By this right, and that of divesting himself of a portion of his attributes and conferring them on delegates, whose hostility he might thus conciliate, or whose fidelity he might thus reward, the king was enabled greatly to augment his power and resources.

Sources of the Royal Income.

Power of appointing Officials.

Abuse of the royal power was kept in check by the existence of the Witena-gemot, or assembly of the Witans or wise men. This body was composed of bishops, abbots, ealdormen, and thanes and others whose qualifications or numbers are not specified; nor is it known whether these sat in virtue of an election or of personal rights, or by appointment from the king. The most important of the functions of the Witena-gemot was to elect the king, whom they regularly designated from the same family, having regard to age and capacity. The Witena-gemot was also the legislative assembly and the supreme tribunal of the country. Its consent was necessary to the enactment of laws; and cases in which men of great power were involved, were tried at its bar. In the Witenagemot the Anglo-Saxons possessed the rudiments of a free and

The Ancient English Parliament.

popular government. It is true, that all who had seats by ancient use did not, in later times, continue to attend. After the subordination of the other kingdoms to Wessex, and the rise of a single Witena-gemot for the whole country, it was scarcely possible for the poor, or the distant, to be present. As the privilege had been conferred by no law, disuse gradually abrogated what usage had established. The preambles of the laws speak of the infinite number of the liegemen who attended, as only applauding the measures of the assembly.

Great Nobles.

After the king, the officers most elevated in dignity were the 'Dukes,' 'Ealdormen,' or 'Counts,' the governors of counties or provinces, and often designated by historians under the name of viceroys, 'sub-reguli'. The functions of these great officers, at first confined within narrow limits, increased with the conquests of the sovereign. Though their government eventually extended over provinces and ancient kingdoms, this change was not in fact attended with great danger to the monarchy: for these offices had not, as in France, become hereditary in principle, nor were they exercised with any title to the possession of the soil; and the king, by whom they were nominated, had the right, if not always the power, to remove these officials from their office.

Shire-reeves, or Sheriffs.

The executive officer of each shire was called the 'Scir-Gerefa,' or 'Shire-reeve' (sheriff). The jurisdiction the most limited in regard to territory, was that of the 'sac' and 'soc.' It was an immunity accorded, in England as on the Continent, to whoever received from the king a territorial concession, to lords, lay and ecclesiastical, and to religious bodies. This privilege consisted in the right of holding courts with civil and criminal jurisdiction, in which the freemen of the manor took part: it could judge all causes within its territorial limit, impose fines, collect taxes on the sale of merchandise, and punish every thief caught in the act. These courts were called 'Hall-mots.' They had not all equally extensive powers. From them sprang the 'Baron-courts,' with civil jurisdiction, and the 'Leet-courts,' with criminal jurisdiction. The 'Folk-mot,' or Hundred-court was presided over by the Scir-Gerefa, and was composed of the chief ecclesiastics and the freeholders, and it met every month. The most of the civil cases were tried in this court. The 'Shire-mot,' or County Court, was inferior to these: it was presided over in common by the bishop and the ealdorman or the count, and, in the absence of the latter, by the sheriff. The great proprietors, the superior thanes, were bound to assist at it, or to send their principal tenants to represent them. The Shire-mot took cognisance of all causes relating to the Crown or the Church, of all crimes, and private disputes; it administered the oath of allegiance to all freemen.

Nature of the Shire-mots.

From the Shire-mot an appeal might be taken to the king's council, of the composition of which little is known; and the final court of appeal for all the great causes in which the State was interested, was the Witena-gemot. Subdivisions of the members of this large court or Shire-mot were frequently made to expedite the despatch of business. The presiding judge in criminal cases could designate twelve men, while the accused also designated twelve, six from among his friends and neighbours, and six from persons not

THE CAROUSAL OF THE SEA-KING.

intimately known to him; and this body of twenty-four, called 'compurgators,' was charged by an oath to return a true verdict. The number was at times twelve, and at others twenty-four, half chosen by the court and half by the accused. This process resembles the later jury trial. In civil cases the opposing parties might agree to nominate an equal number of thanes as arbiters. A law of Ethelred II. ordained that the sheriff should take as assessors with him in his judicial circuit the eldest thanes, who had to give information of all crimes committed within

The Assessors; origin of the Jury.

the jurisdiction of each Hundred-court, and arraign the accused before him. In taking the votes of these assessors or jurymen, as they may be called, in the several courts, regard was had to their social grade, and the real authority was vested in the judges most elevated in dignity, vincat sententia, meliorum. The oath of a king's-thane (ealdorman) was equal to that of six lesser-thanes; and the oath of a lesser-thane to that of six ceorls.

Trial by Ordeal.

The development of judicial procedure was greatly retarded by the existence of the Ordeal, the continuance of which was fostered by the clergy. Trials by ordeal, that is, by appeal to the Deity, were in great esteem among all the barbarian nations who overran the Roman Empire of the West. In their robust but superstitious faith they believed that God would not fail to interfere in a visible manner in favour of the innocent. Even among the Celtic tribes of Europe, who were always under the influence of an artful and domineering priesthood, the Ordeal, in its proper sense, appears to have been very early known. It is said that in cases of doubtful accusation the Druids made use of the "rocking stones," which were common in Britain, for this purpose, and that the culprit was acquitted or condemned according as he succeeded or failed in shaking them. But among the nations of Gothic descent, whose spirit of freedom not even the artifices of the Mediæval Church could long subdue, the trial by ordeal originated in a custom to which it soon returned, that of private duels. Cæsar and Tacitus state that the ancient Germans determined disputed claims to property, and even to office, by the sword: but Gundebald the Burgundian, A.D. 501,

Trial by Ordeal of Battle.

first gave a recognised character to the "judicial combat" by enacting, as a remedy against obstinacy and avarice, that all controversies should be decided by the sword; and three centuries later, in the time of Charlemagne, the practice had become so universal that not only the parties in a common suit-at-law, but the witnesses and even the judges were constantly summoned to do mortal battle in support of the justice of their cause or the uprightness of their decision. According to Selden the judicial combat, notwithstanding its prevalence among the other branches of the Gothic race, was not introduced into England till the Norman Conquest, 1066. The ordeals which are spoken of as prevalent among the Anglo-Saxons,—such as walking upon red-hot plough-shares, holding in the hand heated iron, or plunging the supposed criminal in water to see whether he would sink or swim,—doubtless existed, and deserve to be enumerated among the supposed curiosities of the times; but it is impossible to believe that they were ever the frequent and ordinary methods by which guilt or innocence was determined. They were too clumsily framed to have borne the test of repeated experiment, and they belonged rather to the manners than the jurisprudence of the people. Such tests were more absurd than the judicial combat. "The champion whose conscious innocence made him confident of victory in the lists, might not have faith to expect a suspension of the laws of nature in his favour; especially when he had reason to fear that the miracle, if it actually happened, might be concealed or denied by the artifices of some hostile priest," these

ordeals all taking place in church and under the direction of the clergy.

The Church had greatly increased in wealth and power from the eighth to the tenth century. Bishops ranked with ealdormen and counts, and priests with thanes. Yet the Church was kept in strict dependence on the civil power by all save the feeblest Anglo-Saxon monarchs; and it was not till much later that the spiritual power of Rome was introduced, and usurped the functions of the temporal. The constant invasions of the Danes, who were heathens, and whose fury fell upon the wealthy establishments of the clergy, would have induced the latter to range themselves under the law to obtain the protection of the kings so necessary to them, even if they had regarded themselves as in any way differing from ordinary citizens. It was from their title of proprietors of the vast domains which they held by the liberality of the king that the prelates sat in the Witena-gemot. The kings always reserved to themselves the greater part of the power to appoint bishops and abbots; and often suspended or deposed them. One noticeable feature of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and one which became more prominent after the Norman conquest, was the effective supremacy of the See of Canterbury, notwithstanding the rivalry of the See of York: but it was not till the appointment of the Norman Lanfranc by William the Conqueror to the archbishopric of Canterbury, on the deposition of the Anglo-Saxon Stigand, 1070, that the archbishopric of York was compelled to acknowledge the primacy of the southern see. The Anglo-Saxons devoted themselves to agriculture; much of the land was cleared. The fields were divided by hedges and ditches, and large commons were made on which herds of swine and sheep and large cattle grazed. Their ordinary agricultural implements were similar to the modern but of ruder construction—rakes, ploughs, pickaxes, sickles, scythes, pruning-hooks, forks, flails, and carts; and watermills and windmills were in use. The vine, despite the greater rigour of the climate, was cultivated, and considerable care was bestowed on gardening. Among the rural population the serfs chiefly carried on trades and handicrafts. The liberation of serfs and their removal to the towns, in process of time led to the rise of the class of civic tradesmen and merchants, whose guilds early became important parts of the body politic. The trades in greatest esteem were those of the smith, carpenter, leather-worker, weaver and embroiderer, and dyer. Spinning was practised by women of all ranks. The most of the stone buildings erected by the Romans seem to have been destroyed during the struggles of the Teutonic invaders and the natives. During the early Anglo-Saxon period even the principal edifices were of wood; but after masons were brought over from the Continent by St. Augustine, stone-building became commoner; yet even in Alfred's time the royal palace seems to have been of wood. Many other arts besides architecture owed their dissemination to the clergy; and much was done in the way of civilizing the Anglo-Saxons by Augustine, 597, Bede, 720, Alcuin, 800, and Dunstan, 970. The last-named was a skilful mechanic; he worked in all kinds of metals; and two large

The Clergy dependent on the Civil Power.

Anglo-Saxon Working-men.

bells for his church at Abingdon were founded by him. Glassmaking was introduced late in the seventh century by Benedict, abbot of Wearmouth, who brought over workmen from France to glaze the windows of the abbey. The ecclesiastics practised medicine: and they also first introduced the art of coining money. Coins of silver and copper, but apparently not of gold, were in use.

Mode of Life among the Anglo-Saxons.

The mode of life of every class was very rough. Even in the wooden houses of the ealdormen (earls) all members of the household sat at the same table, the nobleman at the head and the rest ranged according to their rank. The staple article of food was swine's flesh: and drinking habits were so universal that scarcely any one left the table before being intoxicated. There was generally only one bedroom, in which the head of the house lay on a chaff-bed, with sheep-skins for a coverlet: and the rest of the household lay on straw or rushes in the feasting-room. A still rougher kind of life prevailed among the lesser-thanes and ceorls. The ealdormen spent most of their time in hunting: while the ladies were occupied in spinning and in making woollen and linen cloth.

ALFRED'S JEWEL, FOUND IN ATHELNEY.

SAXON BANQUET, FROM A MS. IN THE COTTON LIBRARY.

CHAPTER IV.

The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom from Edward the Elder to the Danish Conquest.

A.D. 901–1016.

Edward the Elder, 901–925: Athelstane, 925–27th Oct., 940: Reduction of the Danes in England. Edmund the Elder, 27th October, 940–26th May, 946: Danish Invasion under Anlaf: Edmund conquers Cumbria: Rise of the Benedictine Order in England—St. Dunstan: Murder of Edmund the Elder. Edred, 26th May, 946–23rd November, 955: Revolt of Northumbria and Norwegian Invasion: Contest of the Regular and the Secular Clergy: Influence of Odo of Canterbury and St. Dunstan. Edwy, 23rd November, 955–958: Marriage with Elgiva: Outrage by Dunstan and Odo: Flight of Dunstan. Rebellion and Proclamation of Edgar: Murder of Elgiva: Death of Edwy. Edgar, 958–18th July, 975: Primacy and Reforms of St. Dunstan: Edgar's Successes: his Marriage; his Death. Edward the Martyr, 18th July, 975–18th March, 979: his Murder. Ethelred II., the Unready, 18th March, 979–23rd April, 1016. Invasion of the Vikings—Insurrections in Northumbria and East Anglia: Institution of Danegelt: the Danes in the Thames, 993: Ethelred II. marries Emma of Normandy. Origin of the Normans: The Massacre of the Danes, 1002, in England. Great Invasion of Svein I. of Denmark, 1007: his Capture of London, 1008: Coronation of Svein as King of England, 1013: his Death, 1014. Canute arrives in England, 1015: Siege

of London: Death of Ethelred II., 1016: Edmund Ironside, 23rd April–30th November, 1016: Partition of the Anglo-Saxon Throne with Canute: Murder of Edmund Ironside: Accession of the Anglo-Danish Dynasty.

ALFRED the Great was succeeded by his son Edward the Elder, 901–925, who was the first who assumed the style of "King of the English," or "King of England." His cousin Ethelwold, King Ethelred's son, supported by bodies of the Danes, ineffectually attempted to dispute the crown with him. Ethelwold the pretender fell, with a great number of his followers, in a great battle in 905, and in 911 Edward gained a great victory over the Danes. "During the remainder of his reign King Edward gradually extended his power and supremacy over the whole island. The people of Northumbria and East-Anglia submitted to him; the princes of Cornwall, Wales, Cumbria, and Strathclyde, and the king of the Scots, became his liegemen. In all his projects he was assisted by the Lady of Mercia, as his sister Ethelfleda was named, who governed Mercia after the death of her husband, 912. This able princess headed her own troops, and gained victories over both Danes and Britons. She and the king turned their thoughts to the possession of strong fortified towns as the best means of securing the realm. The Lady fortified Bridgenorth, Tamworth, Stafford, Warwick, Leicester, Derby, etc.; the king raised works round Hertford, Witham, Buckingham, Bedford, Malden, Towcester, Colchester, Stamford, Manchester, Nottingham, and other towns. On the death of the Lady, 920, Edward took the government of Mercia into his own hands. After a prosperous reign of twenty-four years, King Edward died in peace, 925."—*Keightley.* Edward the Elder began the reduction of the Anglo-Danes in East Anglia and Northumbria; but the task was not completed in his reign. At the death of Edward the Elder at Farringdon, in Berks, in 925, his legitimate sons being very young, the crown passed to his illegitimate son, Athelstane, 925–27th October, 940, to whose accession no opposition was made. Athelstane carried out his father's policy with vigour. The Anglo-Danes received help from the Scottish king Constantine III., and from Ireland: but in a great battle at Brunanburgh, in 934, the Anglo-Danes under Anlaf were totally defeated; Constantine III. was slain, and the whole of England from the English Channel to the Forth fell under the sceptre of Athelstane, who, rather than his father Alfred the Great, merits the title of first King of England. "Never," says the poet who sung the battle, "since the Saxons and Angles, those artists of war, arrived, was such slaughter known in England." Such was his reputation now, that the German emperor sought his sister in marriage. Like his illustrious grandfather, Athelstane encouraged commerce, and enacted many laws for this end; one of these conferred the title of Thane on any merchants who had made three voyages in their own ships. He established a close connection with the nearest parts of the Continent. We are told that "The King of the English, or of all Britain as he styled himself, was highly respected by the princes of the Continent; the kings of Norway and Armorica sent their sons

Reign of Edward the Elder, 901–925.

Athelstane, 925–940, Battle of Brunanburgh.

to be reared at his court; the son of the German Emperor, Charles the Simple king of France, the Duke of Aquitaine, and Hugh the great count of Paris espoused his four sisters; and after the dethronement of Charles the Simple, his widow and her son Louis took refuge in England, whence the latter was named, when restored, D'outremer —from beyond sea."

On the death of Athelstane in 940, his half-brother Edmund the Elder (27th October, 940–26th May, 946), succeeded. The Danish chieftain Anlaf again landed and incited a revolt in Northumbria, which proved successful, Edmund being obliged to cede all north of Watling Street to the Danes; but on the death of Anlaf in the following year, 944, Northumbria became again united to the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Edmund the Elder subsequently conquered the Cumberland portion of the native Britons' kingdom of Cumbria and assigned it to the Scottish king Malcolm, on the latter undertaking to do homage for it, and assist in repelling the Danes. Speaking of the connection of Scotland with England in early times we are told by Keightley: "The king of Scots had, as we have seen, done homage to Edward in 921. There are, we apprehend, few points in history more certain than the vassalage of the Scottish crown from that date till the end of the fourteenth century."

Edmund the Elder, 940-946, Danes and Scots.

During the reign of Edward the Elder the order of the Benedictine monks, a fraternity first established at Monte Casino in Campania, by one Benedict, who was born at a neighbouring town, Nursia, in 480, began to assume importance in England. One of the best-known members of the Order was St. Dunstan the Abbot of Glastonbury. This remarkable man was connected, according to popular report, by blood with the royal family: he had been educated at the abbey of Glastonbury,—the religious houses being in the middle ages the great schools,—where he distinguished himself in every branch of learning. He excelled so much in music that he was invited to court by King Athelstane, and became a favourite of the sovereign. Learning that some of the courtiers had formed a design to kill him, he fled from court, and he resolved to marry and live in retirement: but his uncle Athelm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, urged him to become a Benedictine. After recovering from a violent fever, Dunstan adopted the cowl, and henceforward devoted himself to the advancement of the interests of the Benedictine Order in every possible way, utterly regardless of the means he used. Whether from a sense of duty, or merely to obtain a high reputation for sanctity, and attain the influence necessary for the accomplishment of his designs, he practised extreme austerities. He caused a cave to be dug, only five feet in length and barely high enough for his standing upright; and in this he lived many months, during which he had—so ran the tale—many personal conflicts with the arch-fiend himself. At this period Satan, as sovereign of the demons, occupied a prominent position in the popular creed, and was believed frequently to visit the earth, betraying himself at his departure by his black complexion, flaming eyes, sulphuric odour, horns, tail, hooked nails, and cloven hoof. According to the old legend, Satan one day visited Dunstan at his forge, the saint being skilled in this as

Archbishop Dunstan.

well as many other handicrafts; but the undaunted Dunstan seized the fiend's nose with a pair of red-hot pincers, and held him fast till his cries of agony had aroused the whole neighbourhood.

Dunstan's fame soon spread throughout the land, and he was visited by persons of the highest rank. The king, Edmund the Elder, now summoned him to court; and the intrigues and reputed sanctity of the ecclesiastic speedily procured for him the abbacy of Glastonbury. Dunstan's ambition found ample scope in the next two reigns. With regard to the character and activity of Dunstan, Sir James Mackintosh's opinion is valuable. That historian says: "Dunstan, one of the most conspicuous personages of Saxon history, after being long an object of unmingled panegyric among the monastic writers, who alone had leisure and learning for the composition of history, has since that time been treated with unwarrantable severity by Protestant historians. Of noble birth, and said to be connected with the royal family of Wessex, he embraced the rule of St. Benedict with the same ardour which he had before shown in the business and pleasures of common life. His temperament was that of most earnest and zealous reformers, who have been exasperated by resistance and persecution: his personal disinterestedness and austere manners disposed the multitude to applaud the harsh discipline which he enforced and the cruel chastisements which he either advised or countenanced. There is no reason to suspect his sincerity; but the extension of his own power, and that of his order, doubtless mingled itself with zeal for the service of God and man; and the secret enjoyments of pride and ambition soothed the irritation which the renunciation of pleasures more openly immoral is apt to beget in passionate natures. To be very scrupulous in the choice of means is a very rare virtue in such enterprises, in such times, and in such men. It is unjust to make him answerable for the miracles which the credulity of his admirers has ascribed to him. Having fallen into disgrace in the reign of Athelstane, he regained his influence in that of Edmund, and at a very early age became the chief counsellor of Edred, the last grandson of Alfred. To enforce clerical celibacy, to reduce all the monasteries to the rule of St. Benedict, and to expel at least all the married clergy from canonries and prebends in cathedrals, that they might be succeeded by Benedictines, were the three main objects of his ecclesiastical policy. The result would have been a conformity of the English clergy to the law and usage of Christendom."

Character of Dunstan.

Edmund the Elder had endeavoured to extirpate the robber-chiefs whose home was in the depth of the forests: one of these, Leolf, or Leofu, whom he had banished, in revenge assassinated the king at table in his palace at Pucklekirk, in Gloucestershire, on the feast of St. Augustine, 26th May, 946.

Edmund the Elder was succeeded by his brother Edred, 26th May, 946,–23rd Nov. 955, who was elected by the Witena-gemot, or National Council, the late king's sons Edwy and Edgar being mere children. Edred's reign was by no means a peaceable one. The Northumbrians again asserted their independence, and were supported by a force of Norsemen under Eric, brother of the Norwegian king Haco. Edred ravaged the territory

Edred 946–955. Struggle with Eric the Norseman.

of Northumbria, and at length by dissensions among his enemies re-established his authority; to secure it he placed garrisons in the several towns, and appointed one of his nobles governor of the province. It was about this time, 950, that the Welsh king Howel promulgated a code of laws for his principality. Edred's reign has

CONSECRATION OF AN ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH—FROM THE COTTON MS.

obtained most celebrity from the struggle for superiority between the cause of monachism, or of the monks, the "regular" clergy, and that of the "secular" clergy. The great religious houses, which had arisen by the liberality of successive sovereigns and generations of nobles,

had hitherto been in the possession of the "secular" clergy,—derived from the Latin sæculum, from their living "in the world,"—that is, the inmates took no vows of implicit obedience to their superiors or of celibacy, nor were subjected to any very severe discipline; but mixed in the world, officiating in the churches and educating the youth. Odo or Otho Severus, formerly Bishop of Wilton, and Archbishop of Canterbury, from 934 to 961, who was the son of a Danish Viking and had borne arms in his youth, had imbibed the strictest monastic principles from his teacher, Berno, the superior of a Benedictine convent at Clugny; and on his promotion to the archiepiscopal chair he endeavoured to propagate the Benedictine communities throughout England, to encourage celibacy, and in every way discountenance the "secular" clergy, and to hand over their establishments to the monks. The promotion of the fanatic St. Dunstan to the abbacy of Glastonbury gave Odo a zealous but unscrupulous lieutenant. The favour of Edmund the Elder had already enabled the two to carry out in some parts of the country their revolutionary schemes; and they made still further progress under Edred, in whose favour St. Dunstan had ingratiated himself. Their designs were interrupted by the death of Edred, on the 23rd November, 955.

The "Secular" and the "Regular" Clergy.

Odo and Dunstan.

The beautiful Edwy, 30th Nov., 955–958, son of Edmund the Elder, in the sixteenth year of his age, succeeded his uncle Edred on the throne. Enamoured of a beautiful relative, Elgiva (or Ethelgiva), he married her, though she was within the prohibited degrees of affinity, and though his counsellors strongly opposed the marriage. When, on his coronation day, Edwy left the carousals of the nobles and repaired to his queen's apartments, Dunstan, Odo, and the nobles followed, tore him from Elgiva's arms, and insultingly dragged him back to the banqueting room. Edwy avenged this outrage by calling Dunstan to account for mal-administration of the treasury; the latter was convicted and fled to Ghent, on which sentence of banishment and of deprivation of all his fortune and honours was pronounced upon him. The saintly Benedictine immediately began to intrigue and foment disturbances in Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria, where the population consisted chiefly of Anglo-Danes. The rebels proclaimed Edwy's younger brother, Edgar, king; on which Dunstan returned to England, and received from the pretender Edgar the bishoprics of London and Worcester, which was subsequently ratified by a Witena-gemot. Edwy had unfortunately allowed his hatred of Dunstan to extend to the whole Benedictine order; he had decreed the deprivation of their possessions and the restoration of the secular clergy to their previous condition. This at once roused the ire of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Odo, who excommunicated Edwy; and, not satisfied with this, the ecclesiastic, supported by a rebellious nobility, pronounced the king's marriage void, dragged the queen from the palace, and caused her to be branded in the face, and, after obliging the king to divorce her, sent her across to Ireland. When the wounds were healed, Elgiva succeeded in escaping from her custodians; but she was seized by Odo's emissaries at Gloucester

Reign of Edwy, 955-958.

Elgiva and Dunstan.

on her way to Edwy, and put to death in the most barbarous manner, after the sinews of her legs had been cut with their swords. Shortly afterwards, in 958, Edwy died at the same place, but whether by a natural or a violent death is unknown. The king "died of grief," say the old chroniclers, and was interred at Winchester. Some writers say he was not married to Elgiva; but there is no doubt they were united in wedlock. The priests, however, pronounced the marriage void, because the lady was in the degrees of relationship prohibited by the canons.

Fate of Elgiva. Dunstan's Cruelty.

Edgar, 958–18th July, 975, succeeded without any opposition on the death of his elder brother. He was a mere puppet in the hands of the ecclesiastics; and he rewarded Dunstan, on the death of Odo in 961, with the metropolitan see of Canterbury. The new archbishop carried out his ecclesiastical revolution throughout the kingdom; the secular clergy were almost everywhere dispossessed, and the religious foundations were given up to the monks, for whom new monasteries were erected. Meanwhile the young Edgar gave himself up to extreme sensuality and self-indulgence. Yet he paid great attention to the administration of justice, and endeavoured to curb the lawlessness of the times; and his military expeditions were singularly successful, the chieftains of Wales, Man, the Orkney Islands, and the north of Ireland, and even the King of Scotland doing him homage: in proof of his supremacy he made eight of these vassal-kings row his barge down the Dee while he sat in the stern. He is said in the Saxon Chronicle to have given welcome and encouragement to the numerous foreigners whom his reputation induced to visit England; so that many settled there. He was twice married, first to Elfleda the Fair, and secondly to Elfrida, the widow of a noble, Athelwold, whom he is said to have put to death that he might marry Elfrida. Athelwold had been employed by the king to report upon the beauty of Elfrida; but, enamoured of her himself, he gave a false report to Edgar, and, after marrying her, kept her back from court; but Edgar, having visited his castle, saw Elfrida, and, on discovering the treachery of Athelwold, punished him with death. When Edgar died, on the 18th of July, 975, a struggle for the succession was threatened between Edgar's son by the first marriage, Edward, and Ethelred, his son, then seven years old, by Elfrida; but the influence of Dunstan prevailed over Elfrida, and the elder son succeeded. Several historians mention that the reign of Edgar is remarkable for the extirpation of wolves in England. Driven from the plain country, these animals harboured in the mountains of Wales, whence they descended to commit their ravages. Edgar changed the annual tribute imposed by Athelstan on the Welsh princes to that of three hundred wolves' heads, and so active a chase was kept up against the wolves that the race was soon extinct.

Edgar 958-975. His successes, the Wolf's Head Tribute.

The amiable Edward the Martyr—as he is surnamed from the manner of his death—was only thirteen when he succeeded his father Edgar, and reigned less than four years, 18th July, 975–18th March, 979. During the boy-king's reign the only noteworthy occurrences were the severe struggles between Dunstan and the party of the nobles, who were opposed to the new

Edward the Martyr, 975-979.

ecclesiastical schemes. Elfrida used all her influence in favour of the nobles of her faction, and finding that Dunstan's position was secure while the king lived, she resolved to effect the murder of the latter. Accident soon placed Edward in her power. One day when he was hunting in Dorsetshire, he was separated from his retinue, and arrived weary and faint at the gates of Corfe Castle, the residence of his stepmother Elfrida. He declined to alight, but asked for a little wine.

Murder of Edward by Elfrida.

As he was drinking it, he was stabbed in the back by a servant of Elfrida. At once he put spurs to his horse, hoping to escape, but he soon grew faint, and dropped from his saddle, and, his foot having remained fast in the stirrup, he was dragged along by his horse and expired before he was found by any one. He was buried at Wareham. Three years afterwards his corpse was removed to Malmesbury, and the monks circulated reports of miracles wrought at his tomb.

Elfrida's son, Ethelred II., the Unready, so named from his imbecility and indolence, succeeded his murdered half-brother Edward the Martyr, at the age of eleven, and nominally occupied the throne for thirty-seven years, 18th March, 979–23rd April, 1016. Dunstan crowned him at Kingston, and is said to have pronounced a curse

Ethelred the Unready, 979-1016.

over him instead of a blessing. The ecclesiastic knew that his influence had passed away on the accession of Elfrida's son, and for the remaining ten years of his life he took little part in public affairs, clerical disputes being hushed amid the horrors of war in which the country was now plunged. The succession of young and weak sovereigns had tempted the dreaded Norsemen to renew their attacks, their energies having lately been diverted to France. The Anglo-Danes of Northumbria and East Anglia rose in rebellion at the sight of the raven standards of the Vikings, and England was threatened at once with invasion and re-

Danish Successes: the Danegelt.

bellion. In 991 the Danes took possession of Ipswich, and Ethelred II. and his counsellors foolishly confessed their weakness by buying off their incursions with tribute-money, an odious tax known as Dane-money or Danegelt. In 993 the Danes, tempted by their successes, returned under Anla, or Olaf, and sailed up the Thames as far as Staines with 390 galleys; and in the next year Ethelred again purchased peace. Similar invasions took place from year to year, the tribute exacted becoming annually larger.

Ethelred II. now endeavoured to strengthen his position by a marriage, in 1001, with Emma, the sister of Duke Richard II. of Normandy, a noble house of originally northern chieftains. Its founder was Rollo, or Rolf,—surnamed "the Ganger," or "Marcher," because, in the words of Snorro Sturleson, "he was so mighty of stature that there was no horse of strength or size to bear him, and he was therefore always on foot." The rugged name of Rolf was afterwards softened into Raval, or Rollo. After he received the district of the lower Seine from Charles the Simple, he and his followers called it Northmandie, or Normandy. He landed in France in 876, and died in 931. One of the Norwegian Vikings landed in 876 in "Neustria," a large part of which was granted to him, on his embracing the Christian faith, by king Charles III., the Simple, of

France, in 912. Rollo had previously desolated France by frequent invasions; and by his turbulence he now obliged the king gradually to extend the domains assigned to him, a policy which was continued by his successors till all "Normandy," so named as the province of the "Norsemen," was ceded

Rollo and the Normans, 912.

NORSEMEN WARRIORS.

to them. The whole of this vast territory had been divided by the "dukes," namely Rollo and his descendants, into fiefs, and Rollo's warriors, whom he controlled by severe laws, became the fathers of a great people, who proved the firmest bulwark of France against the invasions of the northern races, and who in exactly half a century

after the death of Ethelred II. conquered England. These Normans, or Norsemen, settled in France, had adopted the civilization and language of France, and were entirely severed from their kinsmen in the North.

The close of the year 994, in which Ethelred II. had concluded peace with Anlaf, or Olaf, had witnessed an invasion under King Svein I., or Sweyn, "the Double-bearded," of Denmark; but he was also bought off. Eight years later Ethelred, growing tired of the Danegelt, committed an act of atrocious treachery. This was the order for the massacre, on the festival of St. Brice, 13th November, 1002, of all the Danes in England. As the Danish settlers formed the majority in the north and east of the kingdom, the massacre can have taken place only in some districts. The greatest number of victims was in the North of England, the ancient kingdom of "Wessex," where the sanguinary decree was carried out to the letter, and multitudes of Danes perished, neither age nor sex being spared. A speedy and tremendous punishment followed closely upon this crime. Among those that perished was Gunilda, sister of the Danish King, Svein I., and with her dying breath she foretold the destruction of the English. Her prophecy was within five years fulfilled.

Massacre of the Danes, 1002.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the Saxons had been exasperated by a long series of injuries, suffered at the hands of the Danes, before they took this cruel revenge. Baker says: "The land was emptied of all coin; and the English were brought so low, that they were fain to till and ear the ground, while the Danes sat idle, and ate the fruits of their labours, abusing the wives and daughters of their hosts where they lay; and yet, in every place, for very fear, were called Lord Danes, which afterwards became a word of derision, when one would signify a lazy lubber." For many centuries the word "Lurdane," a contraction of Lord Dane, was used to designate one too proud or too lazy to work. Another historian also tells us:—"It had been the practice of the English kings from the time of Athelstane to have great numbers of Danes in their pay as guards or household troops, Hus-carles, and these, it is said, they quartered on their subjects, one on each house. The Hus-carles, acting like soldiers in general, paid great attention to their dress and appearance, and thus became more acceptable to the females of the families than the Englishmen liked; they also, of course, behaved occasionally with great insolence; at the same time they acted very remissly against their foreign kinsmen, and were strongly suspected of having intelligence with them. It was therefore resolved to massacre the Hus-carles and their families throughout England."

The Danish oppression.

King Svein I. appeared off the coast at the head of a large force in 1007. On his landing at Exeter, burning towns and heaps of corpses marked his path through the country. In the next year, 1008, London was captured by the Danes, and Ethelred II. suffered a severe defeat in the battle of Southwark: but the Dane Anlaf, or Olaf, whose alliance had been bought by Ethelred II., destroyed the wooden bridge and succeeded in retaking

Svein's Invasion and Conquest.

London. The respite which Ethelred II. enjoyed was short. In 1013 the whole of the country had fallen under Svein, who proclaimed himself King of England, and was formally crowned, upon which Ethelred II. fled to the court of his brother-in-law, Duke Richard II., in Normandy. But early in the following year, 1014, Svein died at Gainsborough.

Svein was succeeded on the Danish throne by his eldest son, Harold III.; and his second son Canute,—pronounced Knut,—was appointed commander of the Danes in England. Canute visited Denmark; and Ethelred II. now returned to England from Normandy, but he was too indolent to attempt to restore tranquillity to his distracted kingdom. In the next year, 1015, Canute sailed from Denmark for England, and besieged Ethelred II. in London, where the latter soon after died, on the 23rd of April, 1016. His successor was his son Edmund Ironside, so named from the bravery he had displayed in his battles with the Danes. He was destined to retain the title of king for less than eight months, 23rd April—30th November, 1016. Large bodies of foreign adventurers had flocked to the rival standards of the Anglo-Saxon and the Dane; and for a few months the struggle was carried on with great ferocity between the two kings, till, themselves wearied of the conflict and under the pressure of the leading nobles of both nations, they agreed to a division of the kingdom between them. But almost immediately afterwards, on the 30th of November, 1016, Edmund Ironside was murdered at the instigation of Edric, the Duke of Mercia: and Canute was left sole monarch of England. In the same year, by the death of his brother Harold III., Canute had also become king of Denmark: and thus the thrones of England and Denmark were a second time united. The Anglo-Saxon dynasty of Cerdic, however, was later restored to the throne. Edward the Confessor, the younger half-brother of Edmund Ironside, succeeded to the throne in 1042, on the extinction of Canute's dynasty when Hardicanute died: but the line was again excluded, by the usurpation of Harold II. and the Norman Conquest in 1066, till the Anglo-Saxon and Norman dynasties were united by the marriage, in 1100, of William the Conqueror's son, King Henry I., with the only surviving representative of Cerdic's house, Matilda,—daughter of Margaret, the daughter of Edmund Ironside's second son, Prince "Edward the Outlaw," and King Malcolm III. of Scotland,—and among the children of this marriage was a daughter, also named Matilda, who married the Emperor Henry V. of Germany, and whose son became King of England, under the title of Henry II., in 1154; and from him, and therefore from the Saxon Cerdic, the invader of 495, the present Royal Family, the Guelphic or Hanoverian House of kings, lineally descend.

Edmund Ironside, 1016.

Saxon, Danish, and Norman dynasties.

GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

CHAPTER V.

The Anglo-Danish Kings, and Edward the Confessor.

A.D. 1016–1066.

The Witena-gemot recognises Canute, 30th Nov., 1016–12th Nov., 1035, as king: Exile of Anglo-Saxon Family: Canute marries Queen Emma. Restoration of Anglo-Saxon customs, 1018: Administration of Justice: Anecdotes of Canute: his Pilgrimage to Rome, 1027. Canute reduces Sweden, 1019: Godwin Earl of Kent: Death of Canute. Harold I., Harefoot, 12th Nov., 1035–16th April, 1040: Partition of the Kingdom with Hardicanute. Death of Harold I. Hardicanute, 16th April, 1040–8th June, 1042: his Death, and Independence of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom. Edward the Confessor, 8th June, 1042–5th Jan., 1066: Patronage of the Normans: Insurrection under Godwin, Earl of Kent, 1051: his Banishment. Visit of William, Duke of Normandy, to London: The Renown of the Normans. Return of Godwin and his sons: Expulsion of the Norman Officials: Death of Godwin. Revolution in Scotland, 1040: Overthrow of Macbeth by Siward, 1054: Influence of

Harold, Earl of Kent: Tostig made Duke of Northumberland: Revolt of the Northumbrians: Tostig's Exile, 1063. The Succession to the Throne: Visit of Harold, Earl of Kent, to Normandy: his oath to William: Death of Edward the Confessor, 1066.

THE accession of the Danish dynasty under Canute, 30th Nov., 1016–12th Nov., 1035; and the exclusion of the Anglo-Saxon line, were recognised by a Witena-gemot, which assembled at London immediately after the murder of Edmund Ironside. Canute took care to rid himself of all danger from the rival family, by sending Edmund Ironside's infant sons, Edmund and Edward, as state-prisoners to King Olave of Sweden, with directions, it is said, that they should be put to death. But King Olave, unwilling to soil his hands with the blood of the royal children, sent them away to King Stephen of Hungary, and they were brought up at the court of the latter. Prince Edmund died in this semi-captivity; but "Edward the Outlaw" was afterwards allowed to go to Germany, where he married Agatha, the daughter of the Emperor Henry III., and he left three children—Edgar Atheling, in whom the line of Cerdic became extinct; Margaret, afterwards Queen of Scotland and mother of Matilda, Queen of England; and Christiana, who became a nun. Edmund Ironside's brother, Prince Edwy, was put to death by Canute's orders in 1017; his half-brothers, the princes Alfred and Edward, afterwards King Edward the Confessor, saved themselves only by retiring from public life; but in attempting to assert his claims after the accession of Harold I., Harefoot, Canute's son and successor, in 1035, Alfred was murdered, through the treachery, it was generally supposed, of the Earl Godwin of Kent; for it was by his followers that the crime was perpetrated. Canute governed with great severity, and, from the necessities of his position, heavy taxes were imposed on the common people to reward his Danes, and gain over by donations the Anglo-Saxon nobles. Like his Anglo-Saxon predecessors, he endeavoured to strengthen his position by a union with the powerful ducal house of Normandy; he married Emma, the widow of King Ethelred II., the Unready, and sister of Duke Richard II. In 1036, Canute's daughter, Gunhild, married the Emperor Henry III. of Germany. With respect to his character, Sir James Mackintosh says: "Canute was a barbaric conqueror, who ruled his fierce subjects by maxims which would have been far more blameworthy in a better age than they were in his troublous and lawless times. Prudence and moderation, if not humanity, were at length grafted on his ferocious energy, and at the last it may be said, perhaps with little exaggeration, that his vices belonged to the age, and his virtues to the man."

Brilliant Reign of Canute, 1016–1035.

Canute's Marriage with the Norman Emma.

Canute, who became a convert to Christianity, restored the Anglo-Saxon customs, by a Witena-gemot held at Oxford, in 1018; and by his strict enforcement of justice, in which no distinction was made between Danes and Anglo-Saxons, life and property were made secure in England. He himself set an example of obedience to the laws. It is related of him that, having in a moment of intemperance killed

an innocent man, he assumed the dress of a delinquent and appeared before the judges, whom he required to proceed as if he were an ordinary criminal. The penalty for homicide was at that time forty talents of silver; the king, when convicted, paid 320 talents, and bestowed nine talents of gold upon the kinsman of the deceased. Another more celebrated anecdote is that regarding his reproof of the adulation of his courtiers. On their telling him that his power was boundless, he ordered his chair to be carried to the beach and placed within the line of high-water mark. He then commanded the rising tide to stay its advance, and affected to expect obedience. When the waters rose around his chair he turned to his nobles and rebuked them for their folly, reminding them that they were ascribing to him the power of Him who alone could say to the waters, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." In 1027, the year before the Normans began their conquests in Italy, Canute made a pilgrimage to Rome; and from the metropolis of Christianity he issued a letter to the English clergy, announcing his intention of promoting, as far as possible, the union of the Danes and Anglo-Saxons, and of abolishing all distinctions between them. Like many other sovereigns notorious for violent acts and for treachery, Canute was distinguished for attention to devotional exercises; he was especially fond of church music, and the old rhymes tell of his directing his oarsmen to row his barge on the Nene, near the land, that he might hear the chant of the monks of Ely. He built and endowed many churches and monasteries; and he constructed the "King's Delf," a causeway between Peterborough and Ramsey. His reign was tolerably tranquil.

Character and Rule of Canute.

In 1019 Canute visited his kingdom of Denmark, which had, while he was struggling with Edmund Ironside, been invaded, but with little success, by the Norwegians; and the assistance of Earl Godwin of Kent enabled him to reduce Sweden. This Earl, who afterwards became famous in English history, and whose son Harold II. became king of England in 1066, was an Anglo-Saxon. A Danish noble, who had lost his way in a forest, had met Godwin, then a youth, and had been conducted by him to the Danish camp. The Dane was convinced that his guide's rank was really above that of an ordinary peasant; and when he could not prevail on him to accept a pecuniary reward, he promised him patronage if he would enter the service of Canute. Godwin eagerly accepted the offer, and, by the patronage of his noble friend and his own merits, rose eventually to be Earl of Kent. His services were much esteemed by Canute. Besides his military operations in Scandinavia, Canute carried on war with King Malcolm II. of Scotland, and subjugated the nephew of the latter, King Duncan of Cumberland, in 1030. Canute was one of the most powerful European monarchs of his time, being king at once of England, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Five years after his conquest of Cumberland, on the 12th of November, 1035, he died at Shaftesbury, and was buried at Winchester.

Godwin the Peasant.

The writer reminds his readers of the difference between the old and the modern acceptation of the word merry; a "merry" song was merely a sweet and touching melody, and might be either plaintive

or gay. The scene is said to have taken place on the Nene, near Ely minster.

Contrary to Canute's will, Harold I., Harefoot, so surnamed from his fleetness, succeeded him as king of England, and reigned for five years, 12th November, 1035–16th April, 1040. Canute had been twice married—on the first occasion to a Danish wife, by whom he had two sons, Svein and Harold, and on the second to Emma, widow of King Ethelred II., the Unready, by whom he had Hardicanute. Canute bequeathed Norway to Svein, and Denmark and (by the conditions of his marriage with Emma) England to Hardicanute. The English were in favour of Hardicanute; but his absence in Denmark was taken advantage of by his half-brother, Harold Harefoot, who, supported by the all-powerful Earl Godwin, claimed the crown of England. A civil war was avoided by a division of the kingdom, Harold I. receiving all England north of the Thames, with London for his capital, while Queen Emma at Winchester governed the south of England as regent for her son. The reign of Harold I. is only memorable for his gross immorality and his persecution of the Anglo-Saxon royal family, Prince Alfred, son of Ethelred II., the Unready, being murdered in the first year of his accession. Harold I. died at Oxford, 1040, and was buried at Winchester. His body was dug up by his successor, decapitated, and thrown into the Thames; but his Danish subjects are said to have reclaimed it and buried it in St. Clement Danes, London.

Harold Harefoot.

On the death of Harold I., Harefoot, on the 16th of April, 1040, his half-brother Hardicanute — 16th April, 1040–8th June, 1042—became King of all England, and the crowns of Denmark and England were again united. Hardicanute was welcomed by his English subjects: but their hopes were disappointed, for in his brief reign of two years he proved a tyrant and voluptuary. Reversing the policy of his predecessor towards the house of Cerdic, he invited his half-brother Prince Edward, son of Ethelred II., the Unready, and Emma, who was then at the court of William I. Duke of Normandy, to return to England and reside at the Anglo-Danish court. Edward complied, and was treated with the most brotherly affection by the king. By the death of Hardicanute on the 8th of June, 1042, from his excesses at a marriage feast in Lambeth, the Anglo-Danish dynasty, of which there had been only three representatives,—Canute, Harold I., Hardicanute,—became extinct.

Hardicanute.

In the person of Edward the Confessor,—so named by the monks from his saintly character,—the Anglo-Saxon line of Cerdic was restored to the throne. Edward the Confessor was at once the most pious and the weakest sovereign that had yet occupied the English throne; and during his reign of nearly twenty-four years,—8th June, 1042–5th January, 1066,—constant commotions and seditions threatened the destruction of his authority. His only noteworthy work was the compilation of a code of laws, now lost, from those of Ethelred, Ina, and Alfred. The great seal of the Confessor, the first in the long series of Chancellor's Seals, is preserved in the British Museum. On each side, the king is represented seated on a throne, his effigy being surrounded by the legend,

Edward the Confessor, 1046.

"Sigillum Eadwardi Anglorum Basilei." From his residence in Normandy the king had acquired a predilection for Norman customs; and his Anglo-Saxon countrymen found themselves in a worse position than under the Danish sovereigns. All offices of value in Church and State were bestowed on Normans: and the Anglo-Saxons were received with no favour at court. Edward confiscated all the property of his mother, Emma, and confined her in a monastery at Winchester till she died, 1052. The King was led by his erroneous view of his religious duty to neglect his wife, Edgitha, daughter of Earl Godwin. Incensed by this slight, Godwin fomented the disaffection of the Anglo-Saxons. At this time, this great nobleman's authority extended over all Kent and Sussex and the south of Wessex; his eldest son, Svein, or Sweyn, governed the rest of Wessex; and his second son, Harold, afterwards King Harold II., was Earl of East Anglia, and governor of Essex. His other sons, Wulnoth, Tostig, Gurth, and Leofwin, held important offices, and were owners of extensive territories. Half of England—that the richest half—is said to have been under the command of Godwin and his family. His daughter, Edward's queen, had none of the evil qualities of her father. Godwin seized the first opportunity of measuring his strength with the king's. During the brief stay of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, at Dover, on his way from Normandy to London, a quarrel arose between some of his suite and the townspeople. A citizen of Dover had been slain on his own hearthstone, defending his house against an insulting foreigner, and the followers of Eustace were driven out of the town by the angry burghers. The Duke rode out in full armour at the head of his guards to support his retinue. Godwin immediately raised the standard of rebellion, 1051, and called upon all true patriots to support him in ending the foreign domination. Though he had gathered a large force, Godwin did not act with the celerity that could alone ensure success. Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Siward, Earl of Northumberland, assembled their supporters around the king. Godwin found it necessary to open up negotiations; and it was agreed by both parties that the question of the expulsion of the Normans should be referred to the Witena-gemot, 1051. This body pronounced Godwin and his three sons, Svein, Harold, and Tostig, to be traitors, upon which they fled from the country. Queen Edgitha, Godwin's daughter, was sent to a convent.

Feud between the Saxon and Norman parties.

Earl Godwin and his Sons.

During the brief exile of the ambitious Godwin, "William the Bastard," Duke of Normandy—afterwards "William the Conqueror"—visited the English court. William, who was then twenty-four years of age,—having been born in 1027,—was the fifth in descent from the first duke,* the Norseman "Rollo the Ganger," and illegitimate son

* The first duke, Rollo the Ganger, died in 931: his son and successor William "Long-Sword," (Longueépée), died in 942, and was succeeded by his son Richard I., "the Fearless" (Sans-Peur), who died in 996 and left the dukedom to his son Richard II., "the Good" (le Bon), whose sister was Emma, the wife successively of Ethelred II. and Canute. Richard II. was succeeded in 1026 by his son Richard III., who was murdered in 1028 by his brother and successor Robert I., "the Devil." To atone for the murder, the latter went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem,

of Duke Robert "the Devil,"—or "Robert the Magnificent,"—by his mistress, a young woman of Falaise, Harlotta, or Arletta, a corruption of the Danish Herleve, and he was therefore a near relative of Edward the Confessor, his father being first cousin to the English sovereign.

William's visit to England was apparently one of friendship, to revive the intimacy of former times; but the period was so well chosen, from the absence of Godwin's influence to check him, that he probably came to see in person the forces against which he might have to contend, and it is certain that he ever afterwards regarded the succession to the English throne as an object of his ambition. Thierry in his admirable "History of the Norman Conquest," writes: "In riding through the land the Duke of Normandy might have safely persuaded himself that he had not quitted his own dominions. The captains of the English fleet who received him at Dover were Normans; they were Norman soldiers that formed the garrison of the Castle; crowds of governors and dignified ministers, who came to pay their respects, were Normans; and Edward's Norman favourites respectfully ranged themselves round their feudal chief, so that William appeared in England almost more a king than Edward himself." The Norman knights were now distinguished from all others by their immoderate desire for martial adventure, and by their brilliant exploits. Some of them, who had landed sixty years previously as pilgrims on the southern coast of Italy, aided the inhabitants of Salerno to repulse a Saracen army of besiegers. Animated by the success of their countrymen, the sons of a simple gentleman, Tancred De Hauteville, of Coutances in Lower Normandy, followed by a band of adventurers, conquered the province of Apulia from the Greeks, the Lombards, and the Arabs, and sustained successfully an equal struggle against the Eastern empire and the Emperor Henry III. of Germany. They took prisoner the German Pope, Leo the Ninth, who was devoted to the family of Henry III., and humbling themselves before their captive they obtained leave to retain their conquest as a fief of the Church. Robert Guiscard, Tancred's son, completed the subjugation of Apulia and Calabria, 1042, and his brother Roger conquered Sicily: thus the kingdom of the two Sicilies was founded in 1052 by the Normans, and the Pope became its suzerain. Nothing now was talked of in Europe but the valour of the Normans, and the crown of England did not seem too great a prize for their duke to contend for. But on the occasion of his visit William received from Edward the Confessor no information as to his probable disposal of the crown.

William, Duke of Normandy.

In the meanwhile Godwin and his sons had assembled two bands of adventurers, Godwin in Flanders, and Harold in Ireland, and sailed for England in 1052. On the junction of these two forces, Edward the Confessor, whose weak and gentle character was quite unfit for coping with such active rebels, had made no adequate preparations to resist the invasion, and was obliged to make terms. A Witenagemot was summoned, and the sentence against Godwin and his sons

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and died on his way home, 1035, on which his illegitimate son William, to whom before his departure he made his barons take the oath of fealty, succeeded at the age of eight.

was annulled. At the same time the object for which Godwin had risen in rebellion was attained; and all the Normans were expelled from public offices and required to leave the realm, to which they were in fourteen years to return as conquerors. Godwin was able to reward his adherents with the vacant offices; and again his influence became paramount. But in the following year he died while feasting at the king's table; and his son Harold succeeded him in his honours and estates, Svein having died at Constantinople on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Return and death of Godwin.

The account of the great Earl's death which was generally credited by the old historians, gives the appearance of a direct retribution upon Godwin, for the part he was supposed to have taken in the murder of Alfred, the king's brother. In the Epitome of Chronicles it is thus related: "As Erle Godwin sate at table with the king Edward, it happened one of the cuppe bearers to stumble, and recover agayne, so that he did sheade none of the drynke; whereat Godwine laugh and saide: 'Now that one brother hath susteigned that other.' With whiche words the king, callying to mind his brother's death, that was slain by Godwine, behelde the Erle, saiying: 'So should my brother Alphrede have holpen me, had Godwine ben.' Godwine then fearing the king's displeasure to be newly kindled, after many words in excusing himself, saied: 'So mought I safely swallow this morsell of breade, as I am giltlesse of the dede.' But as soon as he had received the breade forthwith he was choked."

An event now occurred which brought the English arms into Scotland, and increased the influence of the new Earl of Kent, Harold. Malcolm II. of Scotland had extended in 1020 his authority over not only the South of Scotland, but a part of the North of England; but his successor, 1034, "the gracious Duncan," had been murdered in 1040 by one of his nobles, Macbeth, the "thane of Cawdor," and the latter expelled the rightful heir Malcolm III., Kenmore, who took refuge in England. Edward the Confessor ordered Siward, the Earl of Northumberland, to march into Scotland to restore Duncan's son. Macbeth's position becoming difficult he retired to the hill of Dunsinane, in Perthshire, which he fortified. According to tradition, the usurper had been assured by the witches that, "Macbeth shall never vanquish'd be, until Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinane hill shall come against him," an event which seemed impossible; but Siward's men, having rested for a while at Birnam, provided themselves with branches from the forest of Birnam to shelter themselves from the heat on the march; and when Macbeth saw them approaching thus, he gave up all for lost, and fell an easy prey to Macduff and Siward's English troops. Shortly after this expedition Siward died. He appears to have been one of the sturdiest warriors of those fighting days. "Siward left one son, named Waltheof, who being too young to succeed to his government, it was given to Tostig, Godwin's third son. Harold, who was the eldest son, succeeded Godwin in the government south of the Thames; and Edward showed more kindness to the son than he had ever done to the father, for on him there rested no suspicion connected with the death of Alfred, a subject

Duncan of Scotland and Macbeth.

Harold, son of Godwin.

which was ever settling down like a dark cloud upon the sunniest moments that Godwin and Edward enjoyed. Harold was the most gifted of all Godwin's sons, and soon became as popular with the nation as his father; having, moreover, no enemies in the court,—for to such favourites as the king wished to retain Harold offered no opposition;

THE DEATH OF EARL GODWIN

nor was it necessary, for Edward was now fast verging into dotage; his intellect, which, at best, was never very brilliant, now became clouded, and he passed a greater portion of his time amongst his priests."

No one ever sat upon the Saxon throne worse adapted to play the part of a king than Edward the Confessor; he was not cut out for

the rough business of this work-a-day world. To a peasant who once offended him, he said, "I would hurt you if I were able;" an exclamation, as Sharon Turner observes, "which almost implies imbecility."

Harold, the Earl of Kent, not only secured a great ascendency over the king, but also made himself highly popular throughout the kingdom, by his liberality and courteous manner, and by the vigour with which he checked the attempted incursions of the Welsh; yet the Northumbrians were averse to the earldom being conferred on any other than Morcar, the son of Elfgar, and grandson of the great Leofric of Coventry and Mercia; and when they rose in open rebellion in 1065, Harold, after visiting the province, deemed it politic to yield, and advised Edward the Confessor to transfer the dignity to Morcar, and to appoint the brother of the latter, Edwin, to the administration of Mercia. When these changes were carried out, Harold married the sister of Morcar and Edwin; upon which Tostig fled from the country, vowing vengeance, and became, as was proved by the event, his brother's most implacable foe.

The choice of a successor now became a source of anxiety to Edward the Confessor. He had intended to transmit his crown to his nephew, Prince "Edward the Outlaw," the son of King Edmund Ironside, whom he recalled from the court of Hungary; but this prince died in 1057, and his son Edgar Atheling, the only male survivor, besides the king, of the line of Cerdic, was a feeble youth, and it was useless to expect he could retain the throne if he obtained it. The king's thoughts now turned to his friend and kinsman William, Duke of Normandy. It is doubtful whether Harold was entrusted with communications to the Norman duke; but there is some probability in the story that when he was in Normandy he took an oath to support the claims of the latter. A tempest, it is said, had cast Harold on the coast of Normandy; and, according to one account, he was delivered up to William, in accordance with the custom of the times, shipwrecked men being regarded as abandoned by the judgment of Heaven to the lord of the coast on which the tempest drove them, and he could keep them captive, and even put them to torture in order to obtain a ransom. William, when master of Harold's person, made him swear he would help him, after the death of Edward the Confessor, to obtain the kingdom of England: and, to work upon his superstitious feelings and secure his observance of the oath, showed him the revered relics of a saint that had been concealed beneath the altar on which he had sworn: but Harold did not afterwards consider himself bound by an oath which had been extorted by violence.

Harold's visit to Normandy.

Edward the Confessor died on the 5th of January, 1066. His remains were buried in Westminster Abbey, which had then just been consecrated; and a century afterwards he was recognised with the surname of "Confessor." There were three that might now prefer a claim to the vacant throne—the youth Edgar Atheling, as direct heir, and William of Normandy and Harold, as connections of the Royal Family by marriage. But none of these had been publicly designated; and it rested with the Witena-gemot to elect a king.

Death of Edward the Confessor, 1066.

HAROLD AND STIGAND, FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

CHAPTER VI.

The Norman Conquest.—Reign of William I., the Conqueror.

A.D. 1066–1087.

Harold II., 5th Jan.–14th Oct., 1066: Claim of William of Normandy: the Pope's Declaration: Invasion of Tostig and Norwegians – Battle of Stamford Bridge. Preparations of William: his Invasion. Battle of Hastings, 14th Oct., 1066. The Loss: Memorial to Harold II. Preparations in London for Defence: Edgar Atheling proclaimed: his Submission. William I., the Conqueror, 25th Dec., 1066–9th Sept., 1087: his Clemency. William's visit to Normandy: Revolt in England: Devastation of the North. Harsh Government of William I.: Capture of Hereward's Camp: Invasion of Scotland. Attempted Conspiracy: Rebellion of Robert in Normandy, 1078. Domesday Book. War with France: Death of William the Conqueror. Treatment of the Corpse: William's Will. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Conquest. Religious, Civil, and Political Changes. Introduction of the Feudal System. The Council of the Realm, and the Law Courts. The Curfew: Presentment of Englishry: the Royal Prerogative.

HAROLD II., 5th January–14th October, 1066, did not wait for the sanction of the Witena-gemot, but caused himself to be proclaimed king on the evening of the day on which Edward the Con-

fessor died. He hoped from his popularity and influence to secure the approval of the Witena-gemot without difficulty. His accession was hailed with general satisfaction; the Witena-gemot, on being summoned, granted its sanction; and Harold was crowned with the usual ceremonial by Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, though at the time under the displeasure and ban of the Romish See, had sufficient courage to officiate on the occasion. In that wonderful historic relic, the Bayeux tapestry, to which the antiquary and the historian are indebted for much valuable matter illustrating this momentous crisis in English history, Harold is represented as seated on the throne, with Stigand, the Archbishop, standing beside him. Of this remarkable historical relic the following interesting account is given in Milner's "English History": "A remarkable memorial of the events of this period, the Bayeux tapestry, is preserved in the Hotel of the Prefecture, in that town, in Normandy. This celebrated roll of needlework is undoubtedly a production contemporaneous with the Conquest. It has been supposed to have been executed by direction of Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror; but more probably, it was manufactured for the cathedral of Bayeux, by the order and at the expense of the chapter, though produced in England, and by English workers. The tapestry is a piece of brownish linen cloth, twenty inches broad, and two hundred and fourteen feet in length. It represents the principal events which preceded and accompanied the Norman invasion. The scenes are worked with woollen thread of different colours, which are as bright and distinct, and the letters of the superscriptions as legible, as if of yesterday. The whole work consists of seventy-two compartments. The twenty-sixth compartment represents Harold taking the oath to William, with each hand on a shrine of relics. The thirtieth compartment shows the funeral procession of the Confessor to Westminster Abbey. The thirty-fifth compartment depicts men gazing at the meteor or comet, that is mentioned as coincident with the accession of Harold, and interpreted to presage his defeat." Of the character of Harold, Hollinshed, the chronicler, observes: "He studied by all means which way to win the people's favour, and omitted no occasion whereby he might show any token of bounteous liberality, gentleness, and courteous behaviour towards them. The grievous customs, also, and taxes which his predecessor had raised, he either abolished or diminished; the ordinary wages of his servants and men of war he increased; and, further, showed himself very well bent to all virtue and goodness." Sharon Turner wisely and cautiously observes, that "the true character of Harold cannot be judged from his actions in the emergency of competition; as he perished before the virtues of his disposition could be distinguished from those of his convenience."

Proclamation and Coronation of Harold.

The Bayeux Tapestry. A record.

William now reminded Harold II. of his oath, and appealed to an alleged will of Edward the Confessor in support of his claim, declaring at the same time that he would leave the matter to the decision of the Church. A consistory held at the Lateran decided in William's favour, and, at the instigation of the monk Hildebrand, who, under the title of Gregory VII.,

William asserts his Claim.

succeeded Alexander II. as Pope seven years later, 1073, adjudged England to him by sending him, together with a consecrated standard, the diploma of sovereign of that country. William now collected an army to assert his claims. "He published his proclamation," says Thierry, "in the neighbouring countries, and offered good pay and the pillage of England to every man who would serve him with lance, sword, or cross-bow; and multitudes accepted the invitation, coming by every road, far and near, from north and south. All the professional adventurers, all the military vagabonds of western Europe, hastened to Normandy by long marches; some were knights and chiefs of war, the others simple foot-soldiers and serjeants-of-arms, as they were then called. Some demanded money-pay, others only their passage and all the booty they might make. Some asked for land in England, a domain, a castle, a town; others simply required some rich Saxon in marriage. Every thought, every desire of human avarice presented itself; 'William rejected no one,' says the Norman chronicle, 'and satisfied every one as well as he could.' He sent," we are further told, "for those men separately who had opposed his wishes in the council, beginning with the most rich and influential, and begged that they would assist him purely as a personal favour. No one had courage, thus singly interrogated face to face with the duke, to utter a refusal. Whatever amount of money, arms, or provisions they promised, was immediately registered; and in this manner the example of those who subscribed first determined the amount promised by those who came last. One subscribed for a ship, another for so many armed men, and some engaged their personal service. The clergy gave money; the merchants gave arms and stuffs; and the country people gave corn. Carpenters were soon employed in all the ports of Normandy building and refitting vessels; armourers and smiths in making lances, swords and mail; and porters in carrying burdens backwards and forwards between the ships and the manufactories." Warriors flocked to his banners from all sides, full of confidence in his fortune.

The Followers of Duke William.

At this critical juncture, Harold's brother Tostig landed in Northumbria with a large force of Norsemen and Flemings, mercenaries from Flanders, which he had been enabled to raise through a league with King Harold Hardrada of Norway. Harold II. hurried to the North, and obtained a complete victory at Stamford Bridge, thence named Battle Bridge, on the 25th of September, 1066, when both Tostig and the Norwegian king fell on the field. On the day following the victory, it was announced to the king, at York, that the Normans had landed when the English admirals, whom he had sent with a formidable fleet to cruise in the Channel, had dispersed their ships for the purpose of revictualling. He immediately broke up his camp, and marched to give battle to the invaders.

Harold's victory over Tostig.

William of Normandy, who was then thirty-nine, had assembled 60,000 men—the flower of the soldiery of Europe—and a fleet of nearly 1000 ships, for the invasion of England. Contrary winds long delayed his attempt; but on the 27th of September he sailed from St. Valéry on the Somme, and, through a favourable wind, landed

his troops without any accident on the following day, the eve of St. Michael, near Pevensey Castle in Sussex. "It appears that the Saxon vessels which had so long been cruising upon the coast of Sussex, awaiting the arrival of the Normans, had returned to port from want of provisions. Thus William was enabled to land his troops without opposition; and on the 28th of September, his forces disembarked at Pevensey, on the coast of Sussex. The archers, who wore short coats, and had their hair cut close, were the first to land. They were followed by the knights, who wore corslets of burnished mail, and conical shaped helmets of glittering steel; each bore in his hand a strong lance, while at his side hung a long, straight, double-edged sword. Then came the pioneers, the carpenters, and the smiths, each wheeling up and forming themselves into separate divisions, until the whole shore was covered with armed men and horses, above whose heads fluttered the gonfalons and the larger banners, which were so soon to serve as beacons in the rallying points of battle. William was the last to land, and his foot had scarcely touched the sandy shore before he stumbled and fell. A murmur arose amid the assembled host, and voices were heard to exclaim, 'This is an evil sign.' But the Duke, with that ready talent which enabled him to give a favourable appearance to serious as well as trifling disasters, suddenly sprang up, and showing the sand which he had grasped in his fall, exclaimed, 'Lords, what is it you say? What! are you amazed? I have taken seizin of this land with mine hands, and, by the splendour of God, all that it contains is ours.' One of the soldiers then ran hastily forward, and tearing a handful of thatch from the roof of a neighbouring cottage—an ancient mode of conveyance which still exists—he presented it to the duke, saying, 'Sire, I give you seizin, in token that the realm is yours.' William answered, 'I accept it, and may God be with us.' Refreshments were then distributed to the soldiers as they rested on the beach."—(Miller's "Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons.") William advanced to the neighbourhood of Hastings, where he pitched his camp; and in the meanwhile the stores were landed. On learning the approach of Harold II., William, in accordance with the spirit of the times, sent the English king a challenge to decide the struggle by the "wager of battle," but Harold declined the single combat with him. The army of Harold II. had been greatly weakened by the battle of Stamford Bridge and by the forced marches to the south of the kingdom.

Landing of William at Pevensey.

A doubtful Omen.

The battle known as that of Hastings, took place at Senlac, on the 14th of October, 1066, about nine miles from Hastings. The night preceding the engagement is said, but on very suspicious authority, to have been spent by the English in carousals and by the Normans in prayer. At daylight both armies drew up for battle. Military skill in those days was shown more by the arrangements before the battle than by actual handling of troops during the engagement. Both commanders disposed their forces with considerable strategy; and each took possession of an eminence. After William had assembled his chief officers and addressed them on the advantages to be derived from victory, encouraging them with the declaration that the "God of

WILLIAM MARSHALLING HIS TROOPS AT PEVENSEY.

Battles" would fight on their side against the rawleires of the "perjured usurper," against whom the Pope had declared, and reminding them that defeat was for them total destruction, he divided his army into three lines. The first, led by Montgomery, consisted of archers and light-armed infantry; the second, commanded by Martel, was composed of the best battalions, heavy-armed and in close order; and the cavalry, with William himself at the head, formed the third line, and were so disposed that they extended beyond the infantry and flanked each wing of the army, so as to ensure a safe retreat to the coast in the event of defeat. Harold II. had seized the advantage of a rising ground, and he secured his flanks by some trenches. The Kentish men were placed in the van; the Londoners guarded the royal standard, and the King himself, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, took his post, on foot, at the head of his infantry, and expressed his resolution to conquer or die. Harold, being deficient in cavalry, awaited the attack of the enemy. When William had ranged his forces, he ordered the signal of battle to be given; and the whole Norman army, moving at once, and singing the hymn or song of Orlando or Roland, the nephew and famous peer of Charlemagne, advanced in order and with alacrity. The first attack of the Normans was furious, but was received with great valour by the English. After a terrible combat, which remained long undecided, the Normans, overcome by the difficulty of the ground, and hard pressed by the enemy, began first to relax their vigour, and then to retreat; and confusion was spreading among their ranks, when William, who found himself on the brink of destruction, hastened with a select band to rally his forces. His presence restored the action: and the Anglo-Saxons were obliged to retire with loss. The Duke, now ordering his second line to advance, renewed the attack with fresh forces and redoubled courage. Finding that the enemy, aided by the advantage of ground, and animated by the valour of their king, still made a vigorous resistance, William tried a stratagem which has been successful on many other fields; he commanded the Normans to make a hasty retreat and to draw the Anglo-Saxons from their position by feigning flight. Harold's troops, heated by the action and sanguine in their hopes, precipitately followed the Normans into the plain. William's infantry now faced about, while his cavalry made an assault upon the wings; and the Anglo-Saxons, surprised by the sudden rallying of the enemy, and disordered by the pursuit, were driven back with great slaughter to their former position. Here the bravery of Harold again rallied his troops, who, notwithstanding their loss, were able to maintain their ground and continue the combat. William tried the same stratagem a second time, with the same success; but even after this double advantage, he still found a great body of the Anglo-Saxons, who, presenting a firm front, seemed to dispute the victory to the last extremity. The Duke therefore ordered his heavy-armed infantry to make an assault upon them, and placed his archers behind to gall the enemy, who were exposed by the situation of the ground and engaged in defending

The Battle of Hastings, Oct. 14th, 1066.

Desperate nature of the Combat.

Duke William's Stratagem.

Death of Harold. Victory of William.

themselves against the swords and spears of the assailants. During the final attack Harold II. was slain by an arrow while he was fighting with great bravery at the head of his men; and his two brothers shared the same fate. Disheartened by the fall of their leaders, the Anglo-Saxons now gave ground on all sides, and were pursued with great slaughter by the victorious Normans. A few, however, of the vanquished had still the courage to turn upon their pursuers, and, attacking them in deep and miry ground, obtained some revenge for the slaughter and dishonour of the day. But the appearance of William obliged them to betake themselves to flight, and darkness soon saved them from further pursuit.

Thus, William the Conqueror of England, Duke of Normandy, and Lord of the Channel Islands, won the great and decisive victory of Hastings, after a battle which was fought from morning till sunset, and which seemed worthy, by the heroic valour displayed by both armies and by both commanders, to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom. William had three horses killed under him, and the Norman loss was nearly 15,000 men,—a fourth of the army,—while that of the Anglo-Saxons was still more considerable, besides the death of the king and his two brothers. Harold's body, which was discovered amid heaps of the slain, was honoured with a royal funeral in the church which he had founded at Waltham, which was transferred from the secular to the regular clergy, and became an Abbey in 1177; and William subsequently built Battle Abbey, near Hastings, the monks of which were ordered to pray for the souls of the conquered king and his conqueror. Contemporary accounts inform us, that after the battle, the mothers, the wives, and the children of those soldiers who had willingly marched from the adjoining neighbourhood to die with the monarch of their choice, hurried, pale and trembling, to the field, to carry away the dead bodies that had been stripped and plundered by the enemy. Two monks of the monastery at Waltham, which had been founded by the Saxon king, came humbly to the Duke, and requested the dead body of Harold, offering ten marks of gold for permission to pay their last duties to their benefactor. Leave was given them, and they repaired to the spot; but amid the heaps of slain, found it impossible to distinguish the body they sought for. Despairing of success, they addressed themselves to a beautiful woman, whom Harold had loved before he was king, and besought her to accompany them, and assist them in a second search. The name of this lady was Edith Swaneshals, Edith the Swan-necked. She undertook the mournful errand; and affection, more quicksighted than either friendship or devotion, soon led to the mangled and bloody corpse of her lover. The remains were deposited in a coffin, escorted by the Norman nobles to Battle Bridge, and there received by the English nobility. They were then conveyed for burial to Waltham Abbey.

Harold's Corpse buried.

Even after the disaster of Hastings the English were in a position to offer a formidable resistance to the invader. The male population of London was armed; Harold's brothers-in-law, Edwin, Earl of Mercia, and Morcar, Earl of Northumbria, had entered the city with a large force; and reinforcements were pouring in from all sides.

But there was no acknowledged leader. The sons of Harold II. were too young to succeed him. By the influence of the two archbishops, Stigand of Canterbury, and Aldred of York, the crown was conferred by the Witena-gemot on Edgar Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside: but he was incapable of assuming authority at such a crisis; and Edwin and Morcar, unwilling to obey him, retired with their forces. William had halted for a few days on the battle-field, to refresh his forces and to give the city of London time to send a deputation to his camp. On learning the preparations for resistance, he began his march along the coast from Hastings to Dover, and inflicted a severe punishment on the people of Romney, from which town some of his vessels had been lately repulsed. Dover Castle surrendered to him; and on his having signified to the people of London that he came not as a master but to receive from them the confirmation of the gift of Edward the Confessor, the city ceased all preparations for resistance. Edgar Atheling proceeded to William's camp and surrendered himself; the Archbishop of Canterbury, Stigand, met and submitted to the king at Wallingford; and Aldred of York and most of the prelates and nobles assembled in London speedily followed the example. The ceremony of coronation took place on Christmas Day, 1066, in Westminster Abbey; and the rites were performed according to the usage of the Saxon kings. William I. the Conqueror,—25th December 1066–9th September, 1087,—when receiving the crown from Aldred, swore to govern the realm as his predecessors had done. The acclamations within the abbey alarmed the Norman guards outside, and a tumult in which many persons were killed took place. Notwithstanding this omen of discord, the native population found their condition at first no worse. Except in the case of the staunchest of the adherents of Harold II., no confiscations were permitted; and the charters of the great cities were renewed. But the Conqueror secured his power by dismantling the old fortifications, and erecting the "Tower of London," and citadels in Winchester, Hereford, and other positions naturally strong.

William's March to London.

Coronation of William the Conqueror.

But when, in the following May, 1067, William visited Normandy, taking with him Edgar Atheling and several of the nobles, dissensions soon arose between the natives and the Norman nobles, from the latter building strong castles and adopting a domineering spirit. The government had been entrusted jointly to William's half-brother, Bishop Odo of Bayeux, and William Fitz-Osborne, Earl of Hereford; and their want of tact soon produced a rebellion in which the Earls Edwin and Morcar were implicated. The rebels had received promises of support from the kings of Scotland, Denmark, and North Wales; but the activity of William, who had returned in haste from Normandy, disconcerted them. Edgar Atheling, who had supported the insurgents, had to flee to the court of his uncle, King Malcolm III. of Scotland, 1068. In the next year the insurrection again broke out on the arrival of a Danish squadron in the Humber, and the return of Edgar Atheling from Scotland. The citadel of York was stormed, and 3000 Normans were massacred. The insurrection rapidly spread; but again William was successful.

Rebellion of the Saxons.

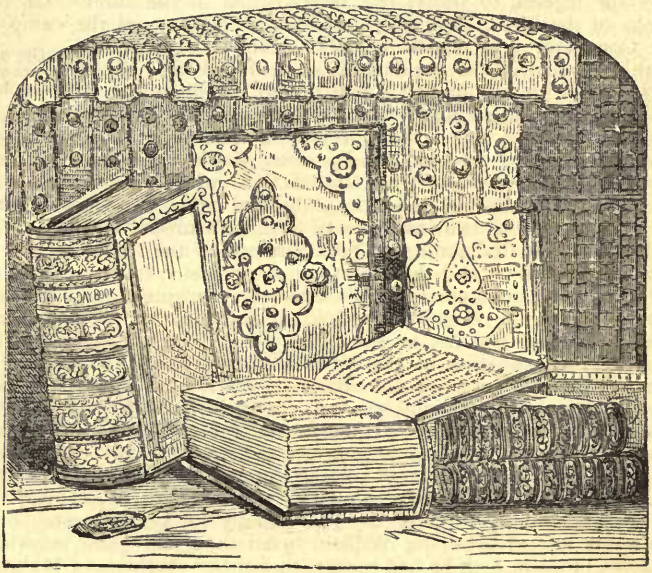
He bought the retreat of the Danes and the surrender of a leading Anglo-Saxon noble, Waltheof; and, before Malcolm III. had advanced to his support, Edgar Atheling had again to flee across the border.

William punished the insurrectionary parts with severity; the whole land between the Humber and the Tees was destroyed, and the greater part of the population was put to the sword. "The Normans spread over Northumberland, burning towns and villages, and slaughtering men and cattle alike; and from the Humber to the Tyne there did not remain an inhabited town or a field in cultivation; all was one desert covered with ruins of towns, houses, and convents; the lands of St. John of Beverley alone escaped the general calamity, owing, says the legend, to the visible interposition of the saint. On the banks of the Tees, Waltheof and other chiefs entered the camp of the Conqueror and made their submissions anew, and Waltheof received the hand of his niece Judith, and the earldom of Huntingdon and Northampton. William then had the regalia brought to York, where he kept his Christmas in great pomp. But meantime famine preyed on the wretched country, and more than one hundred thousand persons perished north of the Humber." Hallam speaks of these transactions with grave disapproval. He says: "Besides the severities exercised upon the English after every insurrection, two instances of William's unsparing cruelty are well known, the devastation of Yorkshire and of the New Forest. In the former,—which had the tyrant's plea, necessity, for its pretext, an invasion being threatened from Denmark,—the whole country between the Tyne and the Humber was laid so desolate, that for nine years afterwards there was not an inhabited village, and hardly an inhabitant left; the wasting of this district having being followed by a famine which swept away the whole population. That of the New Forest, though undoubtedly less calamitous in its effect, seems even more monstrous, from the frivolousness of the cause. He afforested several other tracts. And these favourite demesnes of Norman kings were protected by a system of iniquitous and cruel regulations, called the Forest Laws, which it became afterwards a great object with the asserters of liberty to correct. The penalty for killing a stag or a boar was loss of eyes; for William loved the great game, says the Saxon Chronicle, as if he had been their father." William of Malmesbury, a chronicler who wrote about sixty years later, says that—"Not an inhabited village remained from York to Durham. Fire, slaughter, and desolation, made it a vast wilderness, which it continues to this day." But a Danish invasion was then feared, and one object of William was to prevent the invaders obtaining any supplies in that region. Throughout the whole land the severity of the Conqueror was now felt. The estates of a large portion of the Anglo-Saxon nobles were confiscated and held by the king, or assigned on feudal tenure to the Norman nobles. All ecclesiastical and political offices were bestowed on Normans. The papal legate assembled a council at Winchester in 1070, at which the deposition of Stigand and all the Anglo-Saxon prelates, except Wulstan of Worcester, was decreed. The spoliation of the Anglo-Saxon religious houses followed, to the increase of the wealth of the Crown. The Archbishopric of Canter-

Severities and Cruelties of William I.

bury was conferred on the learned Norman Lanfranc, Abbot of Caen, and formerly, 1050–1062, prior of Bec. Many of the Anglo-Saxon nobles emigrated, some proceeding as far as Constantinople, where they entered the imperial body-guard, the 'Varangians,' of the Eastern Emperor. The common people felt the yoke as severely, and an edict was promulgated forbidding any one on pain of death from having a light in his house after the tolling of the curfew —a corruption of the French 'couvre-feu,' that is, 'cover the fire.' The harshness of William I. increased the disaffection; and many of all classes took refuge in the marshes of the Isle of Ely,

The Curfew.



DOMESDAY BOOK.

where an Anglo-Saxon patriot, Hereward, with Edwin and Morcar, commanded an unsubdued band of insurgents. William, having collected a flotilla of light flat-bottomed vessels, and having made a causeway through the marshes, compelled the "camp of refuge" to submit, 1071. Hereward cut his way through, but was caught afterwards; his exploits had made such an impression on William that he was pardoned and restored to his estates. Edwin had fallen on the field. Morcar was captured and died in prison; and Edgar Atheling, having voluntarily submitted, received a state allowance and was sent to Rouen. With the fall of the camp of refuge the last hope of the Anglo-Saxons was extinguished, and William was now at liberty to meet other adversaries. He led a large army against Malcolm III. of

Scotland, who had supported the Anglo-Saxon leaders, and in whose dominions a large number of the Anglo-Saxons had taken refuge. While his fleet sailed along the coast, William invaded Lothian, crossed the Forth, and advanced as far as Abernethy, spreading terror on all sides. Malcolm at length opened up negotiations, and eventually obtained peace by doing homage for Cumberland, or, according to some, for all Scotland.

Defeat of Malcolm III. of Scotland.

When all opposition was crushed out among the Anglo-Saxons, William had to guard against the discontent of his own nobles. A conspiracy was formed in 1075 by Roger Fitz-Osborne, Earl of Hereford, and the Anglo-Saxon Waltheof, who had received the hand of the king's niece Judith, and had been made Earl of Northampton, of Huntingdon, and of Northumberland. Waltheof communicated it to his wife, and she betrayed it to her uncle the king. The moment the rebellion broke out it was checked; the Earl of Hereford was imprisoned; and Waltheof was put to death. William was still more distressed by the rebellion, in 1078, of his eldest son Robert, whom he had made regent of Normandy. The king crossed with a large force, and Robert was obliged to take refuge in the castle of Gerberoi, to which William at once laid siege. In a sally Robert and William met, and, each being in complete armour, with the vizor down, they did not know each other. William, who had now grown very corpulent and unwieldy, was struck down by his son; Robert recognised his father's voice under his helmet, and, falling on his knees, begged and received pardon. William returned to England, and, excepting some forays of the Welsh, who were compelled to give compensation, he enjoyed peace till 1085, when his kingdom was threatened with an invasion of the Danes, which was averted; but the 'Dane-gelt' was re-imposed to increase the royal revenues.

Rebellion of the Conqueror's Sons.

In 1080, by the King's orders, a survey of all the estates within the kingdom had been begun. It was finished in 1086, when all the divisions and products of every estate were registered in a record called,—probably from being regarded as a final register,—"Domesday Book," the original of which is still preserved; and the entries of individuals were 283,000, from which it is believed that the total population was about a million. The survey was undertaken on the advice of a great council held in 1080. With the exception of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Durham, it comprehended all England. The mode of making it was by presentment of juries, or certain persons sworn in every district before Commissioners, called the King's Justices. The sheriffs, the lords of manors, the priests of several churches, the steward of each hundred, and six villeins in every village were required to give information on oath. It was to a Board sitting at Winchester that the returns were made. Care was taken to mark what had been the extent and value of each property in the time of Edward the Confessor, which was indicated by the letters T.R.E.—'Tempore Regis Edwardi.' In one of the closets of the chapter-house of Westminster Abbey,—being removed from the Exchequer in 1696,—two books thus formed were long kept, called the "Great and Little Domesday Books." The latter contains but three counties—Norfolk,

Suffolk, and Essex. Ingulphus derives the name given to the register, from the final doom; because it was so complete and universal. Others say that it was a corruption of 'Domus Dei,' the name of a chapel in Winchester Cathedral, where it was first deposited.

Domesday Book.

The Conqueror did not long survive this truly valuable work. Of the three preceding conquests of Britain—the Roman, the Teutonic, and the Danish—only the first, and that temporarily, had brought the island into connection with the Continent. Under the Norman Conquest, from the retention of Normandy, which was a fief of the French Crown, the English and French monarchs were brought into close connection, by which eventually England became a European power; and it was inevitable that the French king should be jealous of a vassal who was at the same time an independent sovereign of such a kingdom. Philip I. of France had secretly supported Robert in his rebellion against his father; and for nearly twelve years a species of warfare was carried on by forays on Normandy by the French, and on France from Normandy, but it was not marked by any memorable event. William I. gained over the councillors and partisans of Philip I. by offering them the bribe of large estates in England, while the French king, on his side, promised protection to all the Norman malcontents. During an illness of William, Philip derided his excessive stoutness to his courtiers, asking when he expected to lie in. When William heard of the jest he was furious, and swore that at his "churching" he would come and pay a visit to the French king, with 10,000 lances instead of tapers, and all France would see the blaze. As soon as he had recovered from the illness from which he was then suffering, William assembled a formidable army, 1087, and, having crossed the Channel, carried fire and sword through Philip's dominions; but at the sack of Mantes, which his soldiers wantonly set on fire, his horse, having placed his foot on some burning ashes, plunged, and bruised him so severely on the pommel of the saddle, that he was carried in a dying condition to Rouen, where he expired on the 9th of September, 1087, in the 60th year of his age, and 21st of his sovereignty.

War with Philip of France.

Burning of Mantes.

A contemporary chronicler gives the following account of him:—"A very stern and wrathful man, so that none durst do anything against his will. He removed bishops from their sees, abbots from their offices, and imprisoned thanes. In his time had men much distress. He took money by right and unright, and with little need. He made large forests for the deer, and enacted laws therewith, so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. The rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so stern, that he recked nought of them; they must will all that the king willed, if they would live. Alas! that any man should so exalt himself, and carry himself in his pride over all! May Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him the forgiveness of his sins!"

William the Conqueror was scarcely dead, when the nobles who surrounded him left hastily for their castles; the servants pillaged his valuables, carried off even the funeral bed, and left his naked corpse

on the floor. A poor knight, named Herluin, found it in that condition, and, touched by compassion, undertook the care of the funeral rites. The body was put into a coffin at his expense, and transported to Caen, where it was to be buried in a church founded by William the Conqueror himself. At the moment when the funeral oration was being pronounced, and the body about to be lowered into the grave, a Norman, named Asseline, advanced, and said: "This ground belongs to me; that man whose eulogy you are pronouncing robbed me of it! Here, even here, stood my paternal mansion; this man seized it contrary to all justice, and without paying the price of it. In the name of God I forbid you to cover the body of the plunderer with earth that belongs to me." Notable example of the vanity of an existence which offers the most singular mixture of grandeur and iniquity, of violent barbarities, and useful and fruitful creations! This William, the conqueror of a great kingdom, who had grasped immense domains in a strange country, only obtained through pity a grave upon his native soil; those who assisted at his burial were obliged to put down the price of it on his coffin.

Death of William.

His Burial.

Not one of the Conqueror's sons paid him the last duties of nature, though he had provided well for each of them, having bequeathed his duchy of Normandy and Maine to his eldest son, Robert,—surnamed 'Curt-Hose,'—England to his third son, William,—surnamed 'Rufus,' —and 5000 pounds of silver to his youngest, Henry,—surnamed 'Beauclerc'; William's second son, Richard, duke of Bernay, had been killed by a stag in the New Forest. The Conqueror left six daughters, of whom the fourth, Adela, married Stephen, Count of Blois, by whom she became the mother of Stephen, afterwards king of England.

The Norman conquerors were of the same race with the Vikings who had seized the west coast and the Danes who had ruled all England; but in their French home they had acquired, with the language and religion, all the knowledge and refinement of the country where they settled; and their conquest of England was as the introduction of a higher civilization. In many respects the conquest was an evil. A whole race was reduced to the condition of serfs, overawed by numerous castles, and insulted by the curfew; and huge tracts of land were depopulated to make way for forests, severe game laws being enacted. But in most respects it was a gain. The polished Norman language became that of the court and legal tribunals, and Norman manners superseded the sensuality of the Anglo-Saxon. "The polite luxury of the Norman presented a striking contrast to the coarse voracity of his Saxon and Danish neighbours. He loved to display his magnificence, not in huge piles of food and hogsheads of strong drink, but in large and stately edifices, rich armour, gallant horses, choice falcons, well-ordered tournaments, banquets delicate rather than abundant, and wines remarkable rather for their exquisite flavour than for their intoxicating power." At the time of the Norman Conquest the Anglo-Saxons were a rude race, and so inferior to their conquerors that they naturally fell into a state of vassalage, and "Englishman"

Changes.

Advantages of the Norman Conquest.

was an appellation of contempt. But in little more than a century and a half the conquering and the conquered race had amalgamated and formed the "English" people. The Anglo-Saxon language, with an admixture of Norman-French words, became the language of the whole nation, and gradually passed into the English of the present day. The Norman craftsmen covered the land with fine churches and castles. And while Norman refinement spread, the "tournaments" or jousts prevented the martial spirit from decaying.

The Norman Conquest of England put an end to the Scandinavian invasions, and relieved the country from this constant peril. It doubled the forces of England by adding Normandy to the English Crown. It gave her a new position in European affairs: henceforward there was scarcely a single important affair or negotiation on the Continent in which she did not take part. And her commerce now rapidly developed. Internally, in her religious, civil, and political constitution, England reaped other advantages from the Conquest, though they were not perceived till a much later epoch. Religion had declined under the Anglo-Saxons, and morality and learning had disappeared from the mass of the clergy. The Normans, more recent converts than the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, had a livelier, if not a purer, faith; and the Anglo-Norman clergy for some time after the Conquest showed their superiority to the Anglo-Saxon in learning and discipline. This progress must be attributed to the close connection maintained with Rome, which, in the face of the Feudal System, was almost the only source of science and civilization in Europe. The body of ecclesiastics, in great part renewed after the Conquest, was organized and disciplined by Lanfranc, who did for the Anglo-Norman Church what had been done four centuries before him for the Anglo-Saxon Church by the primate Theodorus, 668–697: faith manifested itself by a great zeal for religious foundations, and the country was soon covered with noble edifices. In the civil and political organization of England the immediate advantage from the Conquest was the establishment of a superior police, which was rendered comparatively easy by the graduated nature of the military aristocracy and its close dependence on the Crown. The Conqueror forbade the sale of children of both sexes, which had become very common.

Security from Norseman Invasion.

Religious Zeal Stimulated.

The Feudal System in its completeness was introduced into England by William the Conqueror. Its existence in germ among the Anglo-Saxons has already been referred to above. All land that was not what was termed allodial,—that is, the absolute property of the holder,—was held from a superior on condition of the holder performing military or other service when required. The land thus held was called a Fief,—Latin, beneficium,—and its holder a Vassal, and the superior the Feudal Lord or Suzerain. Each baron was the vassal of the king, and lesser proprietors were vassals of the barons, who were thus at once vassals of the king or another prince, and suzerains of their own vassals, and so on in the whole scale of society. The Feudal System, as introduced into England, differed from that on the Continent. In the latter the

Nature of the Feudal System.

vassal swore fealty only to his immediate superior: whereas William the Conqueror claimed all the land of England as the property of the Crown; and in the great assembly at Salisbury in 1086, after the completion of Domesday Book, he compelled the whole of the barons, lesser as well as greater, to take the oath of fealty to him; and thus all the land of the kingdom was held directly, or by sub-infeudation, —*i.e.*, another superior intervening,—from the king. There was no allodial land in England. There were two other parts of the system which were peculiar to England and Normandy: these were Wardships and Livery of Seisin. By Wardship the suzerain took charge of the holder, if a minor, and received the profits of the estates; if the ward was a female, and refused to marry as the suzerain directed, a fine was imposed by him on the estate; this rule was afterwards extended to male wards, and, though it gave rise to great abuses, was not abolished till 1660, under Charles II. Livery of Seisin was the release from Wardship. All the Anglo-Saxons were brought under the Feudal System, and the Thanes now became Franklins, or simple freeholders. The serfs, called Villains, or Villeins, were divided, as before, into two classes: those attached to certain lands,—villeins regardant,—and those that might be sold as slaves and removed—villeins in gross. The Normans, who held most of the manors from the Crown, were called Tenants-in-Chief,—or in capite,—and they were obliged to give knight-service; that is, to appear with a certain number of armed men, according to the extent of their holdings, and to keep the field for forty days, when called by the king; and on these occasions certain grants of money, called Aids, might be demanded from them by the Crown. When the special service differed from knight-service it was called Socage, and the tenant a Socman. A century later, 1159, a tax called Scutage, or Escuage, was levied in lieu of knight-service. When portions of an estate were held on condition of performing certain menial services, the land was said to be held by Villeinage Tenure, from which our copyhold tenure is derived. There were 1,400 tenants-in-chief, and nearly 8,000 mesne—or intermediate—superiors; and the whole of the country was divided into 60,000 fiefs. By the Conqueror's policy, individual nobles in England rarely acquired sufficient authority to defy the Crown, as they did frequently on the Continent. Every vassal was bound to attend his superior in war, and to pay Aids also, to provide money for his ransom if he was a prisoner, for the dowry of his eldest daughter, and for the knighting of his eldest son. All who lived within the royal demesnes, and all royal towns, were liable to an arbitrary and obnoxious tax called Tallage. Other sources of revenue of the suzerain were the Reliefs or Heriots, charges paid by the new holder on succeeding to a fief; Premier Seisin, or one year's profit on a fief if the heir to a Tenure-in-Chief had attained his majority; and Purveyance, the right of taking provisions and necessaries at merely nominal prices. William also imposed the Dane-gelt to raise revenue; it was collected for the last time in 1174. When any vassal died without heirs, his property became an Escheat, and reverted to the superior by Alienation as it was termed; and the non-fulfilment of the conditions on

Wardships and Livery of Seisin.

Socage, Scutage, and Tallage.

which the vassal held his lands, entailed their forfeiture by the superior.

Custom of Vassalage. The ceremony of giving possession of the lands to the vassal was called the Investiture, when the vassal did Homage, appearing bare-headed and unarmed in the presence of his suzerain, to swear that he would be true to him and defend him against all his enemies.

The Witena-gemot became transformed under the Feudal System into the Common Council of the Realm,—'Commune Concilium Regni',—or Great Council,—'Magnum Concilium,'—which was composed of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, greater barons,—or tenants-in-chief,—and the lesser barons,—or chief vassals of the greater barons. The principal men in the kingdom thus sat in this body, which was afterwards called the Parliament. It was summoned at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, and on special occasions, to give its consent to the imposition of taxes and the enactment of laws.

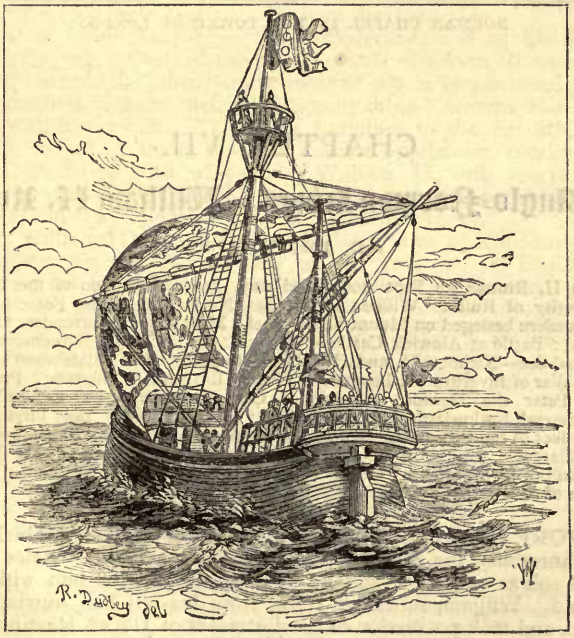
The Great Council. A judicial officer, called Chief Justiciary, was created by the Conqueror to preside in the king's absence, over the select council, the King's Chamber,—the 'Curia Regis,' or 'Aula Regis,'—which administered justice, and in which all the great officers of State sat. This court subsequently was subdivided into the Court of Exchequer, under Henry I., Court of Common Pleas, and the Court of King's Bench, under Richard I. The Court of Exchequer presided over all matters connected with the revenue, and received its name from the cloth which covered the table, and which was marked like a chess-board, that the king's receipts might be scored by counters on it.

Ancient Courts, the Curia Regis, etc. The Court of Common Pleas decided all civil causes between private persons; appeals were carried from it to the Court of King's Bench, which also took cognisance of all matters affecting the king and the realm. The earls, all of whom were greater barons,—baron being then the general designation of any nobleman,—had each a Baronial Court of his own, in which he dispensed justice among his vassals. Some check on these courts was kept by the old Anglo-Saxon Courts of Sessions, Judges of Assize, the County and the Hundred, which still sat under the presidency of the sheriff, whom all freeholders were bound to assist. From both the baronial and the old courts an appeal might be taken to the King's Chamber; and to expedite the hearing of appeals itinerant judges,—'Justices in Eyre,'—were instituted in 1118, and regularly appointed after 1176. To gratify the Pope, from whom William I. had derived so much aid, the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions were separated, and the Ecclesiastical Courts were established. Trial by Compurgation was not abolished till the reign of Henry II., and Trial by Ordeal continued to exist till forbidden by the Fourth Lateran Council, early in the reign of Henry II., when the Judicial Combat took its place.

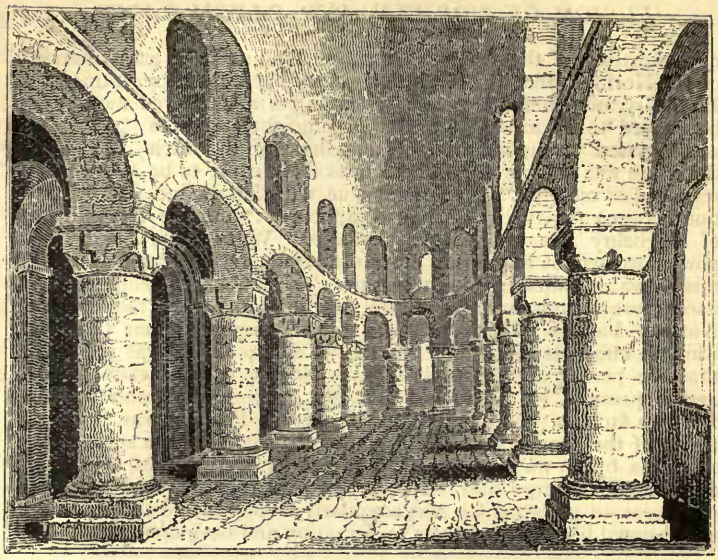
To secure obedience in the country which he had won by the sword, William the Conqueror was compelled to avail himself of a power practically unlimited; and most of the modifications which he introduced into the laws of Edward the Confessor were in the direction of an indefinite increase of the royal prerogative. The curfew, while serving as a protection against fire, was a political necessity to guard against conspiracies among the conquered race. It was from the

open hostility of the Anglo-Saxons and the numerous assassinations of the Normans that the law already mentioned, the 'Presentment of Englishry,' was found necessary: for unless a murdered man could be proved to be an Anglo-Saxon, or Englishman, a fine was imposed on the hundred or township within which the crime was committed. These fines later came to be regarded as merely a source of revenue, when all distinction between the two races had disappeared: and the Presentment of Englishry was accordingly abolished. William the Conqueror's power pressed as heavily on the Normans as on the Saxons; and in this he was imitated by his successors. The conquered people showed itself more submissive and faithful to the new dynasty than did the Norman barons. It is characteristic of despotism that the good which it effects is inseparable from great evils; and it was inevitable that the power of the Anglo-Norman kings, without counterpoise, and oppressive to all, should speedily become intolerable. From this two facts of great importance resulted. The first was, the rapid fusion of the conquering and the conquered peoples; the second was, after this fusion was accomplished, the union of all classes, aristocrats and burghers, large and small proprietors, against their common oppressor—a union which was singularly favourable to the revival of the national liberties and their preservation and development.

System of joint Responsibility of the Community.



THE SHIP OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.



NORMAN CHAPEL IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

CHAPTER VII.

The Anglo-Norman Kings.—William II. Rufus.

A.D. 1087 TO 1100.

William II. Rufus, 9th Sept. 1087—2nd Aug. 1100: Rebellion of the Barons: Severity of Rufus. William II. invades Normandy, 1090: Peace: Henry Beauclerc besieged on Mount St. Michael: Malcolm III. surrenders Cumberland: Battle at Alnwick Castle—"Percy": Epoch of the Supremacy of the Papal See—Nicholas II. and Hildebrand, Gregory VII. Hildebrand's Bulls: the War of Investitures: Penance of Henry II. State of Palestine: Preaching of Peter the Hermit: Council of Clermont, 1095: the First Crusade. Universal Enthusiasm in Christendom: Destruction of the First Host: Motives of the Crusaders. Three Bands of noble Crusaders: their Successes. William II. quarrels with Archbishop Anselm: Incursion of the Welsh: Revolt of De Mowbray: Heavy Taxation: Anselm leaves England. Spoliation of the Church. Death of William II.: his Character.

BEFORE his death, William wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Norman Lanfranc, announcing his choice of his second son as successor, and he at once despatched him with it to England. William, surnamed Rufus from his red hair, hurried from France, and took possession of the fortresses of Dover, Hastings, and

Pevensey, and the royal treasure—about £60,000—at Winchester. The coronation of William II. Rufus—9th Sept., 1087, to 2nd Aug. 1100—who was then thirty years of age, took place on the 26th of September, 1087, the new king taking an oath, already formulated in the charter of the Conqueror, to govern according to justice, mercy, and the laws.* Robert was by no means satisfied at being deprived of the succession to the English crown, and the Norman nobles in England were equally displeased with the separation of Normandy and England. The result was a struggle between William Rufus and some of his barons, led by his uncle Odo; but the king won by liberal promises the support of his Anglo-Saxon subjects, and quelled the rebellion, Odo being banished. He forgot, however, to fulfil his promises, and he ruled all classes with great severity, which increased after the death of Lanfranc, 1089.

Accession and Coronation of William II.

William, thus deserted by the Normans, resolved to appeal to the English. He convened their leading men, and making them many fair promises, particularly of a relaxation of the forest-laws, engaged them to declare in his favour; and with an army of Englishmen he besieged and took the castles of Pevensey and Rochester, which were held by Bishop Odo and his brother the Earl of Mortaigne. He granted their lives to his uncles, and let them depart, but he confiscated their estates. He then detached the potent Earl of Shrewsbury from the confederacy; and as his fleet, manned byEnglish, prevented the arrival of succours from Normandy, he speedily reduced the other barons, some of whom he pardoned, but most he attainted, dividing their lands among those Normans who had remained faithful to him. As for his promises to the English, he thought no longer on them, and the former oppression continued. William I. chastised with whips, but William II. with scorpions. Great tracts were depopulated for the enlargement of the royal parks and forests, and the game laws were increased in severity.

Appeal to the English.

In 1090, William II. passed over with a large force to Normandy to requite Robert for the dissaffection he had fomented in England. Robert appealed for help to his suzerain, Philip I. of France. The pressure of the barons on each side obliged the brothers to conclude a treaty, granting to all indemnity for the past, and stipulating that if either of the two brothers died without issue, his dominions should be inherited by the survivor. Henry had purchased from Robert the district of Cotentin for £3,000; but Robert and William Rufus now joined their forces to expel him. Henry withstood a siege in his castle of Mount St. Michael. William of Malmesbury narrates that when water failed, Henry sent a herald to announce the sufferings of the garrison to Robert, and the latter allowed the supply of water to be renewed. When William Rufus reproached him for his conduct,

Henry's Misfortunes.

* According to Eadmer, a Benedictine monk, and abbot of St. Albans, his contemporary, he took an oath "well to observe justice, equity, and mercy; to maintain the peace, liberties, and privileges of the Church; and to follow the archbishop's counsel in his administration."

Robert replied :—"It would be a shame if I allowed my brother to die of thirst; if we lose him, who will give us another brother?"

Henry Beauclerc's Resistance and Submission.

"The king himself," we are told, "as he was riding one day alone to view the fortress, was fallen on by two of Henry's men, and unhorsed. One of them was preparing to slay him, when he cried out, 'Hold, knave! I am the king of England.' The soldier dropped his sword, and raised him with every mark of respect. The king gave him a reward and took him into his service." Henry shortly afterwards capitulated, and was sent to England. Robert accompanied William Rufus to England, and joined him in an expedition, in 1091, against Malcolm III. of Scotland, who was obliged to surrender Cumberland to the English king and to send his son Duncan as a hostage. Two years afterwards, in a foray on the northern counties, Malcolm III. was defeated near Alnwick, by Robert de Mowbray, and slain. According to tradition, De Mowbray, when presenting Malcolm with the keys of the castle of Alnwick on the point of a spear, pierced the Scottish king in the eye, whence the name of Pierce-eye, or Percy, was adopted by the house of Northumberland. Malcolm's son Edward was also slain, and the queen, Margaret, Edgar Atheling's sister, died of grief three days afterwards. Donald VII. succeeded Malcolm; but Duncan II. escaped from the English court, and held the Scottish throne for a year.

At this period ecclesiastical questions absorbed all others, and the chivalry of Europe was preparing for the great struggles in the Holy Land known as the eight Crusades.

A revolution, of which the celebrated Hildebrand was the principal author, was at this time accomplished in the Church. The tenth century more especially had been for her a period of desolation; the see of St. Peter had become the prey of intrigue and violence; and these disorders were not the only evils that afflicted the Church. From the time the clergy, in order to defend their domains, had hastened to enter the feudal hierarchy, they had been bound down by the authority of the princes and their great vassals. Nearly all the bishops of France held fiefs of the crown; and in the course of the eleventh

Fiefs held by Bishops.

century there was an odious traffic in ecclesiastical lands and dignities, which were not given, as formerly, to the most worthy, but to the highest bidder. The Pope himself, who at that epoch was chosen by the clergy and people of Rome, was constrained to demand of the Emperor of Germany, as successor of Charlemagne, the confirmation of his election; and the Emperor, Henry III., taking advantage of the intestine divisions among the Romans, claimed the sole right of nominating and appointing the successor of St. Peter. Such was the situation of the Church towards the middle of the eleventh century. Nicholas II., who had just become Pope, had as councillor a monk who felt indignant at the vices of the ecclesiastics, the servitude of the Church, and the encroach-

Hildebrand and his Teachings.

ments of the temporal power on the spiritual authority. This monk, so celebrated in religious history, was Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII. He resolved to deprive the feudal lords of every species of influence over the clergy, to

strengthen the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and to raise the Pope above the kings of the earth, hoping thus to enable the Church to recover her efficiency, her splendour, and all her power. Such a prospect of universal supremacy was, in the age of Hildebrand, a conception of genius. This great man had consulted the spirit of his age. The rights of humanity were nowhere respected; the nations, oppressed by a thousand tyrants, had no other representative and no other natural defenders than the clergy. Most of the members of this order came from the lower classes; and ecclesiastical dignities, and even the triple crown of St. Peter itself, were often bestowed on men of the most obscure birth; so that the voice of the Church, combating the temporal power, might to some extent be regarded as the energetic protest of the people against their oppressors. There was merit and grandeur, under the feudal despotism, in determining to regenerate the world on a Christian basis, by giving it as a guide the man who was then universally recognised as the visible chief of Christianity. Hildebrand's honour consists in having reanimated religious enthusiasm by attempting to enfranchise the spiritual authority of the Church from all temporal servitude; his error consisted in having listened too much to his own ambition, in attempting to render the political government of the princes subservient to the ecclesiastical authority. Many priests and bishops contracted, by marriage, ties which rendered them dependent on the princes. Nicholas II. broke those ties; he forbade the marriage of priests, and severely punished monks living in a state of concubinage.

Hildebrand's Energy.

Nicholas II. was succeeded on the papal throne in 1061 by Alexander II. In 1073 Hildebrand was chosen, by the people and clergy of Rome, as the successor of Pope Alexander II. At first the new Pope deferentially asked his confirmation from the Emperor Henry IV. of Germany; and when he had obtained it, he displayed, under the name of Pope Gregory VII., his vast and haughty genius and his inflexible character. He withdrew the nomination of the Popes from the influence of the Emperors, by establishing the College of Cardinals, specially entrusted with the election of the Pontiff; he renewed the Bull condemning the marriage of priests; he prohibited emperors, kings, and the great vassals from giving ecclesiastical investitures to bishops; and, finally, he published the famous decretals known by the name of 'Dictatus Papæ,' in which he placed among the papal privileges those of deposing emperors, of making monarchs kiss his feet, of judging without appeal, and of being made holy by the mere fact of ordination.

Hildebrand becomes Pope Gregory VII.

All the efforts of Hildebrand and his friends were directed towards thrusting the German Imperial power from its supremacy, and establishing in its stead the universal supremacy of the Roman Church. As a cardinal, and as the counsellor of Alexander II., Hildebrand had endeavoured with all his power to establish Church reform and Church supremacy; and, on his elevation to the papal throne, in 1073, he had carried out these conceptions with the stubborn obstinacy of a monk and the intelligent sagacity of a statesman. He reduced the rebellious nobles of the territory of the Church to obedience, demanded and obtained from the Norman dukes homage

and the oath of fealty, and opened negotiations with Constantinople for the restoration of the Church union, and for combating the Mohammedans. He pronounced the decree of excommunication on Robert Guiscard, who refused to recognise the papal supremacy over Southern Italy; he threatened the King of France with exclusion if he did not reduce the Gallican Church to obedience to the commands of the Roman Church; and by his earnest remonstrances induced the German king, Henry, to despatch to Rome a letter full of submission. At the same time he renewed the prohibition against simony and the marriage of priests, in its severest form. The bishops and abbots who were reported to have obtained their posts by purchase or bribery were called to account and threatened with removal and excommunication, and five of the most influential counsellors of Henry were excluded from communion with the Church; and thoroughly to eradicate the evil, the same synod published the prohibition against every investiture by a layman, that is, against the giving away of Church offices by the princes of the countries by means of investiture with ring and staff; laws which had a great and startling influence on social and state life. The institution of celibacy bound the priest more closely to the Church, by removing all family ties. The abolition of the right of investiture involved a great diminution of the temporal power of the princes of the country, and, above all, of the Emperors. For as, by the liberality of the Emperor, kings, and nobles, the bishops and the principals of monasteries had been endowed, not only with property of all kinds, but with independent jurisdiction and many other privileges, and by their immunities were placed in a highly favourable position, the German Emperors, and, in other Christian countries, the kings, were compelled to claim certain rights of supremacy over them, if they did not wish to see a large portion of the kingdom withdrawn from their authority.

Edicts of Gregory VII.

Philip I., King of France, and Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, were both leading at this time a life full of scandal and violence; and in order to supply their unbounded extravagance they carried on, in defiance of the Pope's prohibition, the most disgraceful traffic in ecclesiastical endowments. The indignant Gregory VII. threatened Philip with excommunication, and issued it against the Emperor. An obstinate war began between them, which is known in history by the name of the "War of Investitures," because the Pope maintained by it his prohibition of princes investing bishops, and reserved that right solely for himself. In this celebrated war the principal allies of the Pontiff were the Normans of Apulia and Sicily, and the sovereign Countess Matilda of Tuscany. Gregory VII. liberated the subjects of Henry from the oath of allegiance; and the Emperor, abandoned by them, found himself reduced to implore pardon of the haughty Pope. Henry IV. presented himself as a suppliant in the month of January, 1077, at the castle of Canossa, the residence of the Pope, who insulted his misfortunes. The Pope was soon convinced that the king's repentance was genuine; still he hesitated to receive his penitence and submission, fearing that by granting absolution he should loosen the league he

Quarrel with the Emperor Henry IV.

had made with the German princes. Not till Henry had waited three days, with naked feet and in the garb of penitence, before the gate of the fortress, and had appealed with tears to the compassion of the Holy Father, did the Countess Matilda and the abbot of Cluny succeed by their intercession in softening the obdurate temper of the head of the Church. After Henry had solemnly sworn in the presence of

GREGORY VII. (HILDEBRAND).

several witnesses to give the princes who had revolted from him such satisfaction as the verdict of the Pope should demand, or to become reconciled with them in conformity with Gregory's wish, he, with other outlaws, obtained access to the Pope. With many tears they threw themselves on the ground before the powerful priest. Gregory listened to the confession of the peni-

Humiliation of the Emperor.

tents, granted them absolution, and pronounced the apostolic blessing. The impressive ceremony concluded with a mass in the church of the citadel. Henry was now absolved from the ban; he once more assumed his royal rights, and the Council of Augsburg was rendered void. But the authority of the Crown was gone. It was evident "that he who was the chosen of the Roman cardinals was the more powerful, for he could put down their king from his seat, and then raise him again from the dust." When Henry, in a penitent's garb, begged for admission before the gates of Canossa, the splendour of the German Empire paled, and a new glory shone forth round the head of the Roman Pontiff. With the day of Canossa a new epoch begins in the history of the Middle Ages. What the author of the Isidorian decretals had held in view as his aim and object, had now been in reality accomplished. The Apostolic See was regarded as the source and fountain-head of all power in Church and State. But so many outrages had revolted the crowned heads and moved the partisans of the Emperor with indignation. Gregory would endure everything rather than risk his newly-acquired supremacy by a compromise, or by consenting to crown Henry as Emperor. When all attempts at conciliation proved fruitless, the Romans, bowed down by the evils of war and devastation, declared that they were ready to revolt from Gregory and receive the king with the rival Pope within their walls. Thus Henry made his entry into the eternal city, took possession of the Lateran, and caused the deposition of Gregory, who was still residing in the castle of St. Angelo, to be pronounced by an assembly of spiritual and temporal nobles. Thereupon Clement III., after having received his own consecration from two bishops, crowned Henry and Bertha as Emperor and Empress on March 31st, 1084. Threatened by the Germans, and deserted by the Romans, Gregory passed anxious days, until at last help came from the South. In his dire need he had concluded a league with the rapacious and faithless Norman prince, Robert Guiscard, who had inflicted many an injury on the Papacy and the Roman territory, and had been excommunicated by the Church; on the strength of this treaty, he was absolved from the ban, received Southern Italy as a papal fief, and, in return, promised his assistance against the Germans. The Normans attacked Rome, set fire to the houses, destroyed the memorials of ancient art and splendour, plundered churches and palaces, and carried off the captured citizens into slavery. These cruelties and depredations enraged the Romans to such a degree, that the Pope deemed it advisable to quit the field, and to follow the Normans, who retired with wagons of booty, prisoners, and hostages, to Southern Italy. In the following year he died at Salerno, even on his death-bed binding and absolving. His last words, "I loved justice and hated injustice, therefore I am dying in exile," prove that he passed away deeming himself a martyr. Ambition and love of power were the leading motives of his every action, word, and thought; "to govern the world by means of the Word," the aim of his life; to these passions he sacrificed, like a restless conqueror, the happiness of millions, the peace of nations. "All princes," he once wrote to the king of Denmark, "ought to kiss the foot of the

End of the Career of Gregory VII.

Pope; he alone should wear imperial insignia; through the merit of St. Peter he is a saint of the Lord." Such was the nature of the papal claims to sovereignty in the eleventh century. Henry IV. avenged himself, and Gregory VII. died in exile. The colossal edifice raised by this ambitious Pontiff did not perish with him; his successors consolidated it amid terrible upheavals in the Empire and the Church: he had founded the universal monarchy of the Popes on a durable basis, on the ruling spirit of his age; and 100 years later this supremacy attained its culminating point. The Crusades contributed greatly to its consolidation; Gregory VII. conceived the idea, but it was not given to him to see its accomplishment. The first of those memorable events had its origin in the time of William II. Rufus of England, and under the pontificate of Urban II.

The Holy Land, held since the middle of the sixth century by the Mussulmans, had been one of the first victories of the disciples of Mohammed; and henceforward the subjugation of the country had been a theme of indignation and sorrow to Christendom. It was believed that an especial sanctity was attached to the places where Christ had suffered death for mankind, and where His tomb was yet to be seen. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem was regarded as the most effectual means for the expiation of sins; and great numbers of pilgrims journeyed, alone or in bands, to Palestine, to pray at the tomb of the Saviour. Already adventurous knights, after seeking through Europe new fields for their valour, had carried defiance to the Mussulman; but most of these had been slain, and only a few returned to Europe, where the recital of their perils and of their glorious deeds of arms filled every soul with an ardent and pious emulation. Such was the public disposition of feeling, when an enthusiast, known as Peter the Hermit, quitted the town of Amiens, his native place, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The sight of the holy places excited to the highest degree his pious fervour: he returned to Europe and repaired to Italy. There he exhorted Pope Urban II. to place himself at the head of the nations of Europe, conjoined for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre and the rescue of the bones of the saints from the hands of the Mussulmans. He won over the Pontiff to his views, and received from him letters to all the Christian princes, with the mission of stimulating them to this holy enterprise. Peter the Hermit travelled through Europe, he inflamed the imagination of the nobles and the people, he preached to them salvation, and promised them Paradise if they would go to Palestine. Two years later, in 1095, a council, convoked by the Pope, assembled at Clermont in Auvergne, on the 18th of November. A great number of princes and nobles of all ranks flocked thither, and 310 bishops supported the solemnity under the presidency of Urban II. himself. After having settled clerical affairs, Urban drew a pathetic picture of the desolation of the holy shrines; he lamented bitterly the afflictions suffered by the Christians of Palestine, and the listening throng burst into sobs and tears. The Pope next recounted the audacity and insolence of the enemies of Christ, and, indignant at such outrages, exclaimed in the tone of inspiration:—

Pilgrimages to Jerusalem.

Peter the Hermit and Pope Urban II.

Crusading Council of Clermont.

"Enrol yourselves under the banners of God: advance, sword in hand, like true children of Israel, into the land of promise: charge boldly and doubt not that, opening a path through the armies of the infidels and the numbers of their host, the Cross will ever be victorious for the Crusader. Make yourselves masters of those fertile lands which infidels have usurped: drive out thence heresy and impiety; in short, make their land produce palms only for you, and out of their spoils raise magnificent trophies to glory, religion, and the French nation." At these words the transport was general, his hearers quivered with indignation, and impatiently desired to arm at once—at once to depart:—"Let us go," said the whole assembly, "it is the will of God! it is the will of God!" "Go then," replied the Pope, "go, brave champions of Jesus Christ, avenge His wrong; and since all together have cried 'It is the will of God!' let those words be the battle-cry of your holy enterprise." The distinctive sign, adopted in common by all these warriors, was a cross of red cloth worn on the right shoulder, and from this was derived the name Crusade—from the French croisade, from croix, cross. The princes and nobles received such crosses from the hands of the Pope; the people came in crowds, and the cardinals and bishops distributed these badges with their benedictions: to take the Cross, was to vow to make the sacred journey.

The substance of this oration, which was composed and written, is preserved by William of Malmesbury, who assures us that he has retained some parts of it unchanged. "Go!" said he, with confidence, "to attack the enemies of God. The cause of your labours will be charity (that is, piety joined to benevolence); the wages of charity will be the favour of God; the favour of God is followed by eternal life. They have usurped Asia, the greatest part of the globe, where sprung up all the branches of our worship; which the apostles have consecrated by their martyrdom. They usurp even the sepulchre of our Lord, and sell admissions to that city, which ought above all to be open to Christians. The Turks and Saracens oppress even Spain, a noble part of our own Europe. They threaten the rest. Let such as will fight for Christianity put a red cross upon their garments, as the symbol of the Redeemer's suffering, as an outward sign of their own love. Go, and employ in noble warfare that valour and sagacity which you waste in civil broils. Do you fear death?—Death hastens the entry of the good into their country; death hinders the ungodly from adding to his wickedness."

The Crusaders separated to prepare for departure and to communicate to others their pious ardour. The general meeting of the ardent host was fixed for the spring of the following year. The enthusiasm meanwhile extended to every class in Christendom. Each one desired to merit salvation by devoting himself to a desperate undertaking, by essaying an adventurous life in unknown lands. An immense number of serfs, peasants, homeless wanderers, and even women and children, assembled together; and their impatience could brook neither obstacles nor delays. They divided into two bands, led, the one by "Peter the Hermit," the other, by a knight named "Walter the Moneyless."

Great Excitement.

First Bands of Crusaders.

Their fanatic zeal displayed itself on the way by a general massacre of the unoffending Jews. They devastated for their support the countries through which they passed, raising up in arms against themselves the outraged population; and almost all perished of famine, fatigue, and misery, before they reached Palestine. Notwithstanding, the flower of European chivalry took up arms for the Cross, and the nobles pawned their property to defray the expenses of the enterprise. Robert Curt-Hose, of Normandy, mortgaged his duchies of Normandy and Maine to his brother William II., Rufus, for 10,000 marks (£6,666 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling), a sum raised by great oppression by the English king; and William, Duke of Guienne and Count of Poitiers, followed his example. "In later periods, the temporal benefits of undertaking a Crusade undoubtedly blended themselves with less selfish considerations. Men resorted to Palestine, as in modern times they have done to the colonies, in order to redeem their fame or repair their fortune. Thus Gui de Lusignan, after flying from France for murder, was ultimately, 1186, raised to the throne of Jerusalem. To the more vulgar class were held out inducements which, though absorbed in the over-ruling fanaticism of the first Crusade, might be exceedingly efficacious when it began rather to flag. During the time that a crusader bore the cross, he was free from suit for his debts, and the interest of them was entirely abolished; he was exempted, in some instances at least, from taxes, and placed under the protection of the Church, so that he could not be impleaded in any civil court, except on criminal charges or disputes relating to land."—*Hallam.*

In the first Crusade the warriors divided themselves into three formidable armies: the first was commanded by Robert, Duke of Normandy and Maine, eldest son of William the Conqueror,—the second by Godfrey of Bouillon, the hero of his age, who was son of Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, had received Antwerp from the Emperor Henry IV., and became Duke of Lower Lorraine in 1089,—and the third by the Count of Toulouse, Raymond de St. Gilles. Godfrey was proclaimed commander-in-chief: 10,000 knights followed kim, with 70,000 men on foot from France, Lorraine, and Germany; the general muster was at Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Emperor, Alexius Comnenus. The Eastern successor of the Cæsars received them with discourtesy, and hastened to give them vessels to cross the Bosphorus, after having cunningly obtained from them the oath of homage for their future conquests. The Crusaders first possessed themselves of Nicæa,—20th June, 1097,—then of Antioch,—3rd June, 1098,—through sanguinary struggles; and at length achieved the conquest of Jerusalem, after a siege from the 7th of June to the 15th of July, 1099. In 1099 a Christian kingdom was founded in Palestine; Godfrey de Bouillon was its recognised king, but contented himself with the title of "Baron of the Holy Sepulchre." Feudalism was organized in the East; three great fiefs of the Crown of Jerusalem were created: there were the principalities of Antioch and Edessa, and the earldom of Tripoli; there was a Marquis of Jaffa, a Prince of Galilee, a Baron of Sidon; and the name of "Franks" became in Asia, and continued, an appellation common to all Christians. Such

The Crusaders and Alexius Comnenus.

Godfrey of Bouillon.

were the principal facts of the first and most celebrated Crusade. There only returned to Europe one-tenth of the number who quitted it

Already in the following year Godfrey of Bouillon fell a victim to the unaccustomed climate and to extreme fatigue. He died July 18th, 1100. He was buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and was lamented equally by Franks, Syrians, and Greeks. His brother Baldwin,—who, on the intelligence of Godfrey's death, gave the principality of Edessa as a fief to his kinsman, Baldwin of Burg, and hastened to Jerusalem,—inherited the sovereignty, and was the first to adopt the royal title.

Under Baldwin I., who died in 1118, and Baldwin II., who died in 1131, the kingdom of Jerusalem reached its greatest extension. After acquiring the coast-towns of Cæsarea, Accon (Acre, or Ptolemais), Tripolis, Berytus, Sidon, and Tyre, it stretched from Tarsus in Cilicia and Edessa to Gaza in the south. The earldoms of Tripolis and Edessa, however, and the principality of Antiochia were only loosely united with it in a feudal bond.

After the death of Lanfranc, in 1087, William II., Rufus, for four years kept the see of Canterbury vacant, to swell the royal purse by the archiepiscopal revenues; but after a severe illness his conscience was alarmed, and he conferred the primacy on Anselm, Abbot of Bec in Normandy, who was invested on the 4th of December, 1093.

Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Anselm, it is said, fell on his knees, wept, and implored the king not to require him to accept the dignity; and when this availed not, he clenched his right hand so fast that it was by main force that the pastoral staff was placed in it. But if Anselm was firm in refusing his high office, he was equally firm in maintaining his rights against the Crown. William, on his recovery, forgot all his good resolutions, and went on in his old course of tyranny and oppression; he sold spiritual dignities as before, and still held the revenues of the Church, and among them a great part of those of Canterbury. This caused disputes between him and the primate; another cause of disunion was the schism in the papacy, there being now two rival Popes, Urban and Clement; and Anselm, who had already acknowledged the former, resolved to cause his authority to be recognised in England, while William, like his father, would have no Pope acknowledged there whom he had not himself received. Both king and primate were resolute. The former at length summoned a synod at Rockingham in order to have Anselm deposed; but the bishops declaring themselves incompetent, he gave up the attempt, and other motives afterwards having induced him to acknowledge Urban, the contest thus ended. But when, in 1097, the king was about to make an inroad into Wales, and he called on the primate to furnish his proportion of troops as he was bound, Anselm sent them in such bad condition as to be quite useless; the king threatened to prosecute him; the primate pleaded poverty, and demanded the restoration of his revenues. At length, not thinking himself safe in England, he asked and obtained permission to return to the Continent; he then repaired to Rome, where he was received with great respect by Urban as a sufferer in the cause of the Church; the king mean-

time seized on all the revenues of his see. Rufus' difficulties were increased by incursions of the Welsh into the western counties,—to prevent the recurrence of which he built a chain of forts,—and an insurrection, in 1095, of the powerful Earl of Northumberland, Robert de Mowbray. The object of the conspirators was to dethrone William, and to set up as king of England, Stephen, Count of Aumale, the nephew of the Conqueror. Mowbray, the leader and deviser of the whole scheme, shut himself up in Bamborough Castle. Mowbray was at length taken prisoner by stratagem; and it was only when orders were given to the executioner to tear out his eyes that his wife, the Countess Matilda, consented to open the castle gates. He was kept a state prisoner for thirty years, and died at last in a dungeon of Windsor Castle. The other conspirators were punished in various ways. Among them were to be found some of the foremost names in the kingdom, including, among others, William, Count of Eu, a relation of the king's; William of Alderic, the king's godfather; Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury; Odo, Earl of Holderness; and Walter de Lacey.

Insurrection of Robert de Mowbray.

The burdens of the people were further increased in 1097, by the exaction of 10,000 marks (£6,666 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling). In the same year a tax was imposed for the rebuilding of London Bridge, the erection of Westminster Hall,—which was the great hall of the king's palace at Westminster,—and the construction of a wall round the Tower. The same year, 1097, witnessed the last attempt of the Norsemen upon England; Magnus III., of Norway, landed on the Isle of Anglesey, but was repulsed. The king's quarrel with Anselm now became so violent and his spoliation of church property so open, that the primate retired to Rome; and the Pope, Urban II., in 1098 held an ecclesiastical council at Rome, and threatened the king, but vainly, with excommunication. Rufus' boon companion and creature, a priest, Ralph Flambard, whom he made Bishop of Durham, sold for him ecclesiastical offices to the highest bidder. The Pope's threats being unavailing, Anselm continued in voluntary exile. In 1099, the Duke of Guienne and Poitiers joined the Crusaders, and mortgaged his dominions to William II. In the following year, 1100, four thousand acres of land, which had been bequeathed by the great Godwin, Earl of Kent, to the monks of Canterbury, were submerged; this tract, still below water mark, is the dangerous quicksand known as the Goodwin Sands.

Buildings: Westminster Hall, the Tower, &c.

In the autumn the king went hunting in the New Forest, Hampshire. Predictions of his early death were rife among his discontented subjects; the knowledge of this and an ominous dream in the preceding night had made him gloomy on the morning of the 2nd of August, 1100, and disinclined for the chase. But in the afternoon, after having drunk more copiously than usual at dinner, he sallied forth with his attendants. The party separated in the excitement of the chase, and on reassembling the king could not be seen. A search was instituted, and at length his body was found beneath a tree with an arrow through the breast. His death was attributed to a Norman Knight, Sir Walter Tyrrel, who fled to France, but subsequently asserted his innocence. Whether

Death of William II.

the king was shot by accident or design is unknown. The death of the second and third sons,—Richard, Duke of Bernay, and William II., Rufus,—of the Conqueror in the New Forest, was popularly regarded as a judgment from heaven for the barbarity with which the enclosure had been effected. The reign of William II., regarded politically, had been very prosperous; but the savage game-laws which he enacted, the depopulation of large tracts for royal parks and forests, his arbitrary exactions, and his licentiousness, had made him exceedingly unpopular; and his death caused no public sorrow.

Hume gives the following account of his death: "Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his address in archery, attended him in this recreation, of which the New Forest was the scene; and as William had dismounted after a chase, Tyrrel, impatient to show his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a stag which suddenly started before him. The arrow, glancing from a tree, struck the king in the breast, and instantly slew him; while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put spurs to his horse, hastened to the sea-shore, embarked for France, and joined the Crusade in an expedition to Jerusalem—a penance which he imposed on himself for this involuntary crime. The body of William was found in the forest by the country people, and was buried without any pomp or ceremony at Winchester. His courtiers were negligent in performing the last duties to a master who was so little beloved; and every one was too much occupied in the interesting object of fixing his successor, to attend the funeral of a dead sovereign." *

Recent historians, however, have pointed out, that though this is the popular,—almost the universal,—belief of the manner of Rufus' death, and of the fate of Tyrrel, founded upon the accounts given by William of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, and Simeon of Durham, all of whom wrote within forty years of the occurrence, there is evidence pointing in another direction. Thus, the Abbot of St. Denis, Sugerius, a contemporary and friend of Tyrrel, who wrote the life of Louis le Gros, King of France, says in that work, "he had often heard Tyrrel affirm upon oath that he neither came that day into that part or side of the forest where the king hunted, nor ever saw him there." Some historians think that the death of the king was the result of a conspiracy of which Tyrrel was the instrument; but there appears no reason whatever for attributing this guilt to the knight. According to Baker, the king had many signs of some great disaster towards him, before he went to the New Forest. He drank more liberally than his custom, as it were in contempt of presages, before he left his palace; having first given Sir Walter Tyrrel two cross-bow arrows out of six which were brought him; saying, he knew how to shoot them to purpose.

Accounts by various Historians.

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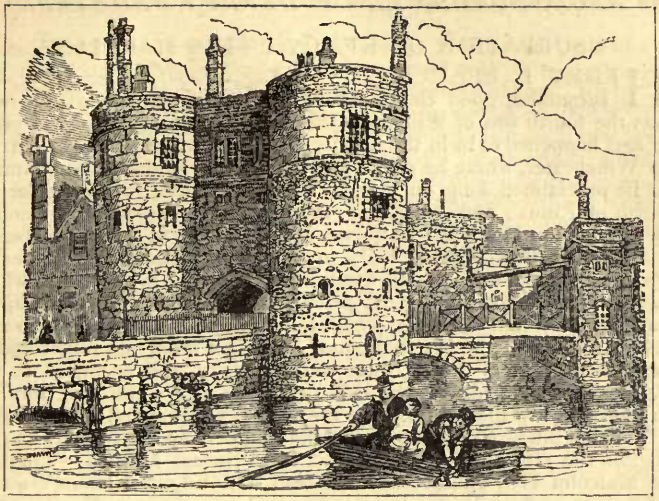
* His body was drawn, in a collier's cart with one horse, to the city of Winchester, where, the day following, it was buried in the cathedral church of St. Swithin.—*Baker.*



MOAT AND ENTRANCE GATEWAY, TOWER OF LONDON.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Anglo-Norman Kings—Henry I. (Beauclerc), and Stephen.

A.D. 1100–1154.

Henry I., Beauclerc, 3rd Aug., 1100–1st Dec., 1135: his Popular Promises: Marriage with Matilda: Union of the Norman and Anglo-Saxon Dynasties. Robert of Normandy invades England, 1101: Treaty of Peace: Henry I. invades Normandy, 1106: Battle of Tenchebrai: Annexation of Normandy: Fate of Robert and Edgar Atheling. Dispute with Anselm regarding Investiture. War with Louis V. of France, 1119–1120: Interference of Pope Calixtus II.: Peace: Shipwreck of Prince William of England, 1120: Death of William Clinton at Alost, 1128. State of the Kingdom under Henry I. The Succession: Designation of Matilda, her second Marriage. Death of Henry I.: His Character. Anglo-Norman Literature: Ingulph, Geoffrey of Monmouth: William of Malmesbury. Stephen, 26th Dec., 1135–25th Oct., 1154, is generally recognised: his Promises: Building of Castles. Invasion of David I. of Scotland, 1136: Battle of the Standard, 22nd August, 1138: Peace: Cession of Northumberland. Great Lawlessness: Arrival of Matilda: the Civil War, 22nd Sept., 1139–7th Nov., 1153: Battle of Lincoln: Imprisonment of Stephen, 2nd Feb., 1141: Election of Matilda as Queen: her Flight from London: Release of Stephen: Siege of Oxford, 1142: Flight of Margaret. Prince Henry's Power; Stephen's Difficulties: Henry invades England: Treaty of Peace, 7th November, 1153: Death of Stephen: his Descendants. The Second Crusade, 1147–1149.

USURPATION OF HENRY I.—HIS MARRIAGE.

HENRY I., BEAUCLERC, 3rd Aug., 1100–1st Dec., 1135,—so surnamed, good clerk, scholar, from his literary tastes,—who was the fourth son of William I. the Conqueror, and then thirty years of age, happened to be in the vicinity when his brother died. He hurried to Winchester, where he seized the royal treasure and caused himself to be proclaimed king on the 3rd of August, 1100, the day after the death of Rufus; and on Sunday, the 5th, he was crowned at London by the Bishop Maurice. To secure his possession of the throne before his elder brother Robert, Duke of Normandy, then a Crusader in Palestine, could hear of his usurpation, he issued a Charter in which he restored to the Church its privileges, and undertook to fill up all vacancies without exaction, pledged himself to his barons,—who now take the place of the Witena-gemot,—to exact moderate reliefs and to restrict his powers in wardships and marriage, and promised to the Anglo-Saxons to abolish the Danegelt and Curfew, and to restore the laws of Edward the Confessor as they had been amended by his father. He further procured the goodwill of the conquered population by marrying, on the 11th of November, 1100, the Princess Matilda,—daughter of Malcolm III., Canmore of Scotland, and Edgar Atheling's queen Margaret,—who is known in history as "the good queen Maud."* By this marriage not only was a close alliance formed with the royal house of Scotland, but the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman lines were united. The queen-consort was the lineal representative of the founder of the monarchy, Cerdic; and in the eyes of the Anglo-Saxons the right of Henry I. to the throne was now inviolable. Objection had been taken to the marriage on the ground that Matilda was a nun; but it was shown that she had entered a convent only for protection in her orphan state. A council of prelates and barons, summoned by Anselm, who, by Henry's invitation, had returned to England, aware that such had been a common practice with the English ladies since the Conquest, pronounced her free to marry; and Anselm joined her forthwith in matrimony with the king, and anointed and crowned her queen, to the great joy of the English nation, who looked on this as a return to their ancient line of princes. But Henry's Anglo-Norman subjects considered the marriage degrading to their royal house; they strangely ignored the fact that she was a Scottish princess, and regarded her only as the representative of the royal family of the despised Anglo-Saxons.

Marriage of Henry and Matilda of Scotland.

Flambard, Bishop of Durham, having been imprisoned on the accession of Henry I., escaped from the Tower by means of a rope conveyed to him in a jar of wine, and fled to Normandy, to which

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* On the marriage, or rather betrothal, of Matilda, the king levied three shillings on every hide of land, as her dowry. It amounted to about £135,000 of the money of the present day. "The Saxon Chronicle" describes the sufferings of the people in that year as very great, "caused by the failure of the crops, and the taxes demanded by the king for this dowry." The queen died in 1119. She built the hospital in St. Giles, Cripple-gate; and founded St. Catherine's Church and Hospital, near the Tower. In her epitaph, at Winchester, she is called 'Mold,' the good queen."

Robert had now returned from Palestine. He incited the duke to claim England from his younger brother: and with this object another Norman army landed at Portsmouth on the 19th of July, 1101. War was averted by the intercession of Anselm, and a treaty was concluded, its conditions being that Robert Curt-hose should give up his claim for an annual pension of 3000 marks (£2000 sterling) and the cession of all the castles which Henry I. held in Normandy; that in the event of either dying without a legitimate heir, the other should succeed to his dominions; and that an amnesty should be granted to the adherents of each. Robert subsequently gave himself up to dissipation; and Henry I., taking advantage of the discontent of the duke's subjects, landed in Normandy at Easter in 1105, when he was speedily joined by a large body of insurgents. At Whitsuntide, after a fruitless interview with Robert, Henry I. returned to England; but in 1106 he again landed with a strong force in Normandy and laid siege to the castle of Tenchebrai. Robert attempted to relieve the fortress; but on the 28th of September, 1106, his forces were totally defeated, and Robert himself was taken prisoner, along with Edgar Atheling, the English queen's uncle, and his chief supporters. Henry I. now annexed Normandy, and thus a second time the English kingdom and a large province of France were united. Robert was made a state prisoner and confined for the remaining twenty-eight years of his life in the castle of Cardiff. Duke Robert died A.D. 1134, one year before his brother Henry. He was interred at Gloucester.

Treaty between Henry I. and Robert.

Battle of Tenchebrai.

"The fate of Robert, the only Norman prince who has a claim on our sympathy, was a hard one. His captivity at first was light, but having attempted to make his escape, his eyes, it is said,* were put out by command of his unnatural brother, according to the barbarous practice of the age; and during a term of thirty years he was transferred from castle to castle; and he breathed his last in that of Cardiff, in the eightieth year of his age. His lovely wife, whose prudence might have averted his misfortunes, had died some years before the battle of Tenchebrai; his only son William, a boy of five years of age, was taken at Falaise. When led before his uncle, he sobbed and cried for mercy. Henry made a sudden effort, as if to rid himself of evil thoughts, and directed him to be removed He was committed to the care of a baron named Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, by whom he was carefully nurtured.

Fate of Robert of Normandy.

"Among the captives at Tenchebrai was Edgar Atheling, whom some slight similarity of character had attracted to Robert's fortune. He was personally brave, but so mean were his talents, that Henry, like his father, could venture to assume the appearance of magnanimity toward him. He gave him his liberty and a small pension; and the last male of the line of Cerdic thus vanishes from history."—*Keightley.*

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* Westminster, Paris, Wikes. Malmesbury, however, who was a contemporary, says, "To the day of his death he was held in free custody by the laudable affection of his brother, suffering no evil but solitude, if that can be called solitude where there was great attention on the part of his keepers, and no want of amusements or of dainties."

In 1098 Pope Urban II. had threatened to excommunicate all sovereigns who should invest any bishops by ring and crozier—"per annulum et baculum." Anselm had hitherto declined investiture by Henry I.; and on his visit to Rome, in 1103, Pope Pascal II. refused to authorize an acknowledgment of the king's right to invest. Anselm proceeded to the court of Henry's sister, Adela, Countess of Blois, where, in July, 1105, he had an interview, without effect, with the English monarch. As Henry remained firm in his resistance to the pretensions of the Papacy, Anselm withdrew to the abbey of Bec; but the Pope, in 1106, agreed to allow the prelates to do homage for their temporalities, per sceptrum, by the sceptre, on the king giving up investiture by the ring and crozier; and Anselm returned to England. In 1108 a council was assembled in London by Anselm, when the celibacy of the clergy was enforced. To isolate the clergy and deprive them of their character of citizens, was the surest mode of increasing and retaining the Papal supremacy. In the following year Anselm died, at the age of seventy-six.

Urban II. and Investiture.

After this ecclesiastical contest, Henry I. became involved in war with Louis VI. of France. After a preliminary struggle as to the possession of the castle of Gisors, Louis embraced the cause of William Clinton, the son of Robert Curt-hose, the dispossessed Duke of Normandy. Henry I. obtained a decisive victory in the battle of Brenville, or Noyon, on the 20th of August, 1119. Louis made an appeal to the militias of the cities and of the Church, and found them disposed to second him: the prelates ordered their inferior clergy to summon the parishioners to arms; and these, led by their pastors, ranged themselves under the royal standard, and entered with Louis VI. into Normandy, where they committed great ravages. A council was assembled at Rheims, under the presidency of Pope Calixtus II., to end this ruinous war; and after Louis had recited his grievances, the conditions of peace were drawn up by the council and agreed to: Henry was to remain in possession of Normandy, for which his son, Prince William, should render homage to the king of France. Henry I. and his son, Prince William, visited Normandy in the following year to receive the homage of the barons. On their return they chose the port of Barfleur for departure, 25th of November, 1120. The king crossed in safety; but when the prince's ship sailed in the afternoon, the captain and crew were intoxicated, and she struck on a rock. The prince escaped in a boat, but he put back to save his natural sister, the Countess of Perche: a rush was now made to the boat, and she sank. Only two clung to the wreck—the captain, Fitzstephen, and Berold, a butcher of Rouen. Fitzstephen threw himself into the sea when he perceived the loss of the prince; and Berold alone escaped to tell the tale. It is said, that after this loss Henry I. never smiled again. "The death of this prince," says Keightley, "was a misfortune to England, inasmuch as it gave occasion to the civil wars which ensued; but had he survived he would probably have been as great a tyrant as any of his race, for he often declared that if ever he came to govern England he would yoke the Saxons to the plough like oxen." Queen Matilda had died two years before her son.

War with France; Battle of Brenville.

The Wreck of the White Ship.

NORMAN BARON OF THE 12TH CENTURY.

The French King's son, Louis the Young, again resumed the war, and the French monarch created William Clinton Earl of Flanders. Henry I. incited a revolt against the new earl, who was killed under the walls of Alost on the 27th of July, 1128. Henry I. spent the most of his time in Normandy, and his wars for the defence of that province entailed heavy taxation on the English. All rent was paid in money, and not in kind; and taxes were collected with great rigour from even the poor. Henry I., like his predecessor, kept many benefices vacant to obtain the revenues, and

Progress of the Country.

amassed a great private fortune. He greatly improved the coinage, and severely punished debasers of coin. Under him a system of weights and measures was brought into use. Woollen manufactures were established at Worsted near Norwich by some workmen from Flanders. And in 1130 the first arched bridge, thence named "Bow Bridge," was built over the Lea near Stratford. The establishment of the Court of Exchequer and Justices in Eyre are matters that belong to this reign. During it the Cistercian order of Monks and the order of the Knights Templars (so named from their residence near the site of Solomon's Temple) were founded.

Some particulars of the Orders of Knighthood, which arose from the Crusades, and on which the kingdom of Jerusalem greatly depended for support, may be here given. There arose in the earlier days of the Crusades three orders of knights, combining the spirit of chivalry and of monastic life; for, besides the three monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, the members took a fourth: they swore to combat the unbeliever, and protect all pilgrims. They obtained great privileges and wealth, and took many soldiers into their pay. Each order had its peculiar costume decorated with a cross.

First came the Knights Hospitallers, or the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. In the eleventh century a hospital, governed according to the Benedictine rule, was founded by some merchants of Amalfi, not far from the Holy Sepulchre, for the care and maintenance of poor wounded and sick pilgrims. Soon this asylum was no longer large enough, therefore the monks founded a new hospital, which they dedicated to the patriarch John of Egypt, who had made himself so prominent at the beginning of the seventh century by his benevolence, that he received the surname of "The Compassionate."

Orders of Knighthood: Hospitallers.

The second order was that of the Knights Templars, founded by French nobles, according to the same rules and regulations. This order, which bore the name of "Brothers of the Militia of the Temple," from their dwelling in the royal castle near the Temple of Solomon, was distinguished by bravery and warlike courage, and obtained great wealth by gifts and legacies. After the loss of their possessions in Palestine, most of the members went to Cyprus and thence to France, where they fell into unbelief and Eastern superstition; and, corrupted by idleness, surrendered themselves to a luxurious life, and thus hastened the destruction of their order by the French king, Philip IV., at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The Knights Templars.

As the Hospitallers devoted themselves chiefly to Italian pilgrims, while the Templars took care of the French pilgrims, so in the third Crusade a third great order, that of the Teutonic Knights, was instituted for the care of German pilgrims, under the auspices of Frederick of Swabia, shortly before his death, 1210. In its working and in general constitution it resembled the two others, and was established in the German hospital "of our dear Lady at Jerusalem," by the help of merchants of Lübeck and Bremen. The first Master of the order was Count Waldbott, of Bassenheim on the Rhine.

By the death of Prince William, Henry I. had been left without any male offspring. His daughter, Matilda, married the Emperor Henry

V. of Germany. "The good queen Maud" died in 1118; and on the 2nd of February, 1121, Henry I. married Adelais, daughter of Geoffrey, Duke of Louvain, but the marriage was without issue. On the death of Henry V., in 1125, the widowed Matilda came to England; and on Christmas Day her father made all his nobles and vassals, including his young nephew Stephen, Count of Blois, and David I. of Scotland (for Cumberland), swear fealty to her as his heir. At Whitsuntide in 1127, Matilda was married to her second husband, a youth of nineteen, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, who had become earl on his father Fulk being raised to the dignity of King of Jerusalem, in 1124; but the marriage was not a happy one. Matilda bore three sons, Henry II., Geoffrey, and William. To secure the succession to his own line, the king summoned a great council at Oxford, and made the nobles swear fealty to Matilda again, and to his grandson Henry.

Death of Henry I.

The death of William Clinton, at Alost, in 1128, relieved Henry I. from the apprehensions and troubles to which he had hitherto been subjected: but he did not live long to enjoy his repose. He visited Normandy in 1135; and there, at Rouen, having eaten to excess of a dish of lampreys, of which he was very fond, he died on the 1st of December, 1135, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign.

Literature and Writers of the Time of Henry I.

Henry I., Beauclerc, attained to a considerable degree of literary culture, and liberally patronized learning. The chronicler Ingulph, who was born in London in 1030, and was created Abbot of Croyland by William the Conqueror, was also patronized by Henry I. Besides Anselm and Lanfranc, men of considerable learning, there were two other distinguished literary men. Geoffrey of Monmouth, a native and archdeacon of that place, wrote a work containing the legends of early Britain; he died in 1130.

HENRY I.

William of Malmesbury, a native of Somersetshire, and an alumnus of Oxford, became a monk, and librarian of Malmesbury. He wrote an Ecclesiastical History of England, the Antiquities of Glastonbury, and on the kings of England; he survived Henry I. eight years. To the two following reigns belongs Henry of Huntingdon, a distinguished historian who died in 1163.

Stephen of Blois—26th December, 1135–25th October, 1154—who was son of William the Conqueror's daughter Adela and Stephen, Count of Blois, and then thirty years of age, frustrated all the designs of his uncle Henry I., Beauclerc, for the transmission of the English crown to his own direct line. Taking advantage of the general dislike

to the rule of a woman, Stephen hastened over from Normandy to England; and, after being joyfully welcomed by the people of London, received the royal treasury from his brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester. The treasure at Winchester amounted to £100,000; and besides this money the late king is stated by old writers to have amassed plate, jewels, and other valuables, to an immense amount, which Stephen immediately appropriated. "Having no good title to the Crown, he was forced to purchase the good-will of the principal men by gifts; and with these grants he bought the dissembled affection of his courtiers. Malmesbury calls it *Simulatum ad tempus pacem;* for all this liberality could not make the nobles faithful to him, his whole reign having been nothing but a scene of treachery and bloodshed." Both Stephen and Henry had been treated with great kindness by the late king. Corboil, Archbishop of Canterbury, with most of the prelates and barons, accepted Stephen as king, being misled by a declaration of the steward of the royal household, Bigod, that the late king had on his deathbed adopted his nephew as his heir. Accordingly, on St. Stephen's Day, 26th of December, 1135, Stephen was crowned by Corboil in Westminster Abbey.* His title was confirmed by a Papal bull; and the usurper, like his predecessor, immediately summoned a council of the barons and clergy at Oxford, at which he promised to abolish Danegelt, to fill up vacant benefices, to modify the forest laws, and to allow all prelates and barons to build castles on their own estates. In the course of a few years more than 130 baronial castles were erected, so many seats of robbery; while the royal dignity was supported by a force of mercenaries raised in Flanders. All the barons in England took the oath to Stephen, including even the late king's natural son, Robert, Earl of Gloucester; and the barons in Normandy also submitted.

Usurpation of Stephen of Blois.

Coronation of Stephen.

In the spring of 1136, David I. of Scotland invaded Northumbria, to support the claim of his niece, the ex-Empress Matilda; but he retreated on the approach of Stephen. An attempt on Normandy by Matilda's second husband, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, ended in Stephen buying peace. In this year a large part of the city of London was destroyed by fire. In the spring of 1138 David I. again invaded the North; but, on the 22nd of August, after a desperate engagement, the Scots were routed by Thurstan, Archbishop of York, and a great force of the northern barons and their vassals, at Northallerton. This is termed the "Battle of the Standard," from a tall crucifix, with the consecrated host, carried on a wagon in the midst of the English army.† Peace

Battle of the Standard.

* The coronation of Stephen's queen took place on the 21st of March in the following year. "Such stress was formerly laid on the rite of coronation, that the monkish writers never give any prince the title of King till he is crowned; though he had for some time been in possession of the Crown, and exercised all the powers of sovereignty."—*Hume.*

† The king of Scotland rallied his scattered forces on the 25th of August, at Carlisle; and soon after took Wark Castle, Northumberland. The Scottish kings, for many years after that period, held Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland, as part of their domains; doing homage for them to the king of England.

was concluded with Scotland in 1139 on Stephen creating David's son, Prince Henry, Earl of Northumberland, only the castles of Bamborough and Newcastle being retained by the English king.

The evil effects of allowing the barons to build their strongholds were now apparent. From their castles they descended to plunder the country and the towns adjoining; agriculture and trade were at an end. "They filled the castles with devils and evil men. They seized those whom they supposed to have any goods, men and labouring women, and threw them into prison for their gold and silver, and inflicted on them unutterable tortures. Castle was now at war with castle, and the royal authority was set at defiance. Stephen set himself to cut the evil at its root, but he imprudently began with the ecclesiastical barons. His imprisonment of the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, and his seizure of their castles, were condemned by all the prelates assembled at Westminster in synod under the presidency of Stephen's own brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and now papal legate. The malcontents invited over the ex-Empress Matilda and her half-brother Robert, Earl of Gloucester. They landed with 140 knights, and the Civil War,—Sept. 22, 1139, to Nov. 7, 1153,—began. Matilda established herself in Arundel Castle, Sussex, and Robert went to Bristol. Shortly afterwards, Stephen, with strange generosity, sent Matilda a safe-conduct to Bristol. Lincoln Castle was seized by the partisans of Matilda; and on the townspeople besieging it, Robert hastened to its assistance with 10,000 men. The first battle of the Civil War, the Battle of Lincoln, was fought in its vicinity on the 2nd of February, 1141. It is told that at the break of day, before fighting commenced, mass was celebrated in the king's army, it being the feast of the Purification. The king held a lighted taper in his hand during the service, "which," says Hoveden, "was suddenly extinguished," and "was an omen of sorrow" to his majesty. It was, however, as he tells us, suddenly relighted; and he records the incident as "a token that, for his sins, Stephen should be deprived of his crown; but on his repentance, through God's mercy, he should wonderfully and gloriously recover it." The royal forces were totally defeated, and Stephen himself was taken prisoner and confined, in chains, in the dungeons of Bristol Castle. A council of ecclesiastics was held at Winchester in April, when Matilda was elected queen; and in the middle of June she entered London in state, but she was very coldly received. Stephen's queen, Maud, daugher of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, now petitioned for the release of her husband on condition of his abdicating and retiring to a convent; but Matilda haughtily rejected her overtures. Maud now raised a force in Kent and Surrey, and entered London. The citizens, who had been offended by Matilda's pride and greed, flocked to her standard, now incited by the papal legate Henry; and Matilda, who was preparing for her coronation, had to flee from the city to Oxford. In an attempt on Winchester, Matilda failed, and her half-brother Robert was taken prisoner; in exchange for his release she set Stephen at liberty, and the civil struggle now raged more fiercely than ever. On Dec. 11, 1141, the

Lawlessness and Rapine of the Time.

Return of Matilda. Battle of Lincoln.

Change of Fortune. Liberation of Stephen.

papal legate summoned a council to excommunicate Matilda and her adherents, as he had before done to Stephen's supporters. In September of the following year, 1142, Stephen laid close siege to Oxford. The day before that on which the garrison was compelled to surrender from famine, Dec. 20, Matilda and three knights, all dressed in white, so as not to be distinguished from the snow, escaped from the city, crossed the Isis, which was

Escape of Maud from Oxford.

NORMAN FOREST LAWS—MAIMING THE HERDSMEN'S DOGS.

then frozen, and made their way to Abingdon, whence they rode to Wallingford, where they met the young prince Henry, who had just come from the Continent, and Robert.

Little change occurred in the position of parties,—Stephen holding the East and Matilda the West of England,—till 1148, when Robert died, and thereupon Matilda retired to Normandy. Prince Henry now

went to Scotland and harassed from thence the English frontier. In 1150, his mother gave him the dukedom of Normandy; and on the death of his father Geoffrey in the following year, he succeeded to Maine; but Anjou was bequeathed to his younger brother, Geoffrey. In 1152 he married the divorced wife of King Louis VII. of France, Eleanor, Countess of Poitou and Aquitaine. This princess was renowned for her beauty and galantries. In the spirit of the time, when Louis her husband commenced his Crusade, she became the leader of a mixed train of male and female attendants, and was honoured with the somewhat Oriental distinction of "the lady of the golden boots." Her conduct is believed to have been most flagitious. On reaching Antioch, which was then under the rule of her uncle, Raymond of Poitiers, she was suspected not only of becoming his mistress, but of having conspired with him to deprive her husband of his liberty or life. She also engaged in an intrigue with a Saracen named Saladin; not the Sultan, but a low-born man, who was only recommended to her by a handsome person. On his return to France, Louis sought a divorce from his faithless consort. A council was called for this purpose, at which the Bishop of Langre announced that the king could no longer place faith in his wife; and he therefore claimed a divorce on account of her known incontinence. It was proposed by the Bishop of Bordeaux that the divorce should be granted, not on the ground of the queen's adultery, but on that of the consanguinity of the parties being an offence against the canonical law. This was suggested to Eleanor, who had been accustomed scornfully to name her husband "a monk with a sword." She was well content to regain her liberty. Suger, however, the Abbot of St. Denis, to whom the reins of government had been confided during the absence of the king, opposed it with all his influence, and with success. At his death no obstacle remained in the way, and the parties joyfully separated. Eleanor was immediately pursued by a host of suitors. Thibaud, Count of Chartres, contemplated carrying her to his castle, and marrying her by force. In consequence of this, she quitted his capital by night and passed down the Loire towards Tours; where Geoffrey of Anjou, younger brother of the Duke of Normandy, lay in ambush with a like design. Informed of the danger, Eleanor defeated this scheme; and on reaching Poitiers, sent a messenger to Henry Plantagenet, her intended lord. He lost no time in throwing himself at her feet; and in the year 1152 she became his wife, Henry being then but nineteen and she thirty years of age. Henry thus became lord of some of the richest parts of the South of France. While Henry's power had been increasing, Stephen was surrounded with difficulties. His attempt to put down the feuds between his barons had led to a rebellion under Ranulf, Earl of Chester; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom the king quarrelled for his refusal to anoint his eldest son, Eustace, to the succession, laid Stephen's partisans under sentence of excommunication. After the death of Eustace, in 1152, Stephen and the primate became reconciled. On the 6th of January in the following year, 1153, Prince Henry landed in England at the head of a force of 3,000, which was soon swelled from

Henry Plantagenet.

Career of Eleanor of Guienne.

War between Stephen and Prince Henry.

all sides. After Henry had obtained a slight success over Stephen at Malmesbury, the barons interfered, and finally, on the 7th of November, the treaty of Winchester was concluded, by which Stephen, though he had a surviving son, William, and a daughter, Mary, agreed to recognise Henry as the heir to the throne, while Henry bound himself to support Stephen in the peaceable possession of the throne for the term of his natural life, and guaranteed the succession of Prince William to the earldom of Boulogne and to his father's private estates and dignities in England. The barons then took the oath of fealty to Henry as heir, after which he retired to his duchy of Normandy. Within a year he was called to ascend the throne: for on the 25th of October, 1154, Stephen died at Dover, in the fiftieth year of his age and nineteenth of his reign. The late king was buried beside his queen, Maud,—who had died on 3rd May, 1151,—at Faversham Abbey in Kent. His second son, Prince William, succeeded him in the earldom of Boulogne and his English estates and honours; while his daughter, Mary, became abbess of Romney in Hampshire, and subsequently married Matthew, Earl of Flanders, son of Theodoric of Alsace; and her great-grand-daughter Elizabeth married Albert I., Duke of Brunswick, from whom the Royal Family of England is descended.

Death of Stephen.

During Stephen's reign the Second Crusade,—1147–1149,—occurred. It was preached with great success by St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, and was commanded by King Louis VII. of France in person, who went forth on his journey at the head of 100,000 Frenchmen. But here he ended his reputation as a king and knight. Conrad III., Emperor of Germany, preceded Louis VII. with a formidable army, led by Greek guides; and the Crusaders started for Palestine by the land route through Iconium; but they were led by Turkish guides into desert, mountainous regions, where, after first suffering terribly from want of provisions, they suddenly found the hills around covered with Turkish troops. Exhausted by hunger and thirst, and harassed by the arrows of the enemy, the Germans endeavoured to retreat. They fell by thousands, from exhaustion, or pierced with the arrows of the Turks. Of the magnificent army, scarcely a tenth part escaped with Conrad to Constantinople. A second detachment, led by Bishop Otto of Freising, the king's half-brother, by another route to Syria, fared little better.

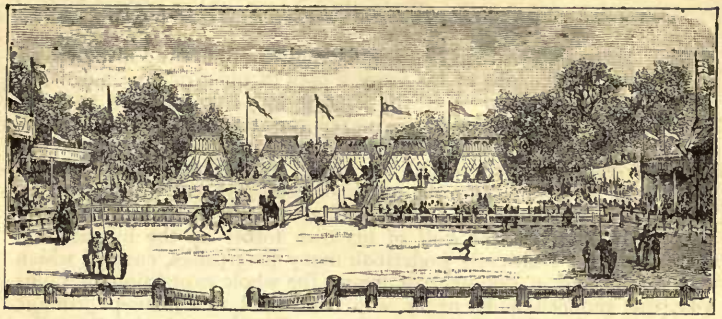
Warned by this result, Louis VII. set out on the road along the sea-coast through Smyrna and Ephesus, but with no better success. When the army, after innumerable hardships, reached the coast of Pamphylia, in the most lamentable condition, an agreement was made with the Greeks, that they should take the king, the barons, and the wealthier knights by ship to Antiochia, and conduct the remaining Crusaders by land, furnishing them with provisions. But the agreement was not fulfilled. After the remaining Crusaders had parted with everything they had, they were abandoned to destruction. Many perished of hunger, pestilence, and privation; others were slain by the Turks, or sold into slavery. Only a few escaped through the compassion and generosity of the enemy. At Jerusalem, which Louis and his escort reached after

Disasters to the Crusaders.

passing through Tyre and Ptolemais, and where Conrad also arrived at last with the remains of his army, a plan of operations was decided on against Damascus. But the design was frustrated, in spite of Conrad's heroic courage and daring, by the treachery of the Eastern Christians and the strength of the city. Presently Damascus, the beautiful seat of government of one of the still independent Mohammedan chiefs, also fell into the power of the brave and just Nureddin, who thus approached near the frontiers of the Christian kingdom. Louis VII. had lost the half of his own forces on the mountain of Laodicea. He fruitlessly undertook many enterprises, each of which was marked by a disaster; at length the whole expedition of Louis VII. was reduced, as far as he was concerned, to a pious pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. He returned to Europe with the Crusader princes, and brought with him only a few soldiers. His entire force had been annihilated. After Nureddin's death, the generous, brave, and cultured Saladin, the chief of the Kurds, and commander of the mercenary troops, seized the Sultanship of Egypt in 1174, put an end to the Shiite caliphate on the Nile, and in a short time united under his sceptre all the countries from Cairo to Aleppo.

Saladin's Successes over his Enemies.

Soon the kingdom of Jerusalem was threatened. In the battle of Ramla, in 1178, not far from Ascalon, the bravery of the Crusaders achieved the last glorious victory over the powerful enemy, by which the fall of the Christian supremacy was delayed a few years longer. Saladin granted a truce; but when this was violated by a Christian knight in the valley of Hebron, the treacherous adventurer Rainald of Chatillon, who with insolent audacity surprised and robbed a passing caravan, the Sultan marched into the field with an armed force, July, 1187. The battle of Hittin, on the Lake of Gennesareth, not far from the town of Tiberias, was decided against the Christians, who were weakened by discord and treachery, for "their God had turned from them." King Guido and many of his nobles were taken prisoners after a brave contest; the Templars were repulsed, and Rainald was slain by the Sultan's own hand; Joppa, Sidon, Accon, and other towns fell into the hands of the conqueror; and at last Jerusalem itself was lost, in October, 1187. The crucifixes were torn down, and the Christian symbols and vessels destroyed; but the inhabitants were treated with lenity.



CHAPTER IX.

The Plantagenets—Henry II.

A.D. 1154–1189.

Henry II. Curtmantle, 25th of October, 1154–6th of July, 1189: Useful Measures. Seizure of Anjou: Campaign in the North, and against Wales: War with France: Royal Marriages: Power of Henry II.: Papal Bull regarding Ireland. Rise of Thomas à Becket. Struggle of Ecclesiastical and Civil Power: the Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164, and Assize of Clarendon. Abolition of Compurgation: the Judicial Combat introduced: Improvement of the Law-Courts. Council at Northampton: Banishment of Becket, 1164: War with France: Return of Becket. Prince Henry crowned Heir: Becket excommunicates the Archbishop of York: Murder of Becket. State of Ireland: Banishment of Dermot McMorrogh; Expedition of Strongbow: Capture of Dublin, 1170: Henry II. visits Ireland, 1171. Rebellion of Henry's sons: Incursion of the Scots: Penance of Henry II. at Becket's tomb: Capture of William I. of Scotland—Claim for Homage: Prince John in Ireland. Second Rebellion of Henry's Sons—Death of Henry and Geoffrey. Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin. Rebellion of Prince Richard—War with France: Death of Henry II.: his Character. State of the Kingdom.

ACCESSION—USEFUL MEASURES OF THE KING.

HENRY II., 25th of October, 1154–6th of July, 1189, surnamed Curtmantle, was in his twenty-second year, having been born at Le Mans, in Normandy, in March, 1133, when he succeeded Stephen on the English throne. He was the first monarch of the House of Plantagenet, so named from the sprig of Spanish broom, in Latin, "Planta Genista," which Henry's father, Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou, used to wear in his helmet. So little danger of opposition was there that Henry II. did not sail from Normandy for England for six weeks after Stephen's death. He and his queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, were received with great rejoicings and crowned together in Westminster Abbey, by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 19th of December, 1154. He immediately disbanded

Coronation of the King and Queen.

and removed from the country Stephen's mercenaries, razed the castles that had been most obnoxious, restored the power of the Crown by reclaiming the land which Stephen had alienated, reformed the coinage, and confirmed the charter of Henry I. Among the supporters of the late abuses who now fled, was Stephen's brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester.

In 1156, Henry II. despoiled his younger brother Geoffrey of the earldom of Anjou and some castles which his father had bequeathed to him; upon which Geoffrey fled to Nantes in Brittany, where he became count. In 1157, Henry's ambition turned towards the North, and he compelled Malcolm IV. of Scotland to resign Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; and in the same year he made a campaign on the Welsh border, in which, in a defile near Coleshill, his large army was totally routed and he himself nearly lost his life. On Christmas Day, 1157, Henry II. was again crowned at Worcester. The death of his brother Geoffrey, in 1158, gave him an opportunity of still further extending his power in France by claiming Nantes. Henry II. sailed to take this place, which had been seized by Conan, Duke of Brittany. On this occasion scutage was first substituted for knight-service. The English king also laid siege to Toulouse, 1159, the earldom of which he claimed on behalf of his wife, whose grandfather had married the daughter of the Earl of Toulouse. At an interview with Louis VII., Henry II. made such an impression on the French king that peace was concluded, and ratified by the betrothal of the heir of England, Prince Henry, then five years of age, to the daughter of Louis VII., the Princess Margaret, who was in her cradle. After the surrender of Nantes, Henry's fifth son, the infant Geoffrey, was betrothed to the daughter and only child of Conan; and on the death of the duke, Henry II. became suzerain of Brittany.

Quarrels in France.

The English king was now one of the most redoubtable and powerful of sovereigns. In France he possessed Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Aquitaine, Poitou, and Guienne. He menaced Scotland; and in 1156 had obtained a bull from Pope Adrian IV., Nicholas Brakespear, the only Englishman who has ever been Pope, conferring on him the sovereignty of Ireland.

Henry II. had soon to wage a struggle with one of the most ambitious of ecclesiastics, Thomas à Becket. This celebrated man, an Anglo-Saxon by blood, was the son of a merchant named Gilbert Becket; and various histories ascribe to him a Saracenic origin on the mother's side; but this is now looked upon as a fiction. The following is the ordinary account of it:—"According to a romantic tradition, his mother was the daughter of a Saracen emir. Gilbert, it is said, being on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, had become a captive to the emir, by whom he was treated kindly and admitted to his society. The emir's daughter saw and loved him; she made occasions of conversing with him, in which she learned his name and that he was from London in England. She told him her love, and her desire to become a Christian. An opportunity for escape, however, having presented itself, Gilbert, heedless of the fair Saracen, embraced it and returned

Tradition concerning Becket's Mother.

to England. She resolved to pursue him; and quitting her father's abode in disguise, she proceeded to the coast. She knew but two English words, 'London' and 'Gilbert'; by pronouncing the first she found a ship bound for England; and when she landed she reached the capital by means of it. There she went about the streets crying out 'Gilbert.' Her strange manner and garb drew a crowd after her, and as she happened to go through the street in which Gilbert dwelt, the noise attracted the attention of his servant Richard, and he went out to see the cause of it. Richard, who had shared his master's captivity in the East, at once recognised the fair Saracen. He told his master; they brought her in, and then placed her in a nunnery, till Gilbert had consulted the prelates, who were sitting at St. Paul's. It was their opinion that he should marry her, as she was desirous of becoming a Christian. She was accordingly baptized by the name of Matilda, and made the wife of her beloved Gilbert." Becket had recommended himself by his great abilities to the Primate Theobald during Stephen's reign, and had been entrusted with the conduct of some business at Rome, after which he was made Archdeacon of Canterbury. Henry II., on his accession, made him Chancellor, and entrusted him with the education of Prince Henry, his eldest son. Becket now assumed a style of living which was surpassed by the king alone.

Fitzstephen the chronicler, who was Becket's secretary, furnishes many interesting particulars concerning the great chancellor. It seems that Henry gave him the wardenship of the Tower of London, the castle of Berkhampstead, and the honour of Eye, with 340 knights' fees. His revenue, flowing in from many sources, was immense; and no man ever spent more freely or magnificently. His house was a palace, both in dimensions and appointments. It was stocked with vessels of gold and silver, and constantly frequented by numberless guests of all goodly ranks, from barons and earls to knights and pages and simple retainers—of whom he had several hundreds, who acknowledged themselves his immediate vassals. His tables were spread with the choicest viands; the best of wines were poured out with an unsparing hand; the richest dresses allotted to his pages and serving-men; but with all this costly magnificence, there were certain capital wants of comfort, which show the imperfect civilization of the age; and his biographer relates, among other things, that as the number of guests was often greater than could find place at table, Becket ordered that the floor should be every day covered with fresh hay or straw, in order that those who sat upon it might not soil their dresses. Henry encouraged all this pomp and magnificence, and seems to have taken a lively enjoyment in the spectacle, though he sometimes twitted the chancellor on the finery of his attire. All such offices of government as were not performed by the ready and indefatigable king himself were left to Becket, who had no competitor in authority. Secret enemies he had in abundance, but never even a momentary rival in the royal favour. The minister and king lived together like brothers; and according to a contemporary, who knew more of Henry than any other that has written concerning him, it was

Magnificence of Becket.

Familiarity of the King with Becket.

notorious to all men that they were *cor unum et animam unam*—of one heart and one mind in all things. With his chancellor Henry gave free scope to a facetious frolicsome humour, which was natural to him, though no prince could assume more dignity and sternness when necessary. The chancellor was an admirable horseman, and expert in hunting and hawking, and all the sports of the field. These accomplishments, and a never-failing wit and vivacity, made him the constant companion of the king's leisure hours, and the sharer (it is hinted) in less innocent pleasures—for Henry was a very inconstant husband,

TRIAL BY COMBAT.

and had much of the Norman licentiousness. At the same time Becket was an able minister, and his administration was not only advantageous to the interests of his master, but, on the whole, extremely beneficial to the nation.

After the death of Theobald in 1161, Henry II., on 24th May, 1162, appointed Becket to the Primacy, intending him to occupy, as his creature, the first episcopal seat of his kingdom. But no sooner had Becket received his pall from the Pope, than he resigned his Chancellorship, and surrendered the pleasures of the Court for the austere duties which he regarded as inseparable from his new position. He retained all his former almost regal state, but he subjected his person to the greatest austerities—wearing foul sackcloth next his skin, frequently

scourging his back, and living on bread and water. He took in hand and maintained to his death the cause which Pope Gregory VII., Hildebrand, had defended to the last extremity—that of the spiritual as opposed to the regal authority: and while Pope Alexander III. barely held his own against the anti-Pope Victor, and against the powerful Frederick I., Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany, Becket constituted himself in the West the most intrepid champion of the Church. He contended for the privileges of the ecclesiastical tribunals and the "Benefit of Clergy," —that is, the exemption of ecclesiastics from criminal process before a secular judge. These privileges gave rise to numerous abuses, and insured immunity to many culprits; but such were the barbarous ignorance and odious corruption of the lay tribunals in the twelfth century, that ecclesiastical jurisdiction alone inspired some confidence in the people, and the least heavy yoke was that of the Church.

Becket the Champion of Church Claims.

But Becket chose a strange case for the trial of strength with the Crown. A clergyman in Worcestershire, who had debauched a gentleman's daughter and then murdered the father, was merely degraded by the ecclesiastical tribunal; and when the king demanded that he should be delivered up to the civil judges, Becket kept him secure in the bishop's prison, and refused to allow the civil power to interfere.

To define the respective limits of the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities, Henry summoned a council of prelates and barons, under the presidency of John, Bishop of Oxford, at Clarendon, near Salisbury, in Wiltshire, on the 25th of January, 1164. This assembly passed the sixteen laws known as the "Constitutions of Clarendon," of which the chief provisions were—"That every ecclesiastic accused of a crime should be tried in the civil courts; that no ecclesiastic should leave the realm without the king's permission; that no officer of the royal household or tenant-in-chief should be excommunicated without the royal permission; that the king should receive the revenues of all vacant sees; that all bishops who were tenants-in-chief should do homage for their fiefs as barons; and that there should be no appeal to the Pope." At the same time this assembly passed the "Assize of Clarendon," a series of laws for the severe punishment of civil offences, which were not, however, confirmed till the meeting of the Common Council of the Realm, at Northampton, in 1176.

Constitutions of Clarendon.

When the council met, 1164, the bishops were called on to fulfil their promise. Becket required that it should be made with the aforesaid reservation. His breach of faith incensed the king; he menaced him with exile, and even with death; two of the prelates with tears implored him to submit; the Earls of Leicester and Cornwall assured him they had orders to employ force, and conjured him not to make it necessary; the Master of the Temple and one of his knights fell on their knees, entreating him to have pity on the clergy; the door of an adjoining room was thrown open and armed men were seen with their clothes tucked up and their swords and battle-axes ready for conflict. The primate was incapable of fear for himself, but he felt a generous anxiety for the safety of others, and he yielded. Those who best knew these customs were then required to put them in writing,

and at Becket's desire the assembly was prorogued to the following day.

Of the Constitutions of Clarendon the following are exceedingly important. All causes not strictly ecclesiastical shall be tried in the king's courts; all prelates and other spiritual dignitaries who are the king's tenants *in capite* shall be subject to the feudal burthens, and attend in the king's courts; the king shall hold all vacant sees and receive their revenues till the vacancy is filled; the election shall take place in the king's presence, and the person elected shall do homage, and swear fealty to the king as his liege lord.

Trial by compurgation was also abolished, except in London and a few other towns. Trial by combat had in practice superseded it. The judicial combat was a sort of jurisprudence which the feudal baron could administer quite as well as the most learned judge: and this made it still more acceptable among a rude nobility, proud of the privilege of executing justice, and accounts probably for its application to all persons and to all manner of questions. But the judicial combat was wholly distinct from the lawless encounters which were constantly taking place among the chivalry of feudal times, and for several centuries preserved its solemn character as a legal trial and a religious rite. The sanctions of oaths, fasting, and prayers were skilfully employed; and each combatant had to stake his life and his honour upon the truth of his declaration, well knowing that if he failed he was led forth dishonoured to execution. When the judges were barons and rude soldiers, few of whom could read or write, justice was more likely to be attained by the judicial combat than in a court; for the alarmed consciences of many, when superstition was so powerful, would make them shun such a trial by confessing the right.

Trial by Combat.

Feudal and Chivalric Customs.

One of the earliest trials by combat in England, is that of the Count d'Eu, who, when accused by Godefroi Baynard of a conspiracy against William Rufus, was allowed a field at Salisbury, where, in the presence of the king and the court, he was defeated, and ordered by the king to be cruelly mutilated, his eyes being put out, while his esquire was whipped and afterwards hanged.

The "Assize" of Knights.

The assembly of Clarendon first placed litigation and the administration of the law on its proper basis. In all suits, in the King's Chamber or before the Justices in Eyre, for the recovery of land, it was now enacted that if a tenant declined trial by combat he might put himself on the "Assize," which consisted of four knights,—chosen by the Sheriff,—who selected other twelve, and by the verdict of the sixteen the cause was decided. This was a modification of the Anglo-Saxon system of old times, and an approximation to the modern trial by jury. On the occasion of the Assize of Clarendon being confirmed by the Common Council of the Realm at Northampton, the Justices in Eyre, or Itinerant Justices, who had been first created in 1118, were regularly appointed by the King's Chamber, to go on circuit once in seven years; and the whole country was divided into six circuits, to each of which three justices were appointed. From this the modern assizes sprang. To the same period belong the separation of the King's Chamber into distinct courts—the Common Pleas and King's Bench.

The Constitutions of Clarendon were annulled by the Pope, Alexander III.; and Becket, strengthened by this, openly defied the king, though he had bound himself with an oath to observe them "legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reserve." A council was therefore summoned at Northampton, on the 12th October, 1164. The case was exactly as the king put it—"Either this man must cease to be archbishop, or I to be king." Becket was found guilty of having failed in the fealty he owed to the king, in not having appeared in a suit instituted against him in the king's court regarding some lands; and all his goods were declared to be confiscated, and he was adjudged to be indebted to the royal treasury to the amount of 44,000 marks—£29,333 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling—for money received for vacant benefices during his chancellorship; and sentence of imprisonment in default was pronounced against him.

Becket found Guilty.

Becket now actually attempted to overawe the king by forcing his way with all ecclesiastical pomp, preceded by the crucifix, into the royal presence; he declared that the Constitutions of Clarendon did not bind him, that being archbishop, he was not required to give an account of his chancellorship, and that the sentence pronounced on him was null.

His bold Defiance.

The strength of Becket's party was in the popular body; and it has been supposed, with some reason, that his English birth and Saxon descent contributed, no less than his sudden sanctity, to endear him to the people, who had never before seen one of their race elevated to such dignities. He seems, indeed, to have been very popular, even when nothing more than a profane chancellor, and at this critical moment he resorted to means that could hardly fail of giving enthusiasm to the feelings of the multitude. The stately bishops, as we have said, had fallen from his side,—the lordly abbots remained aloof in their houses,—the mass of his own clerical followers had forsaken him,—the lay nobles of the land were almost to a man his declared enemies: his house was empty, and in a spirit of imitation which some will deem presumptuous, he determined to fill it with the paupers of the town and the lowly wayfarers from the road-side. "Suffer," said he, "all the poor people to come into the place, that we may make merry together in the Lord." "And having thus spoken, the people had free entrance, so that all the hall and all the chambers of the house being furnished with tables and stools, they were conveniently placed, and served with meat and drink to the full," the archbishop supping with them and doing the honours of the feast.

Departure of Becket.

However, he privately withdrew to France; upon which Henry II. at once confiscated his possessions and banished his relatives and domestics. Becket was received with great favour by Louis VII: of France, and assigned a residence in the magnificent abbey of Pontigny in Burgundy: the result was a war, 1167, between the two countries, which lasted till the peace of Montmirail, 6th January, 1169. Louis arranged a meeting between Henry II. and Becket, at Fretville, on the borders of Touraine, on 22nd of July, 1170. Henry had found that his bold measures—the suspension of Peter's Pence, the prohibition of all appeals to the Pope or the exiled primate, and the enactment

of sentence of death against any one who should bring over from either of them a sentence of excommunication against the kingdom—amounted to a radical change in the established religion, for which his subjects were not prepared. An amicable arrangement was at last concluded, and Becket returned to England.

Intervention of Louis VII. of France.

Henry II., fearing the effects of a Papal excommunication for his dynasty, had associated Prince Henry, his second son,—the eldest, Prince William, having died in 1156,—with himself, and had caused him to be crowned by the Archbishop of York on the 15th June, 1170, one week before the arrangement at Fretville. On learning this, Becket procured letters of excommunication from the Pope, Alexander III., against the northern primate and his assistants, the Bishops of London and Salisbury, for this encroachment on the privileges of the see of Canterbury; and on his arrival in England he delivered them. The excommunicated prelates proceeded to Bayeux, in Normandy, to complain of this arrogance to Henry, who, in his transport of rage, exclaimed: "Will none of the cowards whom I support rid me of this turbulent priest?" These words were heard by four knights of the royal household—William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, Reginald Fitz-Urse, and Richard Brito. They immediately set out by different routes to Canterbury. They forced their way into the cathedral. Becket refused to revoke the excommunication, upon which they beat out his brains on the steps of the altar.

Excommunication of the Archbishop of York.

The King's avengers.

Brito clove his skull, and the sub-deacon, Hugh of Horsea, justly named the Ill Clerk, with the impotent malignity of a savage, scattered the brains about with the point of his sword. Thus perished, in the fifty-third year of his age, this extraordinary man. It was on the 29th of December, 1170. The assassins afterwards proceeded on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where they died. Henry II. sent an embassy to Rome to exculpate himself from all connection with the crime. The Pope was too astute to break with him. The murdered primate was regarded as a martyr, and in 1173 was canonized as St. Thomas; and his shrine became very celebrated, pilgrims flocking to it from all parts of Christendom.

So universal was the cry of malediction throughout the Church in England and on the Continent, that Henry II. found it necessary to divert the attention of his subjects by a new enterprise. This was to put in force the Bull by which Pope Adrian IV. had granted him Ireland in 1156.

Up to this time, almost the only connection between England and Ireland was that of the commerce carried on between some of the opposite ports; scarcely any political intercourse had ever taken place between the two countries. Her Church, indeed, attached Ireland to the rest of Christendom; and some correspondence is still preserved that passed between her kings and prelates and the English archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm, relating chiefly to certain points in which the latter conceived the ecclesiastical discipline of the neighbouring island to stand in need of reformation. One of Lanfranc's letters is addressed to O'Connor the Great, under the designation

of "Tirdelvac, the Magnificent King of Hibernia." The bishops also of the Danish towns in Ireland appear to have been usually consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But almost the single well-authenticated instance of any interference by the one nation in the civil affairs of the other since the Norman Conquest, was in the rebellion of Robert de Belesme, in the beginning of the reign of Henry I., when that nobleman's brother, Arnulph de Montgomery, is said by some of the Welsh chroniclers to have passed over to Ireland, and to have there obtained from King Murtach O'Brien both supplies for the war and the hand of his daughter for himself. It is said, indeed, that both the Conqueror and Henry I. had meditated the subjugation of Ireland; and Malmesbury affirms that the latter English king had Murtach and his successors so entirely at his devotion, that they wrote nothing but adulation of him, nor did anything but what he ordered. But no facts are specified in support of these vague assertions. It is, at all events, certain that no actual attempt had yet been made by any of the Anglo-Norman kings to extend their dominion over Ireland. It would appear, however, that such a project had been entertained by Henry II. from the very commencement of his reign.

State of Ireland.

At this time Ireland was divided into five petty States—Munster, Leinster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught—each under the rule of a chieftain called 'Riagh,' and occasionally united into a federation under an 'Ard-Riagh'—like the Heptarchy under a Bretwalda. Dermot McMorrogh, the Riagh of Leinster, had carried off the wife of O'Ruarc, or Roderic, the chief of Leitrim. O'Ruarc succeeded in raising a rebellion, and Dermot was expelled from the island, 1167. The exiled Riagh proceeded to Aquitaine, where Henry II. then was, engaged in his war with France: and on his offering to do homage for his kingdom, he received Letters Patent for enlisting in England and Henry's French provinces a force to restore him to his kingdom. Dermot obtained the assistance of several Norman adventurers, prominent among whom were Richard de Clare of Chepstow, son of the Earl of Pembroke, who was surnamed 'Strongbow,' Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald. In 1169 Fitz-Stephen succeeded in capturing Waterford, and Strongbow took Wexford and Dublin. Strongbow married Dermot's daughter Eva, and, on Dermot dying, 1170, became Riagh of Leinster. Upon his assumption of sovereign power he was besieged in Dublin by an undisciplined host of 30,000 men; but he sallied out with ninety armour-clad Norman knights and routed the besiegers with great slaughter. Henry II. now ordered the adventurers to return, but on their recognising his authority he allowed Strongbow to retain his possessions as a fief of the Crown and appointed him "Seneschal of Ireland." In October of the following year, 1171, Henry sailed for Ireland from Milford Haven and landed at Waterford. He proceeded to Dublin, and received the homage of the people of the South; but the Riaghs of Connaught and Ulster refused to acknowledge his supremacy. To gratify the Pope, Henry now summoned a synod at Cashel to unite

Dermot McMorrogh and O'Ruarc.

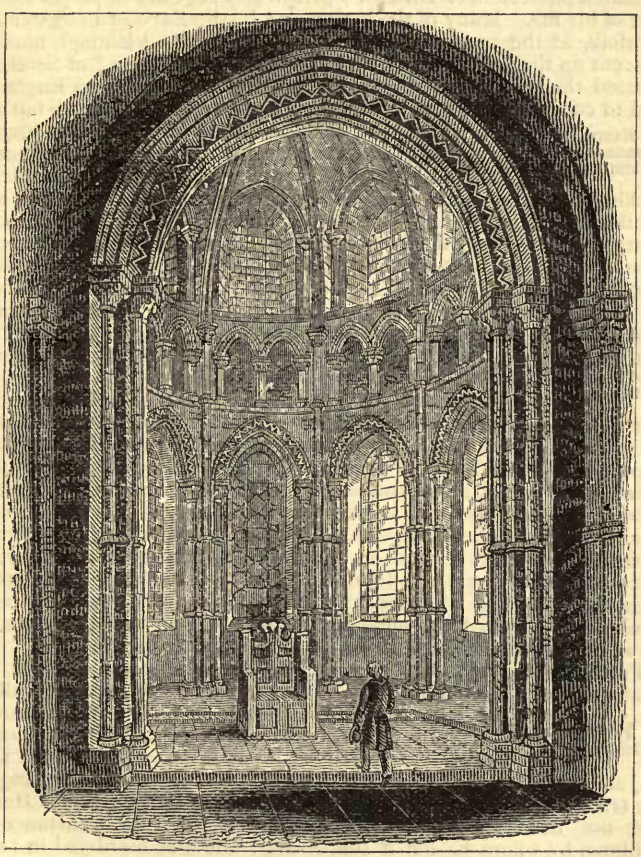
McMorrogh obtains help from Henry.

Strongbow and his Companions.

Henry's Visit to Ireland.

the Church of Ireland to the See of Rome. He then set out for Normandy, to meet the papal legate who had been sent to inquire into Becket's murder : and after having taken an oath on the relics of a saint that he had not aided nor abetted the murder, he received the Pope's absolution, September, 1172.

The unnatural conduct of his wife and sons now subjected Henry



CHAPEL IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

II. to considerable danger. His queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, who had been divorced by Louis VII. of France for her intrigues during his absence in the second Crusade, was now incensed at Henry's infidelities, and incited his sons to defy his authority. Prince Henry,

who had been again associated with him in the throne and crowned with his wife, the Princess Margaret of France, at the instigation of his father-in-law, Louis VII., demanded the independent sovereignty of either England or Normandy; Richard claimed Aquitaine, and the boy Geoffrey, Brittany. The three princes and the queen proceeded to the French court; but Henry procured possession of Eleanor's person and kept her in prison for the rest of his life. Many of the barons, led by the Earls of Leicester and Norfolk, at the same time rose in rebellion, the Flemings made a descent on the Suffolk coast, and William I., "the Lion," of Scotland, crossed the border. Henry II. hurried from Normandy to England; and to conciliate the people and the clergy he resolved to do full and public penance at the tomb of Becket. Proceeding to the cathedral of Canterbury, the most renowned prince in Christendom remained at the shrine of the murdered archbishop during forty-eight hours, fasting and with bare feet, and exhibiting tokens of the humblest contrition, and submitted to be beaten with rods by the clergy, the monks, and the choristers, 12th July, 1174. The next day, after receiving absolution, he set out for London. On the day of Henry's penance the chief justiciary, Ranulf de Glanville, completely defeated the Scottish army at Alnwick, and took William the Lion prisoner. The King of Scots obtained his release in the following year, 1175, but only after doing homage, with all the Scottish barons and prelates, in York minster, to Henry II. for all Scotland, ceding Berwick and Roxburgh, and admitting for a limited time an English garrison into Edinburgh Castle. It was on the ground of this acknowledgment of Scotland being a fief of the English Crown that Edward I. laid claim to the Scottish throne a century later. In the meanwhile Louis VII. concluded peace with Henry II., and the princes returned to their obedience. In 1175 Henry's authority was generally recognised in Ireland; and on the death of Strongbow, in 1177, he invested his youngest son John (a boy of ten) with the Lordship of Ireland. John did not take possession of his government till eight years later, March, 1185, when his conduct was so oppressive that a revolt ensued, and within twelve months his father recalled him.

Undutiful Conduct of Henry's Sons.

Henry's Penance and Humiliation.

Submission of William the Lion.

From 1175 to 1182 Henry II. was chiefly occupied in internal administration. In 1183 his sons, Henry and Geoffrey, again rebelled. Prince Henry was seized with an illness which proved fatal. On his death-bed he was filled with bitter remorse, and died, after receiving his father's pardon, on the 11th of June, 1183, in the 27th year of his age. Three years later, August 19, 1186, Geoffrey was killed at a tournament in Paris. Prince Henry had not been married. Geoffrey was married to Constance of Brittany, by whom he left a son, Arthur, who was murdered in 1203, and a daughter, Eleanor, who died in 1241. In 1187 Christendom was struck with consternation at the terrible news that the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem had been overwhelmed by Saladin the Great, sultan of the Mussulmans in Egypt and Syria.

Family Misfortunes.

The kingdom of Jerusalem, founded by the first Crusaders in 1099, had at first been circumscribed by the limits of the ancient kingdoms

of Judah and Israel; subsequently it spread itself over almost the whole of Syria. The last actual king was Guy of Lusignan, 1168. The Christians of Palestine, succumbing to the baneful influence of the climate and manners of the East, had promptly degenerated, and most of their chiefs had hastened their misfortunes by conceiving themselves absolved from the obligation of keeping their oath with the Mussulmans. Saladin gained over them the great victory of Tiberias. Jerusalem and her king, Guy of Lusignan, fell before the power of the conqueror.

State of Palestine; Victories of Saladin.

When the third Crusade was resolved upon by the three great sovereigns of Europe—Frederick I. Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany, Henry II. of England and Normandy, and Philip Augustus of France—an oppressive tithe, called the "tithe of Saladin" was imposed. But a war broke out between Henry II. and Philip Augustus II. of France, through Henry having refused to give up the person and dowry of the Princess Alice of France, the French king's sister, to Prince Richard, who was betrothed to her, while Richard repudiated his allegiance to his father, and did homage to Philip for the English provinces in France, 18th of November, 1188. Henry II. concluded a humiliating peace in 1189. Shortly afterwards he learned that his favourite son, John, had supported Richard in his rebellion. This broke his heart; and after cursing his children and the day of his birth, he died of a lingering fever at Chinon, near Saumur, on the 6th of July, 1189, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and thirty-seventh year of his reign. Of all his children, his natural son Geoffrey alone was present to close his eyes. The corpse lay in state in the abbey of Fontevraud, its place of sepulture. The chronicler, Matthew of Paris, relates that when Richard came to gaze upon the body blood flowed from the nostrils, and the prince was seized with the deepest remorse for his unnatural conduct. Though his private character was by no means free from blemish, Henry II. was one of the most accomplished princes of the age, and an able and enlightened sovereign. But he was essentially a French sovereign of England, "a duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and would-be King of France, who ruled England as a transmarine dependency." The means he employed were not always commendable, but much was effected by him in the way of securing the public peace. The castles which overspread the land at his accession were demolished or retained as places of national defence, and put in the hands of persons of tried fidelity. Disorderly conduct at night in the streets of London, and other large towns, was completely stopped. Taxes were levied on the lands of the nobles, as well as on those of the commoners. The administration of justice was put on a new footing; and while the authority of the government was supreme at home, the influence of England on the Continent became equal to that of any of the European powers.

Third Crusade.

Death of Henry II.

CHAPTER X.

The Plantagenets—Richard I.

A.D. 1189–1199

Richard I., Cœur-de-Lion, 6th July, 1189–8th April, 1199: Massacre of Jews at the Coronation. Preparations for the Third Crusade, 1190–1192: Richard's Extortion: Departure of Richard: Attack on Sicily: Seizure of Cyprus: Marriage with Berengaria: Capitulation of Acre, 1191. Dissensions of the Crusaders: Battle of Arsoof: Relief of Joppa: Peace with Saladin, 1192. Shipwreck of Richard I.: his Captivity—the Diet of Worms: his Return to England. Treason of Prince John. War with France, 1194: Truce: Siege of Chaluz—Death of Richard I.: his Character. The Fourth Crusade, 1195–1197: the Influence of the Crusades—Improvement in Manners, Chivalry, Rise of Poetry, Progress of the Arts, Commerce and Manufactures, the Schools, the Sciences, Religious Dissensions.

RICHARD I.—6th July, 1189–8th April, 1199—surnamed "Cœur-de-Lion," that is "the Lion-hearted," then thirty-two years of age, was acknowledged by all his subjects successor of Henry II. He was the third son of the late king, the eldest, Prince William, having died in 1156, and the second, Prince Henry, after his rebellion in 1183. The fourth son, Geoffrey had died in 1186. Richard I. had now one surviving brother John, and three sisters, the princesses Matilda, Eleanor, and Joan. The archbishopric of York was conferred on one illegitimate son, Geoffrey, and the earldom of Salisbury on another, William Longsword: both were the offspring of the "Fair Rosamond," whose confinement in the labyrinth at Woodstock, to

preserve her from the jealous Eleanor, and her discovery and murder by the latter, form a familiar legend. The new king immediately released his mother from imprisonment, and appointed her regent of England till he should arrive in Normandy. However, he retained all his father's counsellors, and bestowed large estates on his brother John, the favourite son of Henry II. He landed in England on the 13th of August, 1189, and was crowned at Westminster on the 3rd of Sept. A fearful massacre of the Jews, who then had hardly the liberty to exist in the country, took place on the coronation day. This lamentable event, singularly illustrative of the barbarity and intolerance of the age, happened in the following manner. After the ceremony of coronation had been performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Baldwin, King Richard proceeded to Westminster Hall, to hold the royal banquet. The king had on the day before issued a proclamation forbidding Jews and women to be present at Westminster, lest he might suffer from their magical arts. A few, however, eager to offer to a new ruler the gifts and congratulation of an afflicted people in a strange land, on a day of general grace and joy, according to the immemorial usage of the East, forced their way into the hall with the rest of the people, and were permitted to lay their presents before him;—with their humble suit for the continuance of that connivance at their residence, and of that precarious exemption from plunder and slaughter which they had obtained from his predecessors, on account of the money which might be wrung from them, of the useful counsel in finance which they might give to ignorant swordsmen, and of the ornaments and luxuries which they drew from remote lands through the thousand channels of their subterranean intercourse with their unhappy and industrious brethren. A Christian struck a Jew entering at the gate. The courtiers, either catching the contagion of the quarrel, or tempted by the sight of the brilliant presents, or hoping to cancel their debts with the blood of their creditors, fell on all the wealthy Jews, and beating and pillaging them, drove them out of the hall of audience.

Richard's First Acts.

The Jews at the Coronation.

The example of this violence at court soon spread over the city. The populace of London, and the multitude who had flocked from the country to see the coronation, easily believing the rumour that the king had ordered the extermination of the miscreants, attacked and murdered the defenceless Jews, women and children, the old as well as the robust, with unrelenting rage. The Jewish families who barricaded their houses were generally burnt to death in their flames; wherever walls were too strong, burning wood was thrown in at the doors and windows. The rabble sometimes forced their way into the private apartments, and threw the feeble, the sick, and the dying into the fires which they had kindled in the streets. The example was followed in many of the principal towns, and the massacre was renewed two years afterwards. At York the Jews took refuge in the castle, after having seen many of their wives and children butchered before their eyes; all who refused to be baptized were massacred without mercy. The governor, who happened to be absent from the fortress, demanded admission into it, when the unhappy Jews, afraid

of the forcible entry of the rabble, excused their disobedience. He inveighed against them with loud transports of rage. He even directed the castle to be attacked. The people seized the fatal word, which the governor vainly attempted to recall. Immense multitudes besieged the castle for several days, stimulated by some ecclesiastics, and especially by one furious monk, who perpetually exhorted the people to destroy the enemies of Christ. On the night before the expected assault, a rabbi, lately arrived from the Hebrew schools abroad, addressed his assembled countrymen: "Men of Israel, God commands us to die for His law, as our glorious forefathers have done in all ages. If we fall into the hands of our enemies they may cruelly torment us. That life which our Creator gave us, let us return to Him willingly and devoutly with our own hands." The majority applauded; a few only dissented. They burnt their costly garments, and destroyed their precious stones and vessels. They set fire to the building; and then Jocen, the most wealthy man among them, cut the throat of his wife. When all the women were sacrificed, he, as the most honourable, first destroyed himself. The rest followed his example. The few who shrank from their brethren appeared in the morning, pale and trembling, to the people, who cruelly put them to death. The bonds of Christian debtors to the Jews were taken from safe custody to the cathedral, where they were deposited, and instantly committed in a mass to the flames. The massacre spread to Winchester and other towns, and no regard was had for either age or sex. Though Richard took measures to repress the outrage, he did not, so far as is known, punish its authors.

Massacre of the Jews.

Richard I. was enthusiastically devoted to the new or the third Crusade, in which his father had also been preparing to take part; but he was by no means scrupulous in the means he took to raise money for this purpose. He sold benefices and the Crown lands, and "would have sold London itself if he could have found a purchaser," as he himself declared. He even degraded the Chief Justiciary, Ranulf de Glanville, the earliest writer on English law, from his office, and gave the office to the highest bidder, a Frenchman, William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, for 3,000 marks, £2,000 sterling. He sold to the Scottish king his claim to the suzerainty for 10,000 marks, £6,666 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling. Having extorted all he could, he left for Normandy on the 11th of December, 1189, and after some months of similar extortion in his continental provinces, he set out at the head of his forces, and on July 1, 1190, joined Philip Augustus of France on the plains of Vezelai. Thence he marched to Marseilles; but his fleet, which he had expected there, had been delayed by storms, and he had to hire transports to convey a portion of his troops to Genoa, the remainder being left for the fleet. Philip had marched to Genoa, and thence he sailed to Sicily, where Richard rejoined him. Richard obliged the Sicilian king, Tancred, to pay 40,000 ounces of gold in lieu of the dowry of Richard's sister Joan, the widow of the late Sicilian king, and betrothed his nephew Arthur to Tancred's daughter. On his voyage to Messina, which he left in April, 1191, some of his ships were wrecked on Cyprus; they were maltreated by the king,

Sale of Offices.

Richard in Sicily.

Isaac, on which Richard seized the island and imprisoned Isaac. On this island, on the 12th of May, 1191, Richard married the daughter of the King of Navarre, Berengaria, who had joined his fleet at Cyprus, under the protection of Richard's aged mother, Eleanor.

A month afterwards, on the 4th of June, he set sail for Acre, and on the 10th joined the great Christian force which had been besieging this town since 1189. Two days after Richard's arrival the besieged capitulated, 12th June, 1191. The late chief justiciary, Ranulf de Glanville, who had accompanied Richard, was slain in the siege.

For the regulation of the voyage, and the maintenance of good order, certain rules had been laid down, to be observed by all. The following may be cited as instances :—"If any one were convicted on legal testimony of drawing his knife upon another, or of shedding blood in any manner, he was to lose his hand. For giving a blow with the hand, without drawing blood, the offender was to be plunged three times into the sea. If any one reviled or insulted another, he was on every occasion to pay to the offended party an ounce of silver. A thief was to have his head shaven, hot pitch poured upon it, and feathers shaken over him, and he was to be turned ashore at the first land at which the ship might touch."

Regulations for the Passage.

In the previous year, 10th June, 1190, the Emperor, Frederick I., Barbarossa, of Germany, who had led his army to the East by land, had been drowned when crossing the river Selef, near Seleucia in Syria; and Philip II. and Richard I. were now the two great chiefs of the Crusaders. Philip became jealous of the exploits and popularity of his rival, whilst Richard, indignant and irritated at the superiority which Philip affected towards him as suzerain of his continental possessions, supported with impatience the feudal yoke. In consequence, Philip set out for France with his troops, about the end of July, 1191, leaving only 10,000 men under the Duke of Burgundy. There had been various causes of disagreement between the two kings, which could not fail to produce a rupture. Philip demanded a moiety of Cyprus in virtue of a treaty which had stipulated the equal division of conquests. Richard observed that the treaty provided only for conquests made from the Turks. It was agreed to confine it to acquisitions in Syria and Palestine. But all these, both the competitors for the throne of Jerusalem claimed, as justly belonging to that crown. A warm contest for the kingdom arose between Richard, who supported Lusignan, his vassal in Poitou, with the help of the Pisans and Venetians, and Philip, who maintained with equal zeal the claims of his relation Conrad, which were also espoused by the Genoese. Philip was desirous of immediate peace on moderate conditions. Richard took fire at so base a compromise. A secret understanding with Saladin,—the heaviest imputation on the chief of a crusade,—was laid to Philip's charge. Perhaps he was influenced by views, hitherto almost secret to himself, on the territories of his great vassal. He proclaimed the crusade to be ended, and declared his determination immediately to return to France. "If Philip think," said Richard, "that a long residence here will be fatal to him, let him go and cover his kingdom with shame."

Quarrel of Richard and Philip II.

Philip, however, quieted Richard, by swearing that he would attack neither Richard's possessions nor those of any other prince who remained in Syria, but rather protect them with all his might. In the beginning of August, 1191, he sailed from Syria, was released from his oath by Pope Celestine II. at Rome, and before the end of the year reached his capital city. Richard pursued his career in Palestine; he defeated Saladin at Arsoof, on September the 7th, after which the Saracen king destroyed Ascalon. Negotiations were begun, but without effect. In January, 1192, the Crusaders approached Jerusalem, and again in June; but their dissensions on each occasion led to their retreat. In the spring, Richard constructed some forts at Ascalon. Shortly afterwards he quarrelled with the Archduke Leopold of Austria. In April of this year Conrad, marquis of Montserrat, who contested with Guy of Lusignan the empty title of king of Jerusalem, was assassinated at Tyre; and Richard, who had supported Guy, was afterwards charged with being privy to the crime. Joppa or Jaffa was now besieged by Saladin, but relieved by Richard when at the very point of surrendering. Richard's brilliant but fruitless victories had wearied the Crusaders, and they began to urge their return to their homes. Saladin offered to the Christians peaceable possession of the plains of Judæa, and liberty to perform the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Richard accepted these terms on the 3rd of September. The departure of the English king from Palestine, the scene of his chivalrous exploits, and of so many unfulfilled aspirations, was shortly followed by the death of his noble foe, the Sultan Saladin. Richard, who was as well pleased to bestow as to win kingdoms, conferred that of Cyprus on Gui de Lusignan, whose posterity enjoyed it for two centuries. Stern as he was, he shed bitter tears at being prevented by illness from visiting Jerusalem with the other pilgrims, and declared his determination to return speedily, that he might perform his vows at the Holy Sepulchre. Had he remained in the East six months longer he might have absolved himself of his vows more easily and speedily than he hoped; for on the 4th of March, 1193, Saladin expired, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, leaving behind him the just reputation of the most upright and the wisest prince who ever filled a Mussulman throne. He had risen to be sovereign of Asia, from the station of a private Curdish soldier, by the general Mahometan title of the sword.

The Invaders of Syria.

Richard I. embarked for England on the 9th of October, 1192. The fleet was soon scattered by a storm. Berengaria's ship reached Sicily in safety; but Richard's was shipwrecked near the land of the Adriatic. The English king assumed the garb of a pilgrim, and thus attempted to cross the Continent. "The utmost wariness became needful; for he had mortally offended not only Duke Leopold of Austria, but all the German knights who had endured his arrogance in Palestine. Mainharn of Gortz apprehended eight of his companions. He fled to the town of Friesach, in the territory of Salzburg, to avoid the hostility of Ulrich of Carinthia. Here he met new enemies, and wandered with one William de Stagno and a little boy who spoke German, on horseback, with scarcely any nourishment, for three days and nights, till he was driven by hunger to go in quest of

necessaries to Erperg, near Vienna. He sent his servant daily to the city to buy provisions. The boy imprudently attracted attention by expensive purchases, and was obliged to say that his master was a rich merchant, who would come to Vienna as soon as he recovered. The Duke of Austria had received information of Richard's arrival from Ulrich of Carinthia, and commanded all strangers to be watched with redoubled care. The boy

Richard in captivity.

KING RICHARD I.

went to market with the gloves of the king's armour, which were recognised by an Austrian knight who had served at Acre. The boy was put to the torture till he confessed the truth. A band of armed men surrounded the house where Richard was asleep. Overpowered

as he was, he refused to surrender to any but the duke, who received his sword on the 21st of December, 1192.

The royal prisoner was committed to the castle of Diernstein under the custody of Hadamar of Cunring. Henry VI., when he heard of this arrest, said, "No duke must presume to imprison a king: it belongs to an emperor." The Archduke Leopold of Austria was accordingly compelled, on the 23rd of March, 1193, to deliver him for a sum of money to his suzerain, the Emperor Henry VI. of Germany, whose hatred Richard had excited. The unfortunate Cœur de Lion was now confined in the castle of Trifel, where his imprisonment was as rigorous as at Diernstein. On the 28th of May, 1193, Richard was brought before the Diet of Worms, and accused by the Emperor of being privy to the murder of Conrad, of having imprisoned the Christian king Isaac of Cyprus, and of having insulted Leopold of Austria. Richard bore himself with royal dignity at this mock trial. He defended himself with equal frankness and majesty on all these points. He was especially indignant at the accusation which imported to him the base crime of inciting to assassination,* and offered to disprove the "contemptible lie" by single combat, against any one who should maintain it. His eloquence drew tears from some of those who were present, and the Emperor, embracing him, promised him his friendship. He was assigned an abode at Mentz befitting his rank, and on the 29th of June his ransom was agreed on. He was to pay down 100,000 marks of silver, and give sixty hostages to the Emperor and seven to the duke for the payment of the further sum of 50,000, of which 20,000 were to go to the duke, to whose son he was to give his niece Eleanor of Brittany in marriage. To raise the money, a scutage of twenty shillings was imposed on every knight's fee in England, a tallage was laid on the towns, and the clergy gave their plate and otherwise contributed largely. The Cistercians, who had no plate, were forced to give up their wool; "and England," says an ancient annalist, "from sea to sea was reduced to the utmost distress." The people, distressed as they were, manifested an honest joy at the liberation of their king, and found vent for the pain of their sufferings in invectives against the Emperor Henry and Duke Leopold. Before Christmas, Queen Eleanor and the bishop of Rouen set out with the money for Germany; but new difficulties were raised by the Emperor, to whom the King of France and Prince John had made the most lavish promises, to induce

Richard's Ransom.

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* We owe a curious account of the sect, called by the crusaders Assassins,—either from *Hassan*, their founder, or from the corruption of an Arabic word *Hachish*, an intoxicating substance,—to the learned M. von Hammer, of Vienna. *Alam oul*, the capital of the sect during its prosperity, is said to have been situated in the Persian mountains, not far from *Teheraun*. In Syria, where they amounted to 60,000 souls, their capital was *Massiat*, a day's journey westward of Hamah, and from that place they possessed seven other fortresses, which extended to the Mediterranean, near Tripoli of Syria. Some families of them still subsist on Lebanon. The last remains of the inhabitants of Massiat were put to the sword, in 1809, by an adverse tribe in the neighbourhood. See a letter from M. Jourdan to M. Michaud, in *Histoire des Croisades éclaircissée*, ii.—*Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge.*

him to detain his captive for another year. But Eleanor appealed to the princes of the empire; and on the 4th of February, 1194, after more than a year's captivity, King Richard was set at liberty, and on the 13th of March he landed at Sandwich in his own dominions.

During the captivity of Richard I., his brother John had attempted to seize the throne. Shortly after the king's departure for Palestine, John had fomented disaffection; and on the 9th of October, 1191, he persuaded a council of prelates and barons, which met in St. Paul's Cathedral, to expel the chancellor, Longchamp, bishop of Ely, in whose hands the government was left, and to appoint John himself chief justiciary. On hearing of Richard's captivity, John opened up communications with Philip Augustus of France, to whom he offered to do homage for the continental provinces if he would assist him in securing the crown. The French king, who had vainly attempted to procure the Pope's sanction to his repudiating the oath which he had taken to Richard, now overran Normandy, where however he was opposed by the Earl of Essex. In England the loyal barons appointed a council of regency, to counteract John's faction; and the majority of John's adherents were compelled to surrender their castles. At this juncture Philip announced Richard's release to John in a laconic despatch,—"Take care of yourself: the devil has broken loose." When, shortly afterwards, Richard landed in England, John's faction made a complete submission; the prince himself fled the country.

Hostile Conduct of Philip.

On King Richard's entrance into London, the citizens, we are told, made such a display of their wealth to testify their joy, that one of the Germans who were with him could not help saying, "If our Emperor had known the riches of England, thy ransom, O king, would have been far greater." After passing but three days in London, Richard went to lay siege to Prince John's castle in Nottingham; and on its surrender he held there a great council, in which all that prince's possessions were declared to be forfeited if he did not appear within forty days to justify himself. It was further resolved that, to wipe off, as it were, the stain of captivity, the king should be crowned anew. The ceremony was performed at Winchester, April 17, by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury. On the 2nd of May, seven weeks after his arrival in England, Cœur-de-Lion sailed for Normandy to avenge his wrongs on Philip Augustus of France. The war, like most of those of the time, consisted merely of skirmishes and taking of castles on both sides. Prince John, who was at Evreux, resolved to throw himself on his brother's mercy. Ever base and treacherous, he invited the officers of the French garrison to dinner, and massacred them while at the entertainment; then, with the aid of the townsmen, he fell on and slaughtered the garrison. He threw himself at his brother's feet, imploring forgiveness; Queen Eleanor interceded, and Richard pardoned him, saying, "I forgive him, and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries as he will my pardon." He did not, however, as yet restore him his possessions. The English king now formed an alliance with the most powerful of the barons inimical to the French monarch; but the war that ensued

Richard's Arrival in London.

The King's Pardon.

was tedious and attended with no brilliant success. At length, on January 13, 1199, a truce for five years was concluded. Three months afterwards Richard was engaged in besieging the castle of Chaluz, in Poitou, the stronghold of a rebellious vassal, when, just before the assault, he was wounded by an arrow in the shoulder by one Bertrand de Gourdon. The unskilfulness of the surgeon made the wound fatal. On the 26th of March, 1199, the castle was stormed: De Gourdon alone was pardoned by the king, and received rich presents, while the rest of the besieged were hanged; but after Richard's death, De Gourdon was flayed alive by order of the general Marchades. On the 6th of April, 1199, Richard I., Cœur-de-Lion, died from the effects of his wound, in the 10th year of his reign and 42nd of his age. He left no issue.

In the latter part of this king's reign, 1196, a riot took place in London, excited by one William Fitz-Osbert, surnamed Longbeard, "the patriarch," as Hallam says, "of a long line of city demagogues," styling himself the advocate of the people. The cause was the heavy taxes imposed by the king for his war in France, which Longbeard asserted to be necessary, but maintained that they were eluded by the rich and great and thrown entirely on the poor. He went over to France to the king; on his return he resumed his agitation, and so inflamed the people by his speeches from St. Paul's Cross, that no less than 52,000 persons bound themselves to obey his orders. Archbishop Hubert, however, assembled the citizens, and prevailed on them to give him hostages. Fitz-Osbert clove with an axe the head of the officer sent to arrest him, and then took refuge in the tower of the church of St. Mary-le-Bow; but the Church was set on fire, and as he attempted to escape he was stabbed by the son of the man whom he had slain, and was then dragged to Tyburn, and there hung from the elms. Miracles were, as usual, said by the partisans to have been wrought at the grave.

Fitz-Osbert, or Longbeard.

The fourth Crusade was undertaken by the Emperor Henry VI., and occupied two years, 1195–1197, but little was accomplished. While the Crusades entailed much suffering, their influence for good was very great. They did not soften the soldier-rudeness of manners; but they gave courage a more noble and more elevated aim, and spiritualized its origin. Men accustomed themselves to undergo the most cruel privations, and give their lives for some thing that was immaterial and ideal. Such distant expeditions weakened the national hates and the prejudices of the different classes; for so many men, armed for the same cause, could not close their hearts to all sentiments of fraternity. The religious enthusiasm gave birth to chivalry. To serve God, and to cherish and respect one's lady—to defend intrepidly, lance in hand, towards and against all, this double object of an enthusiastic worship, such was the duty of a "preux chevalier." The court of the sovereign and the castles of the nobles became schools where the scions of the nobility learned to serve under the names of varlets, gallants, knights, and to merit also themselves the supreme honour of chivalry. The study of letters or science did not enter into the education of a gentleman, who passed for an accomplished man when he knew how to pray to God, to serve

Rules and Customs of Feudal Times.

his lady, to fight, to hunt, and to manage his horse and lance. Beyond that, his ignorance was absolute; and to the want of intellectual instruction must be attributed the singular mingling of fanatical superstition, brutal violence, sincere purity, enthusiasm for women, and the mingling of courtesy and ferocity which the character of the chevaliers displayed for so long a time. The change in the manners of the nobility gave rise to the military games called "tournaments." To the first Crusade belong the assumption of family names,—usually that of the fief,—by the nobility, and the use of armorial bearings and heraldic emblems. And to this time belong the first essays of modern poetry: the Trouvères in the north, and the Troubadours in the south of France, composed songs on the adventures of the Crusaders or some marvellous legend, which wandering minstrels recited from castle to castle, accompanying themselves on instruments. Progress was made in the arts, in architecture, sculpture, and painting.

The Troubadours and Poets.

The religious excitement of the Crusades was very favourable to a great increase of the power of the monks: and the abbeys and monasteries of the great ecclesiastical orders were gorged with wealth. Commerce derived a new impetus from the Crusades. The delicacies of the East gave birth to new wants; the merchants, hitherto despised, acquired more consideration, and formed the link between Europe and Asia. Maritime commerce, which scarcely existed before, acquired a great development; European industry gained equally. The art of dyeing the tissues of silk was brought to perfection; and amongst the principal conquests of industry in the 12th and 13th centuries, must be reckoned saffron, indigo, and the sugar-cane. The rich tissues of Damascus, the glass of Tyre,—imitated in Venice, and afterwards substituted for metallic mirrors—wind-mills, cotton stuffs, damaskeening, the engraving of seals, and the manner of applying enamel to metals were now made known to Europeans. As the towns became the centres of commerce and wealth, and the manner of living of all classes became different, the corporations of tradesmen grew more important, and the movement towards freedom made itself felt. Though the nobles were so ignorant, the "schools" flourished; those of Paris, where the immortal Abelard taught, attained great celebrity. The secrets of nature were studied; but the darkness was as yet too profound to permit the human mind to attain its aim. The study of mathematics became that of astrology, medicine degenerated into sorcery, and natural philosophy into Alchemy. Nevertheless, in the midst of those gropings in the dark, science made some important discoveries: the alchemist, who endeavoured obstinately to find the substance that was to transmute all others into gold, "the philosopher's stone," discovered by chance various properties of the bodies submitted to analysis, and the world was enriched by these discoveries which were then looked upon as nothing. It is thus that distillation was brought to light, the fabrication of acids, salts, convex lenses, and lastly gunpowder, the composition of which was discovered by a German monk Schwartz, about 1330. Many sciences also are indebted to the Crusades for great progress

Commerce Enlarged.

Science and Knowledge, their Progress.

Invention of Gunpowder, etc.

—among others, the military art, navigation, history, and geography. The aspect of so many different countries, the observation of new and varied manners, and the comparison of a multitude of customs, extended the ideas of the people and uprooted a great number of errors and prejudices. Nevertheless, a great part of the amelioration of which the Crusades were the cause only manifested itself very slowly, while others did not bear their fruits till long after Europe had given up these religious expeditions—of which the eighth and last was in 1270–1272. The Crusades were also accompanied and followed by a great number of calamities; and it is necessary to recognise one of their most mournful results in the sanguinary ardour which they communicated to the Christians. People who were reputed "heretics" were soon persecuted with as much fury as the Mussulmans and Jews; and the extermination of the Albigenses, 1208–1229, opened the field for a long series of cruel wars.

In the beginning of the twelfth century the only powerful body of laymen in Europe inhabited small fortresses scattered over the country, from which they rushed forth in quest of plunder, and where they returned to shelter themselves and their spoils. Never before were so many dwelling-houses called "little camps." Access to these dwellings was not easy. Intercourse between them, except for short orgies, was little known. Young women in that unsafe time were almost as much confined by the care of fathers, as in the East by the jealousy of husbands. The young warrior could but rarely steal a glimpse of damsels of his own age and condition. Hence it naturally happened that these ladies were sometimes regarded, at least for a time, with a warmth of passion and depth of admiration unknown to happier times. When men were engaged in the constant exercise of national or private war, superiority in valour was the virtue which most commanded esteem and applause. The timid female valued it as highly from awe, as the sturdy warrior from fellow-feeling. It was the chief source of personal distinction; and a single failure in it carried with it a forfeiture of honour—a prize too bright to be bought by less than the unsullied prowess of a whole life. The excellent virtue of veracity was held in the same honour, and an offence against it was followed with the like shame; for it was rather admired as a proof of courage than esteemed as a part of integrity. Men despised falsehood, as flowing from the fear of speaking truth. Another point of honour grew up at the same period, that of fealty or loyalty, in some degree on the same grounds with that of veracity, which is akin to fidelity; in some measure, also, from habits of obedience in military service, strengthened in process of time by the heritable character which was attached to office and command.

The Ladies of the 12th Century.

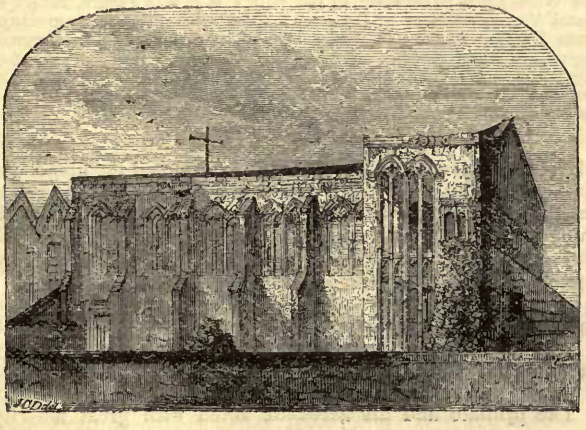
The pupils of the school of chivalry were taught to take up arms against wrong, however they might often be deceived in their judgment as to what constituted it. The grand defect of this system, in its best state, was, that it was confined to a small portion of mankind. In its purest form it never prevailed among the majority of the class who exclusively pretended to it. Even among the few who were its most brilliant ornaments, it must not be supposed that it was found in that regular and consistent state

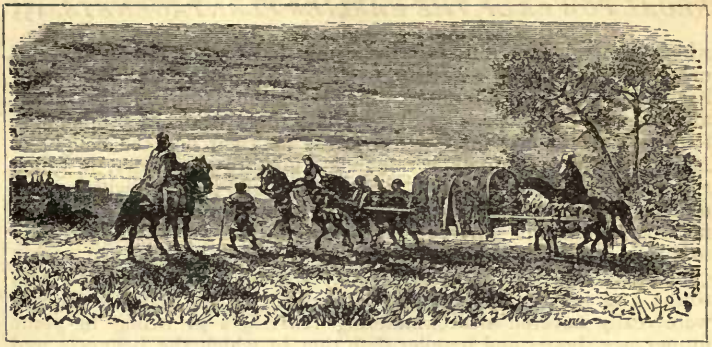
Teachings of Chivalry.

which general description is insensibly led to bestow on it. But every modification of a society, in any degree lettered, works out for itself a correspondent literature, which bears the stamp of its character, and exhibits all its peculiarities. The writers who soon supplanted the biographers of saints, and became for their day the delight of Europe, represented in their romances a picture of chivalry, in which the heroes were purified from their defects, and invested with powers to cope with preternatural beings, or to subdue the most tremendous monsters. These imaginary pictures were applied by admiring posterity to the favourite heroes of a past age. Each generation placed perfect chivalry in the time of their fathers. Fiction was confounded with truth; and at length it came to be thought that the roads of Europe were really covered with wandering redressers of wrong in some former age, better and happier than that in which the believers and admirers had the misfortune to live.

Title of the early English Kings.

Whatever may be thought of the effect which the study of the law had upon the rights of the subject, it conduced materially to the security of good order, by ascertaining the hereditary succession of the Crown. Five kings, out of seven that followed William the Conqueror, were usurpers, at least according to modern notions. Of these, Stephen alone encountered any serious opposition upon that ground; and with respect to him, it must be remembered that all the barons, himself included, had solemnly sworn to maintain the succession of Matilda. Henry II. procured a parliamentary settlement of the Crown upon his eldest and second sons; a strong presumption that their hereditary right was not absolutely secure. A mixed notion of right and choice, in fact, prevailed as to the succession of every European monarchy. The coronation-oath and the form of popular consent then required, were considered as more material, at least to a perfect title, than we deem them at present.





CHAPTER XI.

The Plantagenets—John.

A.D. 1199–1216.

John, April, 1199–18th of October, 1216: Prince Arthur proclaimed. War with France: Treaty. Acknowledgment of John. Royal Divorce and Marriage: War with France, 1202: Murder of Prince Arthur: John summoned before his French Suzerain—Sentence—Loss of Continental Possessions. Sloth and Cowardice of John. Struggle with the Pope regarding Appointment of Primate: John excommunicated: John's movements against Scotland, Ireland, and Wales: his Submission to the Pope: War with France, 1214. English Naval Victory—Defeat at Bouvines: the Fourth Crusade, 1202–1204. The Latin Empire of Constantinople. Discontent of the Barons—Insurrection: Meeting at Runnymede, 15th June, 1215—Magna Charta. Provisions of the Great Charter. John Absolved by the Pope: Second Insurrection: the Barons invite the Dauphin Louis: John loses his Treasures in the Wash: his Death, Family, and Character.

JOHN,—April 1199–October 18, 1216,—surnamed Lackland, because, after his withdrawal from Ireland, he did not receive, like his brothers, any province,—the youngest and only surviving son of Henry II., gained, at the age of thirty-two, the throne for which he had been plotting so long. He was a usurper, the rightful heir being his youthful nephew Prince Arthur, the son of Geoffrey his elder brother. John, being in Normandy at the time of Cœur-de-Lion's death, at once seized the royal treasures in the castle of Chinon, and despatched Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Mareschal, earl of Pembroke, to summon at Northampton the Great Council, that the barons might take the oath of allegiance to him. The primate and his associate acted with great alacrity and

John Seizes the Crown.

vigour, seeing that nothing less would save the country from frightful anarchy. They convened a Great Council at Northampton, and there, by secret gifts and open promises of justice and good government on the part of John, they induced the assembled prelates and barons to swear fealty and faithful service to the "Duke of Normandy," as the pretender was carefully called, until his coronation at Westminster. John did not arrive until the 25th of May, when he landed at Shoreham. On the 27th he repaired to the church of St. Peter at Westminster to claim the Crown. He well knew that many preferred the right of his nephew, the son of an elder brother, who had repeatedly been declared his heir by the late king; and now John professed to be in possession of a will, drawn up in his last hours, by which Richard revoked former wills, and appointed him his successor. But this testament, whether true or false, seems to have carried no weight with it, and to have been altogether disregarded on this solemn occasion. The fact that the Crown was not considered heritable property was stated in the broadest terms; and never was the elective character of the monarchy so forcibly put by such high authority. The Archbishop Hubert, having announced to the audience that the Duke of Normandy had been elected king at Northampton, laid it down as a known principle that no one could be entitled by any previous circumstances to succeed to the Crown, unless he were chosen to be king by the body of the nation—"ab universitate regni electus."

Testament of Richard I.

The prelates and barons did homage to him, immediately after which he repaired to St. Albans, to pray before the shrine of the martyr.

On the other hand, the barons of Touraine, Maine, Anjou, and Brittany proclaimed Arthur. Philip Augustus of France espoused the cause of Arthur, overran Normandy, and garrisoned Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. John again crossed to Normandy to attack Philip. At this juncture Arthur's mother, Constance of Brittany, perceiving that Philip was really desirous of gaining the provinces for himself, carried off her son from Paris and opened up negotiations with John. A treaty was concluded on the 23rd of May, 1200, by which John was acknowledged king. "Philip only intended to make a tool of the unfortunate boy; and when some troublesome disputes, in which he was engaged with the Pope, induced him to treat with John, he sacrificed all his interests without any remorse. By the treaty of peace which was concluded between the two kings in the spring of 1200, John was to remain in possession of all the States his brother Richard had occupied; and thus Arthur was completely disinherited, with the connivance and participation of the French king; for it is said, that by a secret article of the treaty, Philip was to inherit his continental dominions, if John died without children. Circumstances and the unruly passions of John soon nullified the whole of this treaty, and made Philip again the slippery friend of young Arthur; but nothing could efface the French king's perfidy, or re-inspire confidence in him, in reasonable men."—*Knight's England.* In the previous year, 1199, immediately after his accession, John granted to the citizens of London the privilege of electing their own sheriffs.

Before returning to England John divorced his queen, — Alice,

daughter of William, Earl of Gloucester,—on the plea of consanguinity, to marry the beautiful Isabella, daughter of Aymar, Count of Angoulême, though she was betrothed to Hugh, Count De la Marche. On the 22nd of November, 1200, John received at Lincoln the homage of William the Lion of Scotland, which his father, Henry II., had exacted. In the spring of 1203, De la Marche headed an insurrection. It was easily quelled; but the barons were becoming discontented, and Philip was again supporting Arthur's claims. The result was open war in 1202, when Arthur received knighthood from Philip. The ill-fated Arthur was captured, with many of his adherents, on the 31st of July, 1202; he was imprisoned in the castle of Falaise, whence he was removed to that of Rouen, and in the latter place he met his death by assassination by John's hirelings, or the king himself. It is said that his uncle John came by night to the tower of Rouen, and after vainly striving to make him cede to him his rights, he stabbed him with his sword, fastened a heavy stone to the body, and himself threw it into the water. Another account declares Arthur to have been murdered by his uncle in a boat on the Seine, at Rouen.

William the Lion.

The rumour of the murder, which was certainly spread in the month of April of this year, excited a universal cry of horror and indignation. The Bretons, among whom the young prince had been born and brought up, and who had looked to him with the fondest hopes, were the loudest of all: their rage amounted to an absolute frenzy; and even when cooler moments came they unanimously swore to revenge their prince's death. The Maid of Brittany, —the fair and unfortunate Eleanor, Arthur's eldest sister —was in John's hands, and closely confined in a monastery or prison at Bristol, where she consumed forty years of her life; but the enthusiastic people rallied round Alice, an infant half-sister of the prince, and appointed her father, Guy de Thouars, the last husband of their duchess Constance, their regent and general of their confederacy. At a meeting of the Estates of the province, held at Vannes, it was determined that Guy, with a deputation, should forthwith carry their complaints before the French king, "their suzerain lord," and demand justice.

The Maid of Brittany.

The crime had excited great indignation in France. To turn the universal indignation to his own advantage, by displaying the dependence of even so great a vassal as John, Philip II. summoned the English monarch to appear before him as suzerain of his continental possessions. John did not appear before the court of his peers; whereon he was condemned to death as contumacious; and his fiefs, Normandy, Brittany, Guienne, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, were declared to be escheated to the French monarch.

Philip at once set his troops in motion to carry out this sentence. He was now on the frontier of Poitou, where a general insurrection took place, and most of the nobles joined him against the murderer John. They surrendered to Philip most of the strong places, and then marched with him to Normandy. Here the enraged Bretons were before him, having invaded and occupied all the territory near their own frontiers: they took

Insurrection of the Bretons.

the strong castle of Mount St. Michael by assault, made themselves masters of Avranches, and then advancing, burnt all the towns between that city and Caen. At last his enemies appeared at Radepont, in the neighbourhood of Rouen, and then John fled over to England to demand succour. After a fruitless attempt to recover his possessions, John, in 1206, made a truce with Philip, and renounced all the country north of the Loire. Two years before, 1204, the queen dowager, Eleanor of Aquitaine, had died.

Cowardice of John.

John was next involved in a struggle with the Pope, Innocent III. On the death of Hubert, the monks elected the sub-prior Reginald to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and sent a deputation to procure the Pope's approval. John at once nominated John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, to the primacy, and compelled the monks to accept him. The Pope rejected both, and appointed an able Englishman, Stephen Langton, then a cardinal at Rome, whom, being threatened with excommunication, the monks elected. John refused to yield, seized the cathedral revenues, and expelled the monks, upon which the Pope laid the kingdom under an interdict, all the offices of religion, except baptism, confession, and the absolution of the dying, being forbidden, 23rd of March, 1208.

Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury.

John boldly confiscated more of the ecclesiastical revenues; and now the Pope hurled the sentence of excommunication at him. Though harassed with insurrections, John refused to yield. In June, 1209, he marched to Norham and obliged William I. of Scotland to again do homage and pay 15,000 marks as a fine for having destroyed a fort. In 1211 he crossed to Ireland, where the disaffected nobles had gone, and he restored his authority. In 1211 he penetrated into Wales as far as Snowdon, and obliged the native prince, Llewellyn, to do homage and give hostages. The Pope now discharged his last shaft—sentence of deposition, and offered John's Crown to Philip Augustus of France, who assembled an army to make a descent upon England. John at once submitted and did homage to the Pope for his Crown, and accepted Langton as primate; he also agreed to pay annually 1,000 marks (£666 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling) and to give up the right of investiture. The legate, Pandolf, proceeded to France to forbid Philip attacking England; but he pointed out to Philip that he might now satisfy his grudge against Ferrand, Earl of Flanders. John leagued with Ferrand, who received the support of his father, the Emperor Otho IV. of Germany, and of Reginald, Earl of Boulogne. The English fleet, commanded by John's natural brother, the Earl of Salisbury, completely destroyed the French shipping, 1214; but at the bridge of Bouvines, where the Emperor of Germany and the King of France led their respective forces in person, the allies were totally defeated on the 17th of July. Philip returned in triumph to Paris; and on the 18th of September, 1214, at Chinon, John had to conclude an ignominious truce for five years.

Foreign Affairs.

During these troubles the Fourth Crusade, 1202–1204, which had been preached by the enthusiastic Fulke, priest of Neuilly-sur-Marne,

was led by the counts of Champagne and Flanders, and the Marquis of Montferrat. A party of the Crusaders, taking advantage of the dissensions in the Eastern Empire, stormed Constantinople, and re-established the Emperor Isaac Comnenus: on his being expelled they again stormed the city, overthrew the Greek Empire, and placed on the throne a descendant of Charlemagne, Baldwin, Count of Flanders. This "Latin Empire of Constantinople" lasted for fifty-seven years, the Greek being restored in 1261.

A New Crusade.

The pusillanimity of John completed the alienation of his subjects, who had already been irritated by his pride and tyranny. A copy of the charter of liberties granted by Henry I. had been found, and the barons, at whose head was Langton the primate, determined to enforce its observance. On the 20th of November, 1214, the barons, who had met at Bury St. Edmunds under pretence of celebrating the festival of St. Edmund at his tomb, took an oath on the altar to force from the king an acknowledgment of their rights. "The spirit of freedom was awakened, not soon to sleep again: they advanced one by one, according to seniority, to the high altar, and, laying their hands on it, they solemnly swore that, if the king refused the rights they claimed, they would withdraw their fealty and make war upon him, till, by a charter under his own seal, he should confirm their just petitions. They then parted, to meet again at the Feast of the Nativity. When that solemn but festive season arrived, John found himself at Worcester, and almost alone, for none of his great vassals came as usual to congratulate him; and the countenances of his own attendants seemed gloomy and unquiet. He suddenly departed, and riding to London, there shut himself up in the strong house of the Knights Templars. The barons followed close on the coward's steps, and on the Feast of the Epiphany,—at every move they chose some day consecrated by religion,—they presented themselves in such force that he was obliged to admit them to an audience." They put before John a petition for the renewal of the Charter of Henry I. They acceded to his proposal to reserve his answer till Easter, on Langton the Primate, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Bishop of Ely becoming sureties that he would perform his engagements. John endeavoured to obtain the support of the clergy by issuing a charter bestowing on religious houses the right of electing their own superiors. At Easter, John received, at Oxford, Langton and the Earl of Pembroke, the deputies of the barons, who had met at Stamford; and after hearing their demands, declared that he would never grant them. The barons now advanced as open enemies of the Crown upon London, which they entered on the 24th of May. John had no alternative but to submit. He met the insurgents at Runnymede, a meadow on the banks of the Thames, between Staines and Windsor, on the 15th of June, 1215; and four days afterwards, on the 19th of June, he signed and sealed the Great Charter of English Liberties, usually known by its Latin designation, Magna Charta.

The Barons' Meeting with the King.

The principal provisions of the Magna Charta were as follows: 1. The Charter of Henry I., Beauclerc, should be confirmed. 2. No Scutage or Aid, except in the three cases referred to above (ch.

v., p. 67), should be raised without the consent of the Great Council, consisting of the prelates, earls, and greater barons, assembled by writ, and the lesser barons, assembled by a summons of the Sheriff; this established the great principle of "No Taxation without Representation." The Magna Charta has ever since been the fundamental basis of English liberty, and it was thirty-eight times confirmed in subsequent reigns—six times by Henry III., thrice by Edward I., fifteen times by Edward III., six by Richard II., six by Henry IV., once by Henry V., and once by Henry VI. The Magna Charta is now on the statute-book in the form in which it was ratified in the ninth year of Henry III., the third time on which he had ratified it: that king removed from it the provision regarding no taxation without consent of the Great Council, but this was restored by a special statute in the 25th year of his successor Edward I. At the confirmation of civic charters, London * received a new charter conferring the right of electing its own Mayor annually.

Repeated Confirmations of the Charter.

To insure the observance of the Magna Charta, the king was bound to disband his mercenary forces, to give the barons possession of London, and the custody of the Tower to Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. John professed to submit, but he despatched an envoy secretly to the Pope, Innocent III., from whom he procured a bull annulling the charter on the 13th of September, 1215, excommunicating many of the barons, suspending Langton, and laying London under interdict; and he began to enlist mercenaries.

The King's Treachery.

He issued a few writs required of him, and then withdrew to the Isle of Wight, where he would mix with no society save that of the fishermen of the place and the mariners of the neighbouring ports, whom he tried to captivate by adopting their manners. Here he remained about three weeks, not months, as stated by Matthew Paris; for it appears from public instruments, still extant, that he was at Oxford on the 21st of July, where he appointed a conference which he did not attend, posting away to Dover, where he staid during the whole of September, anxiously awaiting the arrival of his mercenary recruits from the Continent. When the barons learned that troops of Brabanters and others were stealing into the land in small parties, they despatched William d'Albiney, at the head of a chosen band, to take possession of the royal castle of Rochester. D'Albiney had scarcely entered the castle, which he found almost destitute of stores and engines of defence, when John found himself sufficiently strong to venture from Dover. The barons had taken up arms; but John advanced northwards, compelled Rochester castle to capitulate, and marched as far as Edinburgh in pursuit of Alexander II. of Scotland, who had allied himself with the insurgents.

Duplicity of the King.

The barons now offered the English throne to the Dauphin of

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* Six years before—1209—the first "London Bridge" was completed: it had twenty arches, and houses all along it; it was greatly damaged by a fire on the 10th of July, 1212.

France, Louis VIII., son of Philip Augustus. Despite the Pope's prohibition, he landed at Sandwich on the 21st of May, 1216, and, after capturing Rochester, entered London, where the barons did him homage. The death of the Pope, Innocent III., disconcerted John. After several engagements with varying success, John collected his forces in Lincolnshire, while Louis was besieging Dover. In his march from Lynn to Long Sutton across the arm of the Wash called the "Cross Keys," he lost all his baggage, treasures, and regalia, by the sudden approach of the tide, on the 12th of October. Being in a weak state of health, he was thrown into a fever by vexation at this almost irreparable disaster. He was carried in a litter to Newark Castle, and died shortly after his arrival, on the 17th of October, 1216, in the 49th year of his age, and 18th of his reign.

Invasion of Louis the Dauphin.

The Disaster on the Lincolnshire Flats.

Within a year his widowed queen, Isabella, married the Count De la Marche, her betrothed, to whom she bore four sons. John had no issue by his first queen, Alice; by Isabella he had two sons—Henry III., who succeeded him; Richard, Earl of Cornwall and "King of the Romans," who died in 1272; and three daughters—Joan, who married Alexander II. of Scotland, in 1221; Eleanor, who married William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, in 1235, and Simon De Montfort, Earl of Leicester, in 1238; and Isabella, who married the German Emperor, Frederick II., in 1235. John had entirely estranged his subjects by his conduct: his character was a mixture of arrogance and meanness, cruelty and cowardice, and licentiousness and unscrupulousness. He received a splendid tomb in the cathedral of Worcester, but his memory was execrated by his subjects. Yet his abuse of the royal prerogative had one good effect: it ranged the Normans and Anglo-Saxons in one common cause; and before the end of his reign there was a complete amalgamation of the two races into the "English."

CHAPTER XII.

The Plantagenets—Henry III.

A.D. 1216–1272.

Henry III. of Winchester, 18th Oct., 1216–16th Nov., 1272: Appointment of Regent: the "Fair of Lincoln" 20th May, 1217: Louis leaves England. War with France, 1224: Henry's Failures in France, 1230: Prosecution of De Burgh: Discontent of the Barons—Remonstrances of the Great Council: the Seventh Crusade, 1248–1254: War with Castile, 1253. Extravagance of Henry III.: Resistance of the Barons under Simon De Montfort, Earl of Leicester: the "Mad Parliament"—the Provisions of Oxford, 11th of June, 1258. Treaty with France, 1259: Dissensions of the Barons: Arbitration of St: Louis IX. of France, Jan. 1264: Civil War, 1264–1267: The Mise of Lewes: Usurpation of De Montfort. Introduction of Representation of the People—First Parliament Summoned: Battle of Evesham, 4th Aug., 1265—Defeat and Death of De Montfort. The Award of Kenilworth, 1266: Departure of Prince Edward for the Eighth Crusade, 1270–1272. Death of Henry III.: his Family: Importance of his Reign: Inventions and Discoveries: Roger Bacon: Architecture—the Gothic Style: Formation of the English Language: Literature.

THE STRUGGLE WITH LOUIS THE DAUPHIN.

THE Papal legate Gualo crowned John's eldest son, a boy of nine, Henry III., 18th October, 1216–16th November, 1272, "of Winchester," at Gloucester, on the 28th October, 1216, when the boy king did homage to the Pope for his dominions. The crown having been lost, a plain golden circlet was used. At a Great Council at Bristol, on the 11th November, William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, was appointed "Governor of the King and Kingdom" (Rector Regis et Regni), and Magna Charta was confirmed. A new forest charter was issued, by which all forests inclosed since the reign of Henry II. were thrown open, and

The Earl of Pembroke Regent.

fine and imprisonment were substituted for death, for offences against the forest laws.

That the boy king succeeded to an unquiet and doubtful heritage, may be seen by the particulars given of the state of the kingdom at the time of John's decease. The Dauphin was in England, confidently expecting to make good the claim he had set up to the succession.

Pembroke's conciliatory measures won over many of the disloyal barons. The Papal legate excommunicated Louis and his adherents on the 18th of April, 1217; but the Dauphin was loth to relinquish his hopes of gaining the kingdom. A division of his forces, numbering 20,000, under the Count of Perche, began the siege of Lincoln: Pembroke advanced to the city, when the garrison made a sally, and in the battle known, from the ease with which it was won, as the "Fair of Lincoln" the French were routed with great slaughter, on the 20th of May, 1217. "The Count for a time would not believe that the English would venture to attack him within a walled town; and though his superiority in cavalry would have given him an advantage in the open country, he rejected the advice of some English barons who were with him, and would not march out of the town. He continued to batter the castle until he found himself engaged in a fatal street contest. The regent took advantage in the most skilful manner of the Count's blunder; he threw all his crossbows into the castle by means of a postern. These yeomen made great havoc on the besiegers by firing from the castle walls; and seizing a favourable opportunity they made a sortie, drove the enemy from the inside of the northern gate of the city, and enabled Pembroke to enter with all his host. The French cavalry could not act in the narrow streets and lanes: they were wounded and dismounted, and at last were obliged to surrender in a mass. The victory was complete: as usual, the foot-soldiers were slaughtered, but the 'better sort' were allowed quarter; only one knight fell, and that was the commander, the Count of Perche, who threw away his life in mere pride and petulance, swearing that he would not surrender to an English traitor."

Combat of Lincoln Fair.

A fleet of eighty French ships, with reinforcements, was defeated off Calais on the 24th of August, by the Chief Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh: its commander, Eustace le Moine, was captured and beheaded, having been a noted pirate. "As they were attempting to make the estuary of the Thames, in order to sail up the river to London, they were met by the hero of Dover Castle, the gallant De Burgh. Hubert had only forty vessels great and small, but he gained the weather gage, and by tilting at the French with the iron beaks of his galleys, sunk several of the transports with all on board. He afterwards grappled with the enemy, fastening his ships to theirs by means of hooks and chains, and in the end, he took or destroyed the whole fleet with the exception of fifteen vessels. Eustace le Moine, or 'the Monk,' who had left his monastery in Flanders to adopt the more congenial life of a sea-rover, had his head struck off on his own deck; for he was not considered a true knight entitled to the honours of war, and he had previously given great offence to the English." Louis was now besieged by Pembroke in London, and obliged to conclude

The French defeated off Calais.

peace, which was signed at Kingston, on the 11th of September: and on the 2nd of October the Dauphin and his forces sailed from England. Unfortunately, Henry III. had not long the services of the patriotic Pembroke: the earl died in May, 1219, and was buried in the church of the Knights Templars, in London. The regency was now conferred on two,—the Chief Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, and the Bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, a native of Poitou. On the 17th of May, 1220, Henry III. was a second time crowned, the celebrant being Langton, whose suspension from the archbishopric had now been removed by the Pope. In June, of the following year, he contracted an alliance with Scotland by the marriage of his eldest sister, Joan, to Alexander II.; and the sister of the latter monarch married Hugh de Burgh. In 1223, Henry, then aged sixteen, was declared by a papal bull to be capable of exercising sovereign power.

Philip II. (Augustus) King of France having died in 1223, Henry III. demanded from his successor, Louis VIII., the restoration of Normandy to the English Crown. Louis replied by immediately invading Poitou and seizing Rochelle, 1224. In February, 1225, the Great Council, which met at Westminster, voted a fifteenth of all movable property for the war with France, the king having ratified the Forest Charter and Magna Charta. In April, Henry's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, accompanied by his uncle, the Earl of Salisbury, entered Guienne; but a truce was concluded for a year. When active hostilities were resumed in 1230 by St. Louis IX.—Louis VIII. having died in 1226—Henry III. himself went to France, but returned in a few months, after a complete failure. In the interval the Sixth Crusade (1227–1229) took place, under Frederick II. of Germany, when Jerusalem and other places were restored to the Christians. Some disputes between Henry and his barons had already occurred. The preference which the Poictevin Des Roches showed for his countrymen, and his quarrels with De Burgh, led to Henry's dismissing the former from office. On his coming of age, in 1227, Henry procured a bull from the Pope requiring the barons to yield obedience to him, and he relied on it to support his evasion of the Magna Charta. He conferred the appointment of Justiciary for life upon De Burgh; but four years later, 1231, he quarrelled with him and conferred the office on Peter des Roches. De Burgh was now accused of all kinds of offences; and, after being driven from place to place, he was arrested and confined in the castle of Devizes, and all his property was confiscated, 1232. He, however, escaped, and the barons insisted on his restoration to all his titles and estates, 1234.

War with France.

Evasion of Magna Charta by the King.

The favouritism of Des Roches to the Poictevins again aroused the opposition of the barons, and Des Roches and his countrymen had to be removed by the king. Henry's marriage—14th of January, 1236—with Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence, introduced more foreigners, and increased the disaffection of the barons. "They were Gascons and Provençals instead of Poictevins, but they were equally odious to the English nobility and people, equally insolent and quite as grasping. The Bishop of Valence, the queen's maternal uncle, was made chief minister. Boniface, another uncle,

was promoted to the see of Canterbury; and Peter, a third uncle, was invested with the earldom of Richmond, and received the profitable wardship of the Earl Warenne. The queen invited over damsels from Provence, and the king married them to the young nobles of England of whom he had the wardship. This was bad enough; but it was not all. The queen mother, Isabella, whom the nation detested, had now four sons by the Count of la Marche, and she sent them over, all four—Guy, William, Geoffrey and Aymer—to be provided for in England. The king heaped honours and riches upon these half-brothers, who were soon followed by new herds of adventurers from Guienne.

The Queen's Relations.

In 1242 Henry resumed hostilities against King Louis IX. of France, in support of his step-father, the Count de la Marche; but after the defeats of Faillebourg and Saintes, he ignominiously hastened back to England, leaving his treasures and baggage, and concluded a truce for five years. The Great Council, summoned in 1244, refused to grant supplies unless the appointment of the great officers of state was placed in their hands; and when again summoned in 1248, remonstrated against the abuse of purveyance, and the various other illegal means by which he had raised money, and against his patronage of foreigners. In 1248 Louis IX. of France had led the Seventh Crusade—1248–1254—to Palestine. He was taken prisoner by the Moors at Damietta, and after his release, effected little. He returned to France in 1254. In 1252 Henry III. professed himself desirous of going as a pilgrim to Jerusalem, and endeavoured to appropriate the Church tithes for three years; but the prelates successfully resisted him. In the following year—3rd of May, 1253—he obtained supplies from the Great Council, after he had ratified the Magna Charta, the Archbishop of Canterbury solemnly excommunicating any one who should infringe it. In this year—1253—Henry repelled an attack of King Alphonso X. of Castile on Guienne, after which a treaty was concluded, and Henry's son, Prince Edward, was betrothed to Alphonso's daughter Eleanor. "Want of economy," says Hume, "and an ill-judged liberality, were Henry's great defects; and his debts, even before this expedition, had become so troublesome, that he sold all his plate and jewels in order to discharge them. When this expedient was first proposed to him, he asked where he should find purchasers. It was replied, The citizens of London. 'On my word,' said he, 'if the treasury of Augustus were brought to sale, the citizens are able to be the purchasers. These clowns, who assume to themselves the name of barons, abound in everything, while we are reduced to necessities.' And he was thenceforth observed to be more forward and greedy in his exactions upon the citizens."

Ignominious Treaty.

Crusade of Louis IX.

Weakness of the King.

In 1257 Henry III. was tempted by the Pope, Alexander IV., to support his cause against his own brother-in-law, the German emperor, Frederick II., and he agreed to pay the Pope an enormous sum for the gift of the crown of Sicily,—the king, Conradin son of Conrad IV. of Germany, being excommunicated,—for his second son, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster.

The Crown of Sicily.

He prepared for his quixotic attempt to subdue Sicily, and squandered all the money in his treasury. To obtain supplies he summoned the Great Council at Westminster Hall on the 2nd of May, 1258. In the spring a famine had desolated the land, and the people were in no humour to bear an increase of taxation. The barons, many of whom appeared in full armour, chose for their spokesman a baron of French birth, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, the husband of Henry's sister Eleanor, widow of William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke. The father of this earl, also named Simon de Montfort, had taken part in the Fourth Crusade, and was killed before Toulouse in the frightful massacres, authorized by Pope Innocent III., called the "Crusade against the Albigenses," the sectarians in Provence, Catalonia, and Languedoc. At a private meeting of the barons they resolved to procure the redress of all grievances, and to take the government into their own hands.

Simon de Montfort.

In the Great Council they demanded that the administration should be entrusted to a commission of twenty-four, chosen from the ecclesiastical and the lay peers, twelve by the King's Council, and twelve by the Great Council. Henry consented to summon at Oxford (in 1258 on the 11th of June) an assembly afterwards known as the "Mad Parliament," and it passed the statutes called the "Provisions of Oxford," a scheme of reform drawn up by De Montfort and fourteen barons, who had been appointed by the others for this purpose. The Provisions of Oxford were these:—1. Four knights should be selected from each shire to state its grievances. 2. This Parliament should meet thrice every year, in February, June, and October. 3. A sheriff for each county should be annually elected. 4. An account of the public money should be regularly given; and 5. Estates should not be given to foreigners. The barons appointed a committee of twelve to act when the Parliament was not sitting, and, to remove all legal check, made the judges go on circuit septennially instead of annually. Prince Edward reluctantly took the oath to these statutes. Henry's half-brothers, the sons of the Count de la Marche, refused, and had to leave the kingdom. In the next year, Henry's brother, Prince Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and "King of the Romans," was not allowed by De Montfort to visit England till he had sworn to observe the Provisions.

Mad Parliament. Provisions of Oxford.

Power of De Montfort.

In the latter year, 1259, Henry III. visited France to arrange a treaty with Louis IX.—It was concluded in November, at Abbeville. Louis restored to England Périgord, Limousin, Agenois, Guercy, and Saintonge; while Henry renounced his claims to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou. Louis now offered to mediate between Henry and his barons, who had virtually kept him a prisoner. The barons, from the arrogance of the committee of twelve, had split up into two parties, the one led by Simon de Montfort, the other by the Earl of Gloucester, who was in favour of the royal authority. Henry, on his return to England, applied to the Pope for a bull, annulling the Provisions of Oxford, which he obtained from Alexander IV. in 1261; and upon this, he seized the Tower and repudiated his oath, and De Montfort fled to

Treaty with France.

France. "So many of the barons went over to the king, that he soon found himself in a condition to resume his authority, 1261. A bull was easily obtained from Rome absolving him from his oath; he displaced the justiciary, chancellor, and sheriffs appointed by the barons, and put others in their room, and exercised all the functions of royalty. During the following year—1262—various interviews took place between him and the barons, and it was proposed to refer their differences to the King of France and the 'King of the Romans.' Leicester, who had returned, went back to France, declaring that he would never trust a perjured king."

The King's Authority Recovered.

In this year the last "chief justiciary"—Philip Basset—was appointed; in 1267 the first "chief justice of the King's Bench"—Robert de Bruce—was nominated.

The Earl of Gloucester having died in 1263, his son Gilbert joined the party of De Montfort, who returned from France; and the Provisions of Oxford were promulgated in a great council at London, on the 8th September, 1263. In January, 1264, the arbitration of St. Louis was accepted; and at a council held at Amiens, the French monarch gave his award,—that the Provisions of Oxford should be annulled, but that the Magna Charta should be confirmed. The barons now repudiated the arbitration to which they had agreed, and a Civil War—1264–1267—began. After both parties had pillaged the country, and especially robbed the Jews, the hostile forces met on the downs of Lewes, on the 13th of May, 1264, when the king's forces were completely defeated, and Henry himself, and his brother Richard, taken prisoners. On the next day the treaty called the "Mise of Lewes" was concluded, and Prince Edward and Richard's son Henry delivered themselves as hostages for Henry and the "King of the Romans"; but it did not suit the purpose of the ambitious De Montfort to release his prisoners; the four, the king and Edward, Richard and his son, were kept prisoners. The Earl of Leicester had not the courage to seize the dignity to the power of which he aspired; and all orders were given in the name of Henry III.

Civil War, 1264-1267.

Leicester encamped on the downs about two miles from Lewes. Whether in war or peace he had always been an exact observer of the rites of religion: he now endeavoured (and, it should appear, with full success) to impress his followers with the belief that the cause in which they were engaged was the cause of Heaven, as well as that of liberty. The king, he said, was obnoxious to God by reason of his many perjuries. He ordered his men to wear a white cross on the breast as if they were crusaders engaged in a holy war; and his friend, the Bishop of Chichester, gave a general absolution to the army, together with assurances that all those who fell in battle would be welcomed in heaven as martyrs. On the following morning, the 14th of May, leaving a strong reserve on the downs, he descended into the hollow. The two armies soon joined battle. On the king's side were the great houses of Bigod and Bohun, all the foreigners in the kingdom, the Percys with their warlike borderers, and from beyond the borders, John Comyn, John Baliol, and Robert Bruce,—names that were soon to appear in

Battle of Lewes.

THE BARON'S HALL IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

a very different drama. On the Earl's side were Gloucester, Derby, Warenne, the Despencers, Robert de Roos, William Marmion, Richard Grey, John Fitz-John, Nicholas Seagrave, Godfrey de Lucy, John de Vescy, and others of noble lineage and great estates. Prince Edward, who was destined to acquire the rudiments of war in the slaughter of his own subjects, began the battle by falling desperately upon a body of Londoners, who had gladly followed Leicester to the field. This burgher militia could not stand against the trained cavalry of the prince, who chased and slew them by heaps. Eager to take a bloody vengeance for the insults the Londoners had offered his mother, Edward spurred forward, regardless of the manœuvres of the other divisions of the royalist army. He was as yet a young soldier, and the experienced and skilful leader of the barons made him pay dearly for his mistake. Leicester made a concentrated attack on the king, beat him most completely, and took him prisoner, with his brother the King of the Romans, John Comyn, and Robert Bruce, before the prince returned from his headlong pursuit. When Edward arrived at the field of battle, he saw it covered with the slain of his own party, and learned that his father, with many nobles besides those just mentioned, were in Leicester's hands, and shut up in the priory of Lewes. Before he could recover himself, he was charged by a body of horse, and made prisoner. The Earl Warenne, with the king's half-brothers, who were again in England, fled to Pevensey, whence they escaped to the continent.

Victory of the Barons.

The victory of the barons does not seem to have been disgraced by cruelty, but it is said to have cost the lives of more than 5000 Englishmen, who fell on the field.

Mortimer, Earl of March, attempted to sustain the royalist cause in Wales, but was crushed by the aid of the native prince Llewellyn; and the fleet, which the queen had equipped in the Flemish ports, was closely blockaded there, till the mercenaries were disbanded. De Montfort and the insurgent barons were everywhere victorious, and the Papal Bull of excommunication was publicly burnt at Dover.

From his seat, Kenilworth Castle, De Montfort issued at Christmas, 1264, writs in Henry's name to the sheriffs, directing them to cause the election, along with one hundred of the dignified clergy, of two knights for each shire, two citizens for each city, and two burgesses for each borough. This was the first approach to the Representation of the People. When the parliament met on the 20th of January, 1265, these elected representatives sat with the barons and bishops; but that assembly was the origin of our present parliament, the peers forming, on the separation of the classes—which, according to Hallam, took place early in the reign of Edward II.—the House of Lords, and the knights and burgesses the House of Commons.

Escape of Prince Edward.

In Whitsun-week, 1265, Prince Edward escaped from his guards and joined the remnant of Mortimer's army in Wales. He was speedily joined by Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, and several other barons whom De Montfort's attempted subversion of the monarchy, and his appropriation of the estates of the royalist barons, had disgusted; and, after swearing to the Magna Charta, he received the command of the forces. De Montfort compelled the king to march with him against Edward. The rival forces met at Evesham, in Worcestershire, on the 4th of August, 1265, when the royalists obtained a complete victory. The captive Henry was placed by De Montfort in the front ranks; and he was about to be run through by a knight, when he saved himself by exclaiming, "I am Henry of Winchester, your king!" De Montfort himself was killed, and the royalists wreaked their fury on his body.

Battle of Evesham.

The hatred of the royalists was too much inflamed to admit of the humanities and usages of chivalry: no prisoners were taken; the slaughter, usually confined to the "meaner sort," who could not pay ransom, was extended to the noblest and wealthiest; and all the barons and knights of Leicester's party, to the number of one hundred and eighty, were despatched. The historians, who praise the clemency of the royal party, by whom "no blood was shed on the scaffold," seem to overlook the fact that all their dangerous enemies were butchered at Evesham, and that little blood was left to be shed by the executioner. Not even death could save Leicester from their barbarous vengeance: they mutilated his body in a brutal and disgusting manner, and so presented it, as an acceptable spectacle, to a noble lady, the wife of the Lord Roger Mortimer, one of the earl's deadly enemies. It is certain that the people regarded him as a martyr to their cause; and certainly his acts gave a great impulse to the development of constitutional

Fate of Simon de Montfort.

freedom. But the usurpation by himself and his colleagues was more oppressive to the people than the abuse of the royal prerogative; and he openly endeavoured to engross all the power in the state, in defiance even of the "commission" of twelve.

The royal authority was now virtually restored, though the Civil War was maintained by De Montfort's followers for eighteen months. Kenilworth Castle and the Isle of Ely, the principal strongholds of the insurgents, having been reduced by Prince Edward, a parliament was held at Kenilworth in November, 1266, when the authority of Henry III. was again established, after he had ratified the Magna Charta and promised to preserve the liberties of the Church. The same parliament passed the "Award of Kenilworth," the terms granted to the insurgents—an amnesty to all who should at once surrender, with the exception of De Montfort's family.

In the next year the Earl of Gloucester attempted an insurrection in London, but it was easily quelled. Order being re-established, Prince Edward embarked in the eighth crusade, 1270–1272, which the aged Louis IX. of France, who had led the seventh, was leading, and in which, on his voyage, he died at Tunis, near the walls of the ancient city of Carthage. The Latin Empire in Constantinople had been subverted, and the Greek restored under Michael VIII. in 1261; on which Bendocdard, Sultan of Egypt, taking advantage of the divisions among the Christians in Syria, made a series of rapid conquests in Palestine, and in Antioch 100,000 Christians had been massacred by his troops. It was to avenge this disaster that the cross was for the last time taken up. Edward, having wintered in Sicily, landed at Acre early in 1271, and stormed Nazareth. On his return to Acre his wife, Eleanor of Castile, whom he had married in 1253, gave birth to a daughter. An attempt was made on him by an assassin with a poisoned arrow; Eleanor is said to have saved his life by sucking the poison from the wound. Edward had sent his cousin Henry on business to England; but that prince stopped at Viterbo to be present at the election of a pope. Here one morning, March 13th, 1271, he went into a church to hear mass, and as he stood in meditation after it was concluded, he suddenly heard a voice cry, "Thou traitor, Henry, thou shalt not escape!" He turned and beheld his cousins Simon and Guy de Montfort in full armour with their swords drawn. He sprang to the altar; its sanctity availed him nought; he fell pierced by a multitude of wounds. Two priests vainly interposed; the one was slain, the other left for dead. The assassins mutilated the body and dragged it to the church-door, where they mounted their horses and rode away. The Church excommunicated them, but they were never brought to justice. The King of the Romans did not long survive his son.

The Eighth Crusade.

Adventures of Prince Edward.

Death of Henry, son of Richard of Cornwall.

During Prince Edward's absence the public tranquility was not openly disturbed, but several despatches for his return were sent by his father. Henry III., who occupied the English throne longer than any sovereign, except George III., died at Bury St. Edmunds on the 16th November, 1272, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and fifty-seventh year of his reign. On the 20th he was buried at Westminster,

when the barons took the oath of fealty to Prince Edward, though it was not known whether he was alive or not.

Family of Henry III.

Henry III. left two sons, his successor, Edward I., and Edmund,—born January, 1245, and created Earl of Chester, 1253, of Leicester, 1264, and of Lancaster, 1267,—four others, Richard, John, William, and Henry, had died in infancy—and two daughters, Margaret, who married Alexander III. of Scotland, at York, 26th December, 1251, and Beatrice, who married John de Dreux, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond. Henry's character was feeble, and quite unable to support the weight of the government of a great kingdom; but his reign is one of the most important in English history, for it witnessed the formal adjustment of the civil government, the change of the position of the king from a feudal superior to a chief magistrate, and the creation of a representative Parliament, which became necessary—not for the enactment of laws, for the great Council with the king was sufficient for that, and new laws were little desired, but—to authorize the taxation, because the domains of the Crown were passing into the hands of favourites, the custom of commuting military services for pecuniary payments was becoming common, and, while the frequent levying of aid was necessary, from the extravagance of the king or the cupidity of favourites, excuses for levying it were easily invented, to the great oppression of the people of all ranks.

Arts and Sciences.

Many improvements were introduced in this reign,—the manufacture of linen, 1233, of leaden water-pipes, 1236; candles (instead of splints of wood), and gold coins, the arts of distillation, with astronomy and geography, from the Moors, 1220, and the mariner's compass by a Venetian; while coal was discovered at Newcastle in 1234. The celebrated Roger Bacon,—who was born in Somersetshire, 1214, educated at Paris, and lived as a monk of Oxford,—invented the telescope and magic lantern; his great learning and scientific experiments procured for him the character of a wizard; he was denounced as a magician by Pope Nicholas IV. in 1278, and was imprisoned till 1288.

In architecture, the change was effected from the Saxon and the Norman styles to the purely English style, called the "Gothic," and some of the finest ecclesiastical edifices were constructed, as the west front, 1239, and the Lady chapel, 1248, of Wells Cathedral, the north transept of York Minster, 1260, and the choir of Lincoln Cathedral, 1270; and the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, begun in 1221, was nearly completed. The fusion of the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman-French into the English language was fully completed in this reign. The eminent writers of this period are not numerous. The principal work of the period is the "Opus Majus," among the chief authors are Layamon, a priest and historian; Gervais, a monk and historian,

Learned Men of the Period.

who died in 1205; Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Albans, who wrote, besides other treatises, a "History of the World, from the Creation to the Conquest," and died 1259; and Robert of Gloucester, whose chief work is, "Rhyming History of England," and who died in 1285.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Plantagenets.—Edward I.

A.D. 1272–1307.

First Acts of the New King. Edward I. Contrasted with Henry III. Edward's Return Homewards. Dangerous Tournament at Châlons. Coronation Feast. Persecution of the Jews; their Banishment. The Conflict in Wales, and Conquest of the Country. Early History of Wales. Submission of Welsh Princes. Insurrection in Wales. Death of Llewellyn. Execution of Prince David. Birth of Edward of Carnarvon. Scotland's Struggle against the English. Scotland in the Thirteenth Century. Alexander II. and Alexander III. Margaret of Scotland and her Daughters. Conflicting Claims to the Crown. John Baliol King of Scotland. Baliol's Treaty with France. Edward I. and Philip the Fair. War in Scotland against Baliol; his Submission and Abdication. Sir William Wallace: his Victory at Cambus-Kenneth. Foreign Affairs. Edward in Guienne. Discontent of the Nobles. Taxation. Confirmation of the Charters. Renewed Struggle in Scotland. Defeat of Wallace at Falkirk. Campaign of 1303. Capture, Trial, and Execution of Wallace. Robert Bruce. Murder of Comyn. Coronation of Bruce. The Douglas Larder. Death of Edward I. Summary of his Reign. The Parliament. Union of Classes.

ENGLAND was now destined to come under the rule of a king of very different temperament, and of a character strongly in contrast with that of the weak, vacillating monarch whose misrule had driven his barons into rebellion, and thus unconsciously continued the work of liberty the great Charter had begun. Edward I. stands out from among the English kings, even after the lapse of six centuries, as a grand and noble figure—a man well fitted to be a ruler of men. He was a king thoroughly suited for the times in which he lived, and for the duties laid upon him under a state of things in which tyranny might escape unpunished, but in which weakness was fatal. Arbitrary acts, and

Edward I. in Contrast with Henry III.

even cruelty, were easily forgiven in a king, and indeed frequently rather heightened than lowered the esteem in which he was held ; but the king who leaned upon favourites, or who had not the strength of character to keep unruly vassals in subjection, was not secure of his crown or of his life for a day. Original in conception, and bold and yet wary in execution, Edward connected with the tenure of the throne the idea of extending his sway over all the British Islands ; and the subjugation of Wales and the establishment and maintenance of a suzerainty over Scotland, are the fruits of his brilliant and glorious reign, that stands out all the more gloriously from the foil afforded by the ignoble rule by which it was alike preceded and followed.

After surmounting the various perils of the East, Edward was on his way home through Italy. His journey was retarded by a visit paid to Paris, where he did homage to the French king, Philip, for the territories he held under the French monarchy ; and still further by a romantic adventure, entirely in the spirit of those days of chivalry. A challenge was sent to Edward in Guienne by the Count of Chalons, inviting the king and his train to a tournament—one of those "gentle passages of arms" which generally involved a list of wounded and not unfrequently of slain. Gregory warned Edward that treachery was intended against him ; but the English king considered that a refusal would leave a stain on his honour, and accordingly appeared in the lists on the appointed day. But the thousand champions who followed him were confronted by two thousand brought by the Count of Chalons, and the mimic onset was soon converted into a real and fierce attack. We are told that the English took many knights, "who were obliged to ransom their horses, where any were left alive" ; and moreover killed many of the French footmen, "because they were but rascals, and no great account was made of them." There was not much idea of the sanctity of human life, apart from exalted rank, in those days.

Dangerous Tournament of Chalons.

Edward landed at Dover on the 2nd of August, 1274; his journeyings had occupied more than four years ; on the 19th he was crowned in Westminster Abbey, with his queen Eleanor. The occasion was a great one, and was celebrated with all conceivable pomp and magnificence. Rymer says that in the orders the King sent from abroad he commanded the purchase, for the coronation feast, of "380 head of cattle, 430 sheep, 458 pigs, 18 wild boars, 278 flitches of bacon, and 19,660 capons and fowls." No wonder that Holinshed tells us the royal pair were received in London "with all joy that might be devised."

Coronation of Edward I. and his Queen.

The fanaticism which everywhere mingled with the crusading spirit, seems to have clouded the judgment of the English king, and induced him to proceed with exceptional harshness towards the Jews in his kingdom. They were now accused of clipping the king's coin; and to be found in possession of money thus mutilated, was considered, in the case of an Israelite, sufficient proof of guilt. Accordingly a poll-tax was laid upon the Jews, they were forbidden to lend money for interest, or to buy houses or lands. Thirteen years afterwards, when Edward required money for his foreign wars, the whole Jewish community, being suddenly cast into prison,

Troubles of the Jews.

purchased freedom for a sum of £12,000, all being ordered, however, to quit the kingdom within two months, under penalty of death, their houses, lands, and other property being seized for the use of the king. The Jews did not re-establish themselves in England till the middle of the 17th century.

The reign of Edward is chiefly associated with his warlike deeds in Wales and Scotland; for the conquest of Wales was his first great achievement. It will be remembered that when the Saxons conquered Britain, the Cymric inhabitants fled westwards, as the invaders advanced from the east, and that various principalities were founded along the coast from Strathclyde to Cornwall. The inhabitants, the old Wala Leodi of the early centuries were known as Wallenses, or Welsh, and their country as Wallia or Guallia, the land of the strangers; just as in Flanders, to the present day, the Flemings in Belgium call the Gaulish inhabitants of their towns Walloons. The Welsh principalities became tributary to the Saxon Athelstan in 933. Under the Normans, various powerful barons established themselves on the borders and within the Welsh confines, particularly in Powis. Henry II. attempted the conquest of Wales, but failed, being compelled in 1157 to make peace and retire. Aberfrau, or Snauden, the modern Snowdon, took a prominent part, on the side of the barons, in the civil wars of the reign of Henry III.; and Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, was especially connected with the Montfort family. After the battle of Evesham, he had indeed renewed his fealty to King Henry III., but refused, when repeatedly summoned by Edward I., to appear in London and do homage. He was, indeed, affianced to Eleanor, a daughter of the great earl who fell at Evesham. But when the noble lady took passage from France to Wales her ship was intercepted and she was taken prisoner by order of King Edward. Both sides then prepared for war. It was in 1276 that the war commenced, but little was done until the next year. Among the enemies of Llewellyn was his own brother, David, who had some grievances against him, and therefore sided with the English. At Rhuddlan Castle, November 10th, 1277, Llewellyn was obliged to submit to such harsh terms as almost deprived him of all independent rule. He was to pay £50,000, an impossible sum, for expenses, and to cede the whole of his principality, virtually, with the exception of Anglesea, to Edward, to whom it was to revert if Llewellyn died without male issue.

Early History of Wales.

Quarrel with Llewellyn.

Submission of the Welsh Princes.

It was impossible that so one-sided a compact should be maintained. Accordingly Wales was quickly in rebellion. The Prince David, as if to atone for his former treachery, zealously led one army, while Llewellyn placed himself at the head of another. The brave people of Snowdon declared, that though the prince should give the king possession of it, they would never submit to strangers. The two Welsh princes fought bravely to the last, each succeeding in inflicting losses and even defeat upon the invaders. But the disparity of numbers and the difference in the arms, training, and discipline of the contending armies was too great to leave much doubt as to the ultimate issue.

Insurrection in Wales.

Roger Mortimer, the chief of the March, or border country, assembled a force, and surprised Llewellyn at Bualth, in the valley of the Wye, on the 11th of December, 1282; the prince, who had only a few followers with him, was killed, fighting in haste without his armour. The victors cut off Llewellyn's head, which was afterwards set up on the Tower of London. The death of Llewellyn was quickly followed by the collapse of resistance in Wales, and soon David was left almost alone. Six months afterwards he was taken prisoner. He was tried by a Parliament assembled at Shrewsbury, found guilty of treason and rebellion against his liege lord, and condemned, with elaborate cruelty, to the horrible and barbarous mode of death which, for more than five centuries afterwards, continued to be inflicted, to the disgrace of civilization and progress, upon persons convicted of high treason.

Death of Llewellyn.

Execution of Prince David.

The Welsh people thus passed from the sway of their native princes to the rule of a foreign king; but it cannot be said that Edward treated them with tyranny or cruelty. Except that he took necessary precautions against rebellion, his rule indeed, especially as regarded taxation, was lighter by far than that of their native princes. The castles of Conway and Carnarvon were entrusted to English nobles, with the lands around them; but throughout the rest of the country the proprietors were not disturbed. In 1284 the queen Eleanor gave birth to a son in Carnarvon castle, and Edward took advantage of this circumstance to present the infant to the Welsh chiefs as their prince, to the great satisfaction, it is said, of the Welsh, and by the eldest son of the English monarch the title Prince of Wales has ever since been borne. The king's moderation was not, however, generally imitated by his barons, whose excesses and insults frequently produced hostilities and reprisals, that kept up the flame of hatred and bitterness for generations between the conquered and the conquering nation.

Birth of Edward of Carnarvon.

Alexander II., who became King of Scotland in 1214, had taken part with Louis the Dauphin, of France, when that prince invaded the kingdom of John; for which he, his kingdom and his army, had been excommunicated by the Pope. A reconciliation had, however, been effected between Alexander and the young King Henry III., to whom, in 1217, he did homage for the Earldom of Huntingdon and other possessions in England, and whose sister Joan he married some years afterwards. Still, no final settlement was made between the two kings;—for Alexander, on his side, laid claim to Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. After the death of Queen Joan,—who died at Canterbury, in 1238, leaving no issue,— the friendship between Alexander and Henry was dissolved, and the old jealousies between the two kingdoms reappeared. Thus war was actually declared by Henry against Alexander in 1244; but the struggle was averted by a negotiation, followed by a peace. Alexander died in 1249, after a vigorous reign of thirty-five years, and was succeeded by his only son, Alexander III., a child not quite eight years old. As was almost unavoidable in those turbulent times, the minority of the

Scotland in the 13th Century.

Alexander II. and Alexander III.

sovereign produced civil strife. In this case it was between two factions. At the head of one of these parties were the powerful Comyns family with the Baliols and many chiefs of note as their followers; on the other side were the great Earls of March and Dunbar, Durward the Justiciary, and among others the Bruces. Alexander, while yet a child, was betrothed to Margaret, daughter of Henry III.; the marriage being celebrated at York in 1251. In 1261, Margaret of Scotland who had gone with her husband to visit her father in England, gave birth to a daughter, Margaret, in Windsor Castle. Alexander III., perished by a fall with his horse over a cliff in 1286; and the Princess Margaret, who was married to Erie, King of Norway, had also died, a year before, leaving an infant daughter, known as the Maid of Norway, who was solemnly acknowledged as heiress to the throne of Scotland. The little princess, was entrusted to a deputation of nobles who came to Norway to escort her to her kingdom, on her grandfather's death; but she died on the passage, in 1290. The direct succession having thus come to an end, thirteen competitors put in a claim to the vacant throne; but the real question became narrowed to the descendants of the three daughters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion. The representative of Dervergoil, the eldest daughter, was John Baliol, Lord of Galloway, a grandson; Isabella, the second daughter, was represented by her son, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick; and Ada, the third daughter, by her son, John Hastings. According to strict lineal succession, Baliol had the best claim; but in the feudal times this rule was not always followed. Thus, Baliol and Bruce had their respective factions, and out of this state of affairs arose a favourable opportunity, by which the sagacious King of England profited, to assert his own supremacy.

Margaret of Scotland and her Daughters.

Edward issued an invitation to the Scottish nobles to meet him at Norham, in Northumberland, for the purpose of settling the question. After repeated adjournments of the meeting, the two real competitors for the crown, Baliol and Bruce, consented to abide by the judgment of Edward, who gave his award in favour of Baliol—whose claim indeed, as the direct descendant of the elder sister, was the stronger according to the feudal custom of primogeniture. Before the final decision was pronounced, Edward had already indicated the direction his verdict would take. Bruce and Hastings accordingly urged that a division of the inheritance should be made—each of them, and Baliol, receiving a third part; but at length, in the hall of Berwick Castle, Edward pronounced his judgment, that John Baliol should have seisin, or possession, of the kingdom of Scotland. Baliol was accordingly crowned at Scone, and at Newcastle did homage for the kingdom to Edward as suzerain.

Baliol and Bruce.

At first Baliol tried to propitiate the English king by servile obedience. He even gave Edward a solemn discharge from the obligation in which it had been stipulated that no Scottish man should be compelled to go out of the kingdom to answer any charge, either civil or criminal. But "contempt will pierce even the shell of the tortoise;" and the feeling of insult and humiliation roused the effete Scottish king at length into

John Baliol, King of Scotland.

something like resistance. He plucked up heart of grace to declare before an English Parliament, that, as King of Scotland, he could make no answer to any complaint, or anything else that regarded his kingdom, without the advice of his people."

Philip the Fourth, King of France, an astute, crafty, and ambitious prince, had long been intriguing to destroy the power of Edward in Guienne. War broke out while the Scottish question was still undecided; and a treaty was concluded between John Baliol and Philip the Fair, who had seized Guienne. Baliol bound himself to assist Philip in his wars; proceeding, moreover, to fulfil his promise by invading Cumberland with an army of 40,000 foot soldiers and 500 horsemen. He was, however, repulsed, and it is said, ignominiously, before Carlisle; and an incursion into Northumberland proved equally abortive. Edward had been on the point of embarking for France when the news of Baliol's revolt reached him and totally changed his plans. He sent his brother Edmund, in 1294, to maintain his rights in France, while he himself prepared to march northward against his formerly submissive but now contumacious vassal. Prince Edmund was completely overreached by the cunning French king. Philip pretended that he wanted only to assert his suzereignty over Aquitaine; he proposed that possession should be given to him of the southern provinces for a space of forty days, at the end of which time they should be restored to Edward. But when the forty days had elapsed, Philip utterly refused to restore the territory, and once more summoned Edward to appear personally.

Baliol's Treaty with France.

Edward formally renounced his allegiance to the French king, and waited impatiently at Portsmouth for a fair wind to carry his ships across the Channel, when news was brought to him of a general rising in Wales. With the prompt decision natural to him, Edward at once marched his army towards Wales, and, after some months of hard fighting, triumphed over the rebels

Edward I. and Philip the Fair:—War.

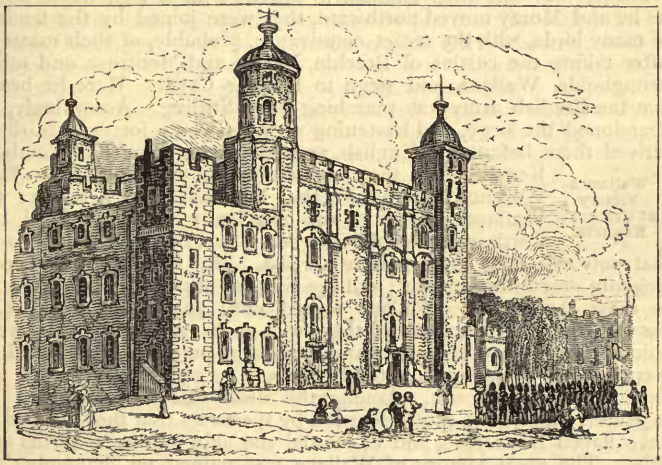
It was when the king was once more preparing to proceed to France, for the recovery of Guienne, that he heard of the proceedings of Baliol with regard to France. He was obliged to send his brother Edmund, who died soon afterwards, to France in his stead; and in spite of some successes, nearly the whole of his continental possessions were soon afterwards lost. He arrived on the Scottish borders with 30,000 foot and 4,000 horsemen. In March, 1296, he was at Newcastle. Thence proceeding northward across the Tweed, he attacked Berwick, which he took by assault. After a battle on the 27th of April, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Dumbarton, and Jedburgh successively surrendered to his victorious arms; Edinburgh and Stirling followed their example, and within little more than two months the whole country was in his power. Baliol now made his submission, in abject terms, to the conqueror. He was sent to London, as a kind of prisoner on parole, with a residence in the Tower, and liberty of movement for twenty miles round the city. After three years, he was allowed to retire to France, where he finished his life in peaceful retirement, dying in 1314. Edward advanced as far north in Scotland as Elgin, and as he journeyed onward, the

War in Scotland against Baliol.

Scottish nobles and clergy kept coming in to swear allegiance. Having now, as it appeared, overcome all resistance, and completed the subjugation of Scotland, he returned home, carrying with him, as a trophy, the stone on which it had been customary to crown the Scottish kings. This was deposited in Westminster Abbey, where it is still kept, enclosed in the coronation chair. John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, was appointed Governor of Scotland, with a treasurer, Hugh de Cressingham, and a justiciary, William Ormesby, under him.

The Coronation Stone.

When the independence of Scotland seemed irrevocably lost, deliverance came, by the prowess and patriotism of a private gentleman, William Wallace, son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie. William



THE WHITE TOWER;—TOWER OF LONDON.

Wallace had all the qualities, physical, mental, and moral, that fit a man for a hero in rough and troublous times. Alone, while others despaired, he upheld the strife against southern tyranny, sometimes hiding in caves and forests, sometimes hunted by his enemies like a wolf; but always hopeful, and waiting for the brighter day which he felt assured would dawn upon his country. It was in May, 1297, that Wallace first appeared, at the head of a small force of freebooters rather than soldiers, in arms against the English. The importance of his rising was greatly increased when he was joined by Sir William Douglas. Earl Warenne was away in England, and his subordinates, Ormesby and Cressingham, had made themselves hated by rapacity, tyranny, and exactions of various kinds. Wallace and his ally marched on Scone, whence the justiciary fled for his life. From thence they scoured the country round about, putting the English to the sword. As Wallace became more formidable, other chiefs came in and joined his standard, and among them young

Sir William Wallace.

Robert Bruce of Carrick, the grandson of the competitor of John Baliol. King Edward, who was on the point of embarking for Flanders, when he heard of the Scottish revolt, at once ordered Earl Warenne to call out the forces of the six northern counties. The English army, under the command of Henry Percy, Earl Warenne's nephew, came up with the insurgents at Irvine, in Ayrshire. The chiefs lost heart at sight of the 40,000 Englishmen opposed to them. Many of them also were but reluctant followers of Wallace, who was below them in rank. Accordingly, with the exception of Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, they all made their submission, rather than risk a battle under the circumstances. Even Bruce submitted, and obtained his pardon with the rest; but many of their followers remained with Wallace, who was thus enabled to retreat with a formidable force. As he and Moray moved northward, they were joined by the tenants of many lords, with the secret connivance, probably, of their masters. After taking the castles of Brechin, Forfar, and Montrose, and other strongholds, Wallace laid siege to Dundee Castle. Here he heard that the English army was marching upon Stirling. Accordingly, he abandoned the siege, and hastening with his whole forces to Stirling, arrived there before the English, and took up a position at Cambus-Kenneth, on the opposite bank of the Forth. Earl Warenne doubted whether he should risk a battle; for Wallace's position was excellently chosen, behind the Forth, which could only be crossed by a bridge so narrow that only two men could march abreast. But the impetuous Cressingham urged him to fight; and the English army accordingly began to cross the bridge. Wallace waited until part of the troops had passed over, and then attacked them with such vigour that they were quickly thrown into disorder; and their large numbers only served to increase the confusion. A total rout and a great slaughter of the English was the result. Among the dead was Cressingham, the treasurer, who was so much detested by the Scots that they are said to have flayed his corpse, and converted the skin into horse girths and belts. The great victory of Wallace was gained on September 11, 1297.

Wallace's Victory at Cambus-Kenneth.

Wallace was now at the height of his fame and power. He crossed the borders into England with his victorious army, and ravaged the northern counties. Returning from this expedition, he was invested, in a solemn assembly in Selkirkshire, with the title of 'Guardian of the Kingdom and General of the Armies of Scotland' But now Edward of England was to appear on the scene.

In the preceding year he had been occupied on the Continent. After the death of the king's brother Edmund, the Earl of Lincoln had held the command. Edward's plan was now to operate against France from Flanders. He purposed also renewing operations in Guienne, and divided his army into two sections, to the command of which he appointed Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, respectively. But both these noblemen refused the position offered them. Probably they felt little inclination to be associated with a cause they considered lost. "By the everlasting God, Sir Earl,"

Edward's Negotiations in Flanders, etc.

cried the king, angry at being thus thwarted, "thou shalt either go or hang!" "By the everlasting God, Sir King," replied the proud noble, "I will neither go nor hang!" and he and Hereford immediately left the court with their followers, including no fewer than thirty bannerets and 1,500 knights. They likewise refused to muster troops, as a protest against the arbitrary measures the king had put in force in raising money for his foreign wars, and sometimes involving grave infringements of the terms of the Great Charter, and bearing with especial severity on the Church, on one occasion demanding from the clergy a contribution amounting to half their incomes. But from the mercantile and trading classes he encountered a far more vigorous resistance; and Edward was politic enough to resort to persuasion rather than to violent measures. He met the people of London in Westminster Hall, accompanied only by his son Edward, Prince of Wales, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Earl Warenne, and defended his proceedings with an eloquence not devoid of pathos. It was with the greatest reluctance, he assured his faithful subjects, that he had burdened them with taxes, rendered necessary to protect them from the rapacity of the Welsh, the Scots, and the French, urging that the sacrifice of a part was surely preferable to the loss of the whole. "Behold, I go to expose myself to death for you," said the politic king. "If I return, I will make you amends; if I fall, there is my son; place him on the throne, and his gratitude shall reward your fidelity." This appeal, which was spoken with great earnestness, and even with tears—for the iron-hearted Edward would weep on occasion—produced the greatest effect on a people ever ready to respond to frankness and worthy treatment. Many of the spectators were moved to sympathetic tears, a loyal shout rent the air, and all danger of disaffection passed away in a general feeling of admiration and regard for the outspoken, energetic monarch, who thus identified himself with his people.

Discontent of the Nobles: Taxation.

The foreign expedition of the king produced no great victory to flatter the patriotic pride of the nation. In the spring of 1298, he concluded a truce with Philip the Fair for two years, and hastened to England, where his presence was urgently required. The important events then took place—events that had an effect on the welfare of the English nation and the liberty of the people for centuries afterwards; for they were intimately connected with the limits of the king's power and with the people's liberties. The case is well and lucidly put in Knight's history in the following words: "It could not be denied that, after throwing away immense sums of money, he returned humbled and disgraced. But his English subjects had not waited for this moment of humiliation to curb his arbitrary power. As soon as he set sail for Flanders the preceding year, the Constable and Earl Marshal, with many other nobles, in presence of the Lord Treasurer and of the Judges, forbade the officers of the Exchequer, in the name of the whole baronage of England, to exact payment of certain taxes which had been laid on without proper consent of Parliament. The citizens of London and of the other great trading towns made common cause with the barons; and after issuing some orders which the Exchequer durst not obey,

Truce with Philip the Fair.

and making some fruitless attempts at deception and evasion, Edward was obliged to send over from Ghent instructions to his son and the council of regency to bend before a storm which there was no opposing; and in the month of December, from the same city of Ghent, he was fain to grant, under the great seal, another confirmation of the two charters, together with a full confirmation of the important statute "De Tallagio non concedendo," declaring that henceforth no tallage or aid should be levied without assent of the peers spiritual, the knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the realm, which had been passed in a Parliament held by Prince Edward in the preceding September. For many years Parliament had exercised a salutary control in such matters; but this statute for the first time formally invested the representatives of the nation with the sole right of raising the supplies. When he met his Parliament again at Westminster, about ten months afterwards, in March, 1298, and was urged by the barons to fulfil his promise, the king again endeavoured to gain time by delay, even quitting London secretly to put the matter off. At length, after a first ratification, including a "saving clause" for the king's dignity, which would have neutralized the benefit of the whole, he yielded to the determination of his vassals, and fully granted their demands. The confirmation of the charters is enough in itself to render illustrious the reign of Edward.

Confirmation of the Charters.

Reluctant Consent of the King.

Edward's queen, Eleanor of Castile, had died some years previously, in 1291. Her memory and the affection of her husband are perpetuated in the "Eleanor crosses" which were erected in every place in which her corpse rested on the mournful journey between Grantham, where she died, and her final resting-place in Westminster Abbey—Waltham, Northampton, and Charing Crosses being among the number. Edward sought and found an opportunity of accommodation with Philip the Fair of France, who restored Guienne to him, King Edward marrying Philip's sister Margaret, in September, 1299, while the Prince of Wales, who was fourteen years old, was married by proxy to Isabella, the French king's daughter, a child of six.

Peace with France.

Freed from Continental anxieties and broils, he marched northward. Wallace's star had waned soon after the great success of Stirling. In 1298 Edward had marched to Scotland, and joined Lord Warenne at Berwick. The army at his command amounted to nearly ninety thousand men. The two armies met at Falkirk on the 22nd of July, 1298. "Wallace had drawn up his pikemen in four circular masses, called schiltrons, connected by lines of archers from the forest of Selkirk. He had stationed his cavalry in the rear. The Scottish cavalry, fled at the first charge. The line of archers was speedily broken, but the pikemen stood firm, till, the English archers and the military engines having played on them, and openings being effected in their circles, the horse rushed in and cut the brave Scots to pieces. The loss of the Scots is variously stated at from fifteen to fifty thousand men." The lower estimate is probably the true one. The loss of the English was inconsiderable. Wallace himself escaped, but was compelled to

Defeat of Wallace at Falkirk.

retreat in haste to the North. But the devastated region could not yield subsistence to a great army like Edward's. The king returned home in September. The conduct of affairs now fell into the hands of the Bishop of St. Andrew's, Robert Bruce, John de Soulis, and John Comyn, who professed to act as regents in John Baliol's name, as Wallace had done.

Edward's Return to England.

At length, when the treaty of Montreuil had put an end to all trouble from the direction of France, Edward, who was now sixty-five years old, applied himself strenuously to the task of completing the conquest of Scotland with so numerous an army that resistance would have been hopeless. The English king, after traversing the whole of the North, remained at Dunfermline for the winter; and on the 9th of February, 1304, Comyn and other leaders submitted to Edward under a formal capitulation, it being stipulated that their lives, liberty, and estates should be safe, excepting such fines as the king should think fit to inflict. Wallace was captured some time afterwards, the place of his retreat being betrayed, it is said, by Ralph Hamilton, one of the prisoners taken at Stirling. Wallace was given into the custody of Sir John Menteith, who held the castle of Dumbarton for Edward, and who, in the popular accounts of these transactions, has been represented, unjustly, it would seem, as Wallace's betrayer. Edward appears to have looked upon Wallace with especial hatred, as the man to whom the resistance in Scotland was chiefly, if not entirely, due; and accordingly there was no mercy for the Scottish patriot. He was conveyed to England, and condemned to suffer the doom of a traitor; and on the 23rd of August, 1305, was put to death at the common place of execution, the Elms, Smithfield, His head was fixed up on London Bridge; and his limbs were exposed in like manner at Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen.

Campaign of 1303 in Scotland.

Capture, Trial, and Execution of Wallace.

But within a few months the strife was renewed, and Scotland was once more in insurrection, rallying round a champion as determined as Wallace, and far more fortunate. This was Robert Bruce, the grandson of the competitor of Baliol. While the Scottish nobles, with Comyn at their head, were fighting in the name of John Baliol, young Bruce, the representative of the rival house, could hardly join them. Bruce entered into certain negotiations with Comyn of Badenoch, of which the details are not known, though it is probable that their object was to put Bruce on the Scottish throne, while Comyn was to be indemnified for his help. Be this as it may, there seems no doubt that the whole affair was betrayed by Comyn to Edward. On the 10th of February, 1306, Comyn and Bruce had a stormy interview in the choir of the Minorites Church at Dumfries. It is supposed that Bruce angrily taxed Comyn with his treachery, and that Comyn answered with denial and defiance. Certain it is, that Bruce drew his dagger and plunged it into Comyn's breast. Thereupon he rushed from the church, pale and agitated, and called to horse. Questioned by his friends, who waited for him outside, he replied that he doubted he had killed Comyn. "Do you leave such a matter in doubt?" cried Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's followers; "I will make it sure!" and rush-

Robert Bruce.

Murder of Comyn.

ing with the rest into the church, he despatched Comyn, who was still alive; while Sir Thomas Comyn, who came to his kinsman's rescue, was killed at the same time by Seaton, the brother-in-law of Bruce.

Bruce had now gone too far to retreat. There was no chance of accommodation with Edward or with the party opposed to him. Accordingly he summoned his few friends around him at Glasgow, and on March 27th he was crowned at Scone. Edward, on hearing of this formidable rebellion, at once sent forward his army under the Duke of Pembroke, towards Scotland; and, though he was now an old man, determined to follow himself with the Prince of Wales. He was so weak that he could only travel by slow stages in a litter; but in his determination for vengeance on the Scottish rebels he was implacable. Bruce with his followers attempted to oppose the invasion from England; but after a complete defeat at Perth on the 19th of June, he was obliged to retreat towards Atholl with five hundred adherents—all who remained to him of his army. Being again attacked by the Lord of Lorn with greatly superior numbers, Bruce was obliged to flee for a time from Scotland, and to take refuge in the Island of Rachrin, on the Irish coast.

Coronation of Robert Bruce.

The queen and Margery Bruce, the king's daughter, were seized by the Earl of Ross and sent as captives to England. But when the spring of 1307 came, Bruce was once more in the field, though he could only maintain a desultory warfare. Edward was grievously ill at Carlisle; and the approach of death seems to have made him only more determined in his vengeance on the Scottish insurgents. Thus, when Thomas and Alexander, the king's brothers, being taken captives, were sent to him at Carlisle, he ordered them for instant execution. The war was carried on, by both sides indeed, with unusual bitterness. Thus, when Sir James Douglas, one of Bruce's adherents, took from Lord Clifford Douglas Castle, which had formerly belonged to himself, "not contented with the numbers of the garrison that had fallen in the encounter, he piled together the malt, and corn, and wine-casks, and whatever else he found in the castle that he could not carry away, and then, setting fire to the heap, slew his prisoners and threw their dead bodies among the flames, which soon enveloped the whole building and reduced it to a blackened ruin." This incident of the "Douglas larder" stands forth as a characteristic trait of the manners of that age.

Reappearance of Bruce.

The "Douglas Larder."

Success seemed now to smile once more on the cause of Bruce. He was able to come forth from his concealment, and on two separate occasions routed his opponents. King Edward, at Carlisle, accordingly made a last effort to encounter him. He mounted his horse, and gave the word to march towards the Scottish border. But his time had come. At Burgh-upon-Sands, only six miles from Carlisle, he expired, on the 7th of July, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. His vigorous reign had extended over thirty-four years. His last thoughts seem to have been occupied with the design of the conquest of Scotland, which had occupied so many years, and had never been completed after all. His son Edward was not with him when he died.

Death of Edward I.

It must be remembered that Edward was a lover of justice, though sufficiently inclined to disregard forms, precedents, and privileges; he is described as knightly and courteous in his manners, and certainly succeeded in gaining and keeping the love and respect of his subjects. The name of "the English Justinian," that has been bestowed upon him by historians, was well earned by the great improvement he effected in the carrying out of the laws. Thus, the limits of the authority of different Courts, formerly vague and ill-defined, were fixed in his time; and thrice a year the itinerant justices, the representatives of an ancient feudal institution,—that of the Missi Dominici of Charles the Great,—held assizes in the various counties for the hearing of criminal and civil causes. In the celebrated statute of Winchester, we recognise, under an improved form, the features of the old frank-pledge; and it was very important in promoting the safety of the country. The host was to be answerable for the guests under his roof; from sunset to sunrise the gates of towns were to be kept locked, and vigilantly guarded; a hue and cry was to follow the felon; and when the robber escaped, the hundred in which the crime was committed was to be answerable for the damage. The underwood and trees for two hundred feet on each side of the king's highway were to be cut down, that no shelter might be afforded to the lurking robber, lying in wait for the traveller. And in the conservators appointed to see that these provisions were properly carried out we have the officers whose functions were afterwards enlarged and their title changed to that of Justices of the Peace. In the Statute of Mortmain, to check the acquisition of land by the clergy, and the Statute of Entails, to prevent the division of great feudal estates and the consequent weakening of the nobility, we have other instances of the importance of this reign with regard to legislative enactments.

"The English Justinian."

The Statute of Winchester.

By this time also the practice of trial by jury had been extended and developed in an unusual degree. By Edward the First's time the trial by jury had become the usual course of law; and now, too, from a mass of cases, and from old customs, a definite system of procedure had been built up. With this reign begin the yearbooks, or notes of cases tried before the courts, to form models of procedure in future times; and these formed the sources whence Fortescue, Lyttleton, and other early writers of treatises and digests drew their materials.

Trial by Jury under Edward I.

The Parliament also was further developed in this reign. The association of burgesses with knights of the shire tended to exalt the position of the citizen, and to banish the contempt with which the feudal vassal, in various countries, looked upon the burgher. The knights and burgesses met, in their capacity of members of Parliament, on an equality that did not elsewhere exist. Finally, as the crowning glory of the reign of the great king Edward I., it must be remembered that, though arbitrary and high-spirited, he recognised, by granting the confirmation of the great Charter, and by his yielding to the remonstrances of the barons, the duty and obligation of the king to respect the rights and privileges of the subjects under his sway.

The Parliament, and its Progress.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Plantagenets.—Edward II.

A.D. 1307–1327.

Accession of Edward II.: his Enviable Position: his Fatal Weaknesses. The Favourite, Piers Gaveston. Foolish affection of the King for Gaveston. Remonstrances of the nobles. Gaveston's Banishment and Recall. The "Ordainers." New Clause in the Charter. Confederacy against Gaveston: his Trial and Execution. Affairs of Scotland. Dangerous Position of Robert Bruce: his Successes. Siege of Stirling Castle. The Armies in battle array. Death of Henry de Bohun. Battle of Bannockburn. Splendid Victory of Bruce. Incursions into England. Edward Bruce in Ireland: his Defeat and Death. The two Le Despensers. An armed Parliament. The Earl of Lancaster. Boroughbridge. Execution of Lancaster. Plot against Le Despenser. Escape of Mortimer from the Tower. Affairs of Guienne. Isabella and Prince Edward in France. Landing of the Queen in England. Fall of Edward II.: his Capture and Imprisonment: his Abdication. Murder in Berkeley Castle. Burial. Suppression of the Knights Templars. Establishment of Inns of Court. Progress of Liberty in England.

Accession of Edward II.

WHEN King Edward I. breathed his last at Burgh-upon-Sands, his son and heir was in London. But it soon became known in the capital that Edward of Carnarvon had been duly proclaimed and acknowledged by the barons at Carlisle as King Edward the Second; and, indeed, since the Norman Conquest, no English king had mounted the throne with such general and cheerful acquiescence from magnates and people. The young king was in his twenty-third year, handsome in person and courteous and affable in manner. He succeeded to far more than the crown of England. The long and glorious reign of his father had altered almost every feature of the English Government for the better,

since the turbulent days when the sceptre dropped from the weak hand of Henry III. Edward II. came into possession of all the advantages produced by the vigour and sagacity of his illustrious predecessor. But in the fourteenth century, the one thing indispensable for a ruler's prosperity, and even for his safety, was vigour of character. In those days the king could not delegate to a favourite or a minister the work which public opinion and the universal custom of the world required that he should do for himself. Edward failed miserably where his father had gloriously succeeded.

Fatal Defects in a King.

He failed, because his faults were just such as would most highly irritate a manly and energetic nation and a nobility jealous of position and impatient of neglect; and thus his unhappy reign, proceeding drearily from failure to failure, ended in catastrophe. Incapacity on a throne was especially out of place after the reign of Edward I.

The frivolity and thoughtlessness of the new ruler showed itself from the very beginning of his reign. He advanced indeed towards the North, and proceeded as far as the borders of Ayrshire; but then turned back, recrossed the border into England without effecting anything against the enemy, and disbanded the army.

Weakness of Edward II.

More disastrous still in its effects upon himself was the conduct of Edward with regard to Piers Gaveston. This young Gascon gentleman had obtained admission into the establishment of the Prince of Wales on the strength of services rendered by the good knight his father to Edward I. He was handsome, witty, and brave, but arrogant and overbearing, and altogether lacking in the prudence necessary in a court of jealous and suspicious nobles. The old king had marked with strong disapproval the ascendency of the young foreigner over his son; he severed the connection by banishing Gaveston from the kingdom; and on his deathbed he exacted from the reluctant prince an oath that the favourite should never be recalled. But, with a haste even indecent in its utter disregard of his father's injunctions, Edward II recalled Gaveston, who immediately joined him in Scotland. Honours and emoluments were showered on Gaveston, even before his arrival. Not only were the extensive lands of the Earldom of Cornwall bestowed on him, but he was made Lord Chamberlain, was endowed with a large grant of lands in Guienne, and married to Margaret de Clare, niece of the king and sister to the Earl of Gloucester. When the king's coronation was celebrated the distinction with which Gaveston was treated, carrying the crown, and walking in the procession before the king and queen, still further increased the resentment of the barons towards him. Three days after the coronation, accordingly, they met and presented a petition, or rather a requisition, to the king for the banishment of Gaveston.

Piers Gaveston.

Undue Honours to the Favourite.

Remonstrance of the Nobles.

When the Parliament met, the king was obliged to consent to part with Gaveston. He took a sorrowful leave of him at Bristol, his port of embarkation; and the nobles and commons thought they were permanently rid of him. But it soon became known that the king had made him governor of Ireland, and that Gaveston was

living in almost regal magnificence in that island. The king, however, who could not live without him, set himself so earnestly to propitiate the barons, that they gave a reluctant consent to the favourite's recall; and in 1309 Gaveston returned to England. Edward hastened to Chester to meet him, and welcomed him back with effusive affection.

Recall of Gaveston: his Recklessness paraded.

A formal consent of the Parliament had been obtained for Gaveston's re-establishment in England; and had the foolhardy Gascon been ordinarily prudent, all might have been well. But he had learnt no lesson from adversity, and displayed his triumph with arrogant ostentation, insisting on being addressed as Earl of Cornwall, and amusing his master by pointed sarcasms, nicknames, and witticisms, directed against the powerful barons. But when Edward, in dire want of money, summoned a Parliament at York in October, 1309; many of the barons refused to come; and when, in answer to repeated summonses, they appeared at Westminster in the spring of the next year, it was in complete armour—a significant hint that neither the king nor the favourite could venture to disregard. Gaveston retired to Flanders, and the king was

Meeting of the Barons: the Ordainers.

obliged to consent to the appointment of a committee of nobles and bishops for the carrying out of reforms in the government and in the king's household, under the title of Ordainers.

The day of reckoning with the barons could not be much longer delayed. When Edward met his Parliament at Westminster, in the summer of 1311, he was compelled to consent that Gaveston should once more be banished the kingdom, never to return under pain of death; all grants made to the favourite were recalled, and future grants declared invalid, and that the barons should in future have a voice in the choosing of great officers of State. The strength of the

New Clause in the Charter.

feeling against Gaveston is shown in the important clause now added to the Great Charter, which Edward had already confirmed before his departure for Scotland, in 1310. The new provision ran as follows:—"Forasmuch as many people be aggrieved by the king's ministers against right, in respect to which grievances no one can recover without a common Parliament; we do ordain that the king shall hold a Parliament once in the year, or twice if need be." The king made a show of protesting against these articles, but presently signed them. On the 1st of November he parted, with many tears, from his favourite, to whom he gave letters of recommendation for Flanders, to the duke and duchess. He thereupon dissolved the Parliament in haste, and retired to the North; and in less than two months the barons found, to their deep indignation, that Gaveston was once more with the king at York. The infatuated monarch also made a proclamation declaring that it was by his order that Gaveston had returned; and he presently restored to the favourite all his estates and honours.

The barons were determined that the sword should decide the

Confederacy against Gaveston.

question. They formed a confederacy, under the leadership of the powerful Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the king's cousin; and under the colour of assembling to hold a tournament, they proceeded with a strong force to York, in search

of the king and his favourite. Edward and his court had removed to Tynemouth, when Lancaster and his followers surprised him. He fled suddenly with Gaveston to Tynemouth, scorning the entreaties of Queen Isabella, whom he basely left to the mercy of the angry barons, in spite of her tears and protestations. She was, however, treated with all respect and consideration by the Earl of Lancaster, on his arrival. From Tynemouth, Edward proceeded by sea to Scarborough, where there was a strong castle, completely victualled and deemed impregnable. Here he left Gaveston, not doubting of his favourite's safety behind the walls of the strong fortress, while he himself returned to York, hoping to raise an army and to defeat the barons. But the Earl of Pembroke, whom Gaveston had ridiculed as "Joseph the Jew," now appeared before Scarborough Castle, which proved untenable. Accordingly Gaveston capitulated, and surrendered to the Earl, with whom was the Earl of Surrey, upon the understanding that no harm was to be done to him, and that he was to remain as a prisoner in his own castle of Wallingford for two months, while efforts were being made for an accommodation; and that if these failed Scarborough Castle should be restored to him in the same condition in which he quitted it. Thereupon Pembroke carried him to Dedington, near Banbury. Here, to his surprise and consternation, he was suddenly, on the following morning, ordered to rise and attire himself in haste. On descending to the courtyard he found himself confronted by the Earl of Warwick, "the Black Dog of Ardenne," and various other nobles, who set him on a mule, and, with derisive shouts of triumph, carried him to Warwick Castle, where they presently assembled in the great hall to try their prisoner. With utterly unjustifiable disregard of the capitulation of Scarborough, they condemned him to death on the edict of the Parliament which denounced that penalty if he returned to England. He was hurried off to Blacklow Hill, not far off, on the road from Banbury to Warwick, and there beheaded, on June 19th, 1312.

Trial and Execution of Gaveston.

Affairs in Scotland had now become so critical as to demand the immediate attention of the king, and to awaken, even in his feeble mind, something of apprehension and anxiety. During the whole of Edward's feeble and incapable reign, the power his heroic father had worked so hard to establish had been gradually slipping away. In 1307, when Edward II. returned home from Scotland, nothing could have been more discouraging than the position of Robert Bruce. In 1308 Bruce's position improved. Though sorely shaken in health by continual exertion and anxiety, he contrived to gain an important victory over the English leader, Mowbray, and John Comyn, Earl of Buchan. Barbour, whose rhyming chronicle forms the best source of information on the struggle, tells us that this victory restored Bruce to health and strength. Presently Aberdeen revolted from the English sway, and the citizens vanquished first the garrison of the castle and then an English force sent to oppose them. The struggle had become embittered by national hatred and the feeling of revenge; and, as on former occasions, no quarter was given, every prisoner being pitilessly

Short Truces and Renewed Wars.

massacred. In 1309, and again in 1310, truces were arranged between the two countries; but they were always broken, each side accusing the other of treachery; probably both were too much exasperated to maintain the courtesies and rules of ordinary warfare.

After Edward's ineffectual expedition to Scotland in 1310 and 1311, he had ceased for a time to occupy himself with the affairs of the North. Bruce, meanwhile, was making progress year after year. In January, 1312, he took the Perth, leading on his men to the assault during the night. Dumfries fell into the hands of the Scottish king; and Edinburgh itself surrendered to Randolph, Earl of Moray. Linlithgow was similarly gained, and again Bruce penetrated into England, and laid waste the district of Cumberland, from whence he crossed over to the Isle of Man, which also fell into his power. In this struggle, Bruce was ably seconded by his brother Edward, who captured the fortresses of Dundee and Rutherglen, and then proceeded to lay siege to Stirling fortress that held out for the English in Scotland. The castle was defended by Philip de Mowbray, who, however, finding his position untenable, offered to surrender the place, unless relieved by St. John's day, the 24th of June. Edward Bruce accepted the proposal; though his brother, the king, when he came to hear of it, was highly displeased at an arrangement which seemed entirely to the advantage of the enemy. Edward II., on his side, was for once shaken out of his apathy by the news of the perilous position of Stirling Castle. The whole military power of England was summoned; the meeting-place was appointed at Berwick, for the 11th of June.

Successes of Bruce.

Siege of Stirling Castle.

A strong contingent from Ireland was to swell the army of the king on this important occasion, and a fleet was to co-operate with the land forces. Barbour, who is the principal authority for the facts of this decisive struggle, declares that the army of the English amounted to 100,000 fighting men, of whom 40,000 were horse soldiers, 3,000 being equipped in complete armour, man and horse. To oppose this mighty array, Bruce had been able, by his utmost exertions, to muster about 40,000 men. The English king advanced to Edinburgh, from whence he proceeded along the banks of the Forth towards Stirling. Bruce assembled his forces in the Torwood, between that fortress and Falkirk; and when the king approached, took up a position, chosen with consummate skill, to the south of Stirling. He arranged his army in three phalanxes, or square columns, from the Brook of Bannock, or Bannockburn, towards the castle, facing towards the south-west, the direction from which the enemy were advancing; a fourth body of troops, —comprising the men of Argyle, the Isles, and his own tenants of Carrick,—he drew up in the rear of his line as a reserve, under his own immediate command. Besides taking advantage of the natural strength of the position, the steep banks of the Bannockburn and other obstacles greatly strengthening his flanks, Bruce caused a number of pits to be dug, to the depth of some three feet, and covered with brushwood, so as to be concealed; and these pit-falls, it is said, were rendered still more dangerous by a number of sharp stakes fixed in the ground. The space in front of this position was narrow and

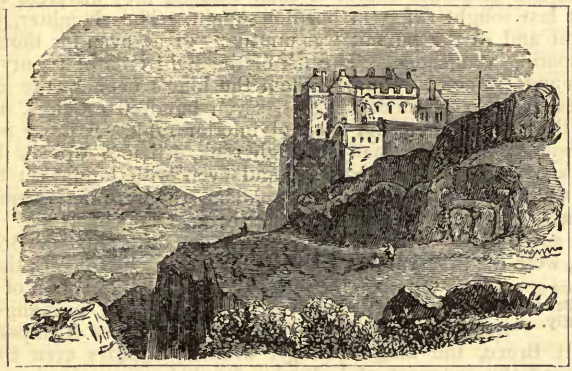
Armies of Edward and of Robert Bruce.

difficult for the advance of a hostile force, whose large numbers would tend to increase their disorder, if they were once thrown into confusion. The three divisions of the Scottish line of battle were respectively under the command of Bruce's brother Edward, Randolph Earl of Moray, and Sir James Douglas, with whom was associated Walter, the Steward of Scotland. The English army, making a brave and gallant show with banners and pennons, and bright armour that flashed back the rays of the afternoon sun, came in sight of the Scottish host on Sunday, the 23rd of June, only one day before the expiring of the period for the castle's surrender.

Admirable Battle Array of Bruce.

Early in the morning of St. John's day, the 24th of June, the great and decisive battle of Bannockburn began. The van of the English army, headed by the Earls of Hereford and Gloucester, advanced against the right wing of the Scots, while the main body, under Edward himself, followed to second the attacking force. When the right wing, under Edward Bruce, was attacked, it bore the shock manfully; and though again and again renewed, the

Battle of Bannockburn.



STIRLING CASTLE.

impetuous onset failed each time, causing far more loss to the assailants than to the men attacked. While the Scots could use their strength to the best advantage, the nine divisions into which the main body of the English army had been separated had to advance in a long, close column, so that many were not engaged at all. On the other hand, Randolf pushed forward with his division, and attacked the English, while the third division, under Douglas and the Steward, also came up, and the whole Scottish line was engaged. The only corps among the English army who had an opportunity of fighting with advantage, was a body of archers, pushed forward to support the cavalry attack on the right wing of the Scots; Bruce sent the Marshal, Sir Robert Keith, to attack them in flank at the head of some horsemen. The archers had no weapons but their bows, which were of course useless at close quarters. Losing heart at finding themselves thus virtually unarmed, and at the enemy's mercy, they broke and

fled. Bruce saw that the favourable moment was come, and advanced with his own men, the reserve corps; so that all the four divisions of the Scottish army were engaged at once with the foe, in whose ranks disorder and confusion were spreading fast; still they held their ground with the stubborn valour characteristic of Englishmen in all ages. But now there appeared on the higher ground in the rear of the Scottish position, what seemed to be a new army of some fourteen or fifteen thousand men. They were, in fact, only the sutlers and camp-followers, who, it is said, had been thus drawn up by Bruce, and ordered at a given signal to advance, to impress the enemy with the idea of a strong reinforcement of their foes. If this was the intention of the Scottish king, his stratagem was brilliantly successful. The Scots fought with greater vigour than ever, while in the crowded and unwieldly mass of the English army dismay increased to panic. The English knights, essaying to charge the foe, became entangled and perished in the treacherous pitfalls. The common soldiers could no longer be got to face the enemy; and, in spite of the desperate efforts of their leaders, they wavered, turned, and at last sought safety in headlong flight. The slaughter, during the fight and in the pursuit was unusually great, even for those days of unsparing vengeance. The list of the slain tells of twenty-seven barons and bannerets,—among them the king's nephew, the Earl of Gloucester,—two hundred knights, seven hundred esquires, and no fewer than thirty thousand men of inferior rank. A great number of prisoners, including many of high rank, fell into Bruce's hands. They were treated with courtesy, and even with kindness; but no mercy was extended to the common soldiers, who were indiscriminately slaughtered as their pursuers overtook them.

The Army of Sutlers.

The surrender of Stirling Castle, and soon after that of Bothwell Castle, were the first fruits of the victory; and now at length the wife, sister, and daughter of Bruce, after a detention of seven years in England, were liberated, being exchanged for the Earl of Hereford and other prisoners of importance. Edward Bruce, the king's younger brother, appears even to have considered the conquest of Ireland a feasible scheme in the elation that followed upon the great victory. In May, 1315, Edward Bruce landed with 6,000 men at Carrick-Fergus, and was soon joined by many native chiefs of Ulster; and a devastating war against the settlers was carried on for some time, Dundalk and other places being attacked and burned. The Connaught chiefs and Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, encountered them after a time; but the Scots gained a complete victory on the 10th of September at Conyers, and a still more brilliant one on the 26th of January, 1316, at Kildare, where Edmund Butler, the Justiciary of Ireland, with a formidable army. was defeated. Though Edward Bruce was driven back into the North by famine, the course of his successes and victories was not yet interrupted, for at Kenlis in Meath he defeated Roger Lord Mortimer, who was forced to take refuge in Dublin. Edward Bruce was actually crowned King of Ireland, at Carrick-Fergus, on the 2nd of May, 1316; and towards the end of the year the Castle of Carrick-Fergus, after enduring a long siege, submitted

Release of Robert Bruce's Family.

Edward and Robert Bruce in Ireland.

to him. The enterprise now looked so hopeful that King Robert Bruce himself came over to Ireland with a strong reinforcement to take part in it; but soon afterwards the tide of fortune turned. The invaders were obliged to fight their way back into Ulster, where Robert and Edward Bruce arrived in May, 1317.

While Robert Bruce was absent from his kingdom the English had made various incursions into Scotland, which were bravely repulsed by the stout James Douglas,—the "Douglas, tender and true" of the poet,—and by Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, called "the king's bishop," from Bruce's expressed approbation of his gallantry. In spite of an attempted intervention of the Pope, the war continued. Robert Bruce had returned from Ireland, leaving his brother to complete the enterprise of its conquest alone. But while success crowned the efforts of King Robert the career of his brother, the gallant Edward, was brought to a sudden and violent close. In a battle with the English at Fagher, near Dundalk, on the 5th of October, 1318, he was completely defeated, and perished on the field with two thousand of his followers. The few survivors of his army made their way back into their own country. In 1319, King Edward undertook to recover Berwick. He was, however, repulsed. In reprisal Randolph and Douglas marched southward into Yorkshire, and ravaged the county with fire and sword. At Mitton, on the Swale, they encountered and overcame a strange irregular army, composed chiefly of monks and peasants, and led by the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely. From the number of churchmen found among the slain, wearing the clerical garb under their armour, this fight was called "the Chapter of Mitton."

Defeat and Death of Edward Bruce.

Soon after the death of Gaveston, King Edward proceeded to bestow his exaggerated and inconsiderate favours upon a young noble, Hugh le Despenser. This Hugh was the son of an English baron of the same name. Against neither the father nor the son could any crime or wrongdoing be alleged; but the imprudent favour of the king, soon put the two Le Despensers into an invidious position with respect to the nobility at large. The marriage of the younger Le Despenser to the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, and the enormous estates settled alike on the father and the son, became a cause of constant ill-will. In 1321 an opportunity occurred, of which the nobles promptly made use, for vengeance against the favourites. The great property on the borders of Wales, of which the younger Le Despenser had become possessed through his marriage, was contiguous to the land of the Lord of Gower. On the death of that noble, John de Mowbray, his son-in-law, entered into possession of the estate without suing out the usual livery of seizin from the Crown. Le Despenser, who coveted the lands of the late Lord Gower, took advantage of this irregularity to declare the lands forfeit. The lords of the Marches thereupon banded themselves together against this infraction of their privileges. They were joined, with a large force, by the Earl of Lancaster. The barons took an oath that they would not lay down their arms until the Le Despensers, father and son alike, were exiled from the country; the Earl of Lancaster then marched at

The Le Despensers.

The Nobles Jealous of the new Favourites.

their head to St. Albans, whence he notified this determination to the king. Edward objected, that it would not be according to law to condemn any man without trial. Thereupon the barons marched upon London, appeared presently in arms at a Parliament held at Westminster, accused the Le Despensers of exerting undue influence over the king, and banished them both from the realm for life. The king, however, regained courage, and suddenly took twelve knights of the opposite party prisoners, and hanged them. Thereupon Lancaster, after retreating northward, opened negotiations with the Scots, inviting them to interfere in the quarrel. This calling in of the national enemy gave great offence to the English people, who looked on it as a traitorous proceeding. In the next year Sir Simon Ward and Sir Andrew Harcla met the Earl of Lancaster and his followers at Boroughbridge, where the Earl of Hereford was killed, with several knights and esquires, and the earl was obliged to surrender himself a prisoner.

A Parliament of Armed Men.

The Earl of Lancaster and the Scots.

Edward now took vengeance for the death of his favourite Gaveston. A court, consisting of earls and barons of the king's party, assembled in the Earl of Lancaster's castle of Pontefract, under the presidency of the king himself. Lancaster was found guilty of high treason, principally on the ground of his agreement with the Scots; and, without being allowed to speak in his own defence, was hurried off to execution with every circumstance of insult and ignominy. His enemies mounted him on a pony without saddle or bridle, and allowed the mob to pelt him as he thus journeyed to his death. The Le Despensers were re-called from banishment, and the elder was gratified with the title of Earl of Winchester, and both with large grants from the estates of the proscribed nobles. Soon after this the king was alarmed by a conspiracy to murder the elder Le Despenser, and this was followed by an abortive attempt to release from their prisons some of the captives taken at Boroughbridge. The most important among these prisoners, Roger Mortimer the younger, Lord Wigmore, contrived by stratagem to fly from the Tower of London, where he lay under sentence of death. He regaled Seagrave, governor of the Tower, and his guards, with drugged wine, and escaped by means of a ladder of ropes while they were sunk in a drunken sleep. Mortimer made his way to Hampshire, and from thence to France, where he found matters in a favourable position to afford him revenge on King Edward, his enemy. Roger Mortimer the elder, his uncle, died in prison after five years of captivity.

Execution of the Earl of Lancaster.

Escape of Mortimer from the Tower.

At this time Charles IV., the Fair,—the third of the three sons of Philip the Fourth, who reigned in succession,—was on the throne of France. To his court had repaired many of the barons of the late Duke of Lancaster's party, who had escaped the vengeance of the king; and Charles of France soon saw that here was a favourable opportunity to deprive the English king of power and territory in France. Accordingly, in 1324, he adopted the usual expedient of the French kings in such circumstances—he made grievous complaints of offences committed by the officers of Edward, ravaged his French

possessions, and took many of his castles. The queen now persuaded her weak husband to allow her to proceed to France to accommodate matters; and in March, 1325, she proceeded to Paris, with a large and brilliant retinue. She negotiated a treaty utterly disadvantageous and even dishonourable to England; and now another difficulty arose. Charles demanded, according to his undoubted feudal right, the personal attendance of the English king to do homage to him for Ponthieu and Guienne. The feeble English king was readily induced to adopt the insidious proposal, that he should transfer the dominion over his possessions in France to his son, Edward Prince of Wales, then in his 13th year; in which case the young prince could do homage for those territories, and the king's presence would be unnecessary. Accordingly the Prince of Wales joined his mother in Paris; and from that time measures were begun which ended in the downfall of Edward's throne. The queen positively refused to return to her husband, or to let her son return; declaring that the younger Le Despenser had entirely alienated the king's affections from her, and had plotted against her life and that of the prince. Roger Mortimer,—who was looked upon as the chief of the exiled party,—who had formerly followed the Earl of Lancaster against the Le Despensers, repaired to Paris when he heard of the queen's arrival. Indeed, scandal quickly became so busy with the names of the queen and of the young, handsome, and intriguing Mortimer, that King Edward wrote to the Pope, it is said at the instigation of Hugh le Despenser, imploring the holy father to interfere, and order the French king to send back to him his wife and son. The Pope, in consequence, sent the Bishop of Saintes as legate to the King of France, enjoining him at once to send away Isabella. Philip, ostensibly complied with the Pope's command, threatening his sister with shameful expulsion if she did not immediately quit the kingdom. His anger, however, was only feigned, to propitiate the Pope; for he took no steps when the Count of Hainault, one of his vassals, offered protection to Queen Isabella. To make sure of the Count of Hainault's continued interest, Isabella affianced her young son to Philippa, his second daughter. She succeeded in establishing a strong party, which was presently joined by the Bishop of Norwich, the Lord Beaumont, and even by the Earls of Kent and of Richmond, the first being the brother, the second the cousin of the king. These great lords, with the active and audacious Roger Mortimer to direct their counsels, soon became a formidable faction.

Quarrel between France and England.

Guienne and Ponthieu transferred to Prince Edward.

Roger Mortimer and Isabella.

Isabella's Alliance with the Count of Hainault.

Isabella landed, with her son and a small body of followers, at Orwell, in Suffolk, on the 22nd of September, 1326, and proceeded to St. Edmund's Bury, where a large number of partisans joined them, including the Earl of Norfolk, another brother of the unhappy king, whose wife, son, brothers, cousins, and chief churchmen, from the Archbishop of Canterbury downwards, were now leagued against him. Edward offered a reward of a thousand pounds for the head of Mortimer. Then, in company with Baldock the Chancellor and the two Le Despensers, he fled towards

Landing of the Queen in England.

the West. Hardly had he quitted London, before the Bishop of Exeter, whom he had left as governor, was massacred in the streets by the insurgent populace. Edward at first retired with the two Le Despensers to Bristol, and threw himself into the strong castle there. But the citizens of Bristol mutinied when the Queen's army appeared, led by the Earl of Kent and John of Hainault; and on the third day after the arrival of Isabella, the castle was surrendered to her. Old Sir Hugh le Despenser was condemned forthwith to die the death of a traitor. The sentence was carried out with every ignominious detail. The old man, almost ninety years of age, was dragged on a hurdle to the place of execution; he was hanged on a gibbet, and his flesh was thrown to the dogs.

Hugh le Despenser at Bristol.

King Edward, attended by Baldock and the younger Le Despenser, made his escape from Bristol. Soon afterwards Le Despenser and Baldock were betrayed to the Earl of Leicester, and taken prisoners, whereupon the king also surrendered himself a prisoner. He was at once taken to Kenilworth, where he was placed in safe custody. Meanwhile a council of nobles and prelates, in Bristol Castle, had issued a proclamation, calling upon Edward to return to his post. The younger Le Despenser, at Hereford, went through a mock trial, like that of his father, and before the same judge, William Trussel, by whom he was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, disembowelled, beheaded, and quartered, as a robber, traitor, and outlaw. The unhappy man was hanged on a gallows fifty feet high, with a crown of nettles on his head. The Earl of Arundel and others were beheaded. Baldock's life was spared, because he was a priest; but he died shortly afterwards, a prisoner in Newgate.

Surrender of Edward to his foes.

Execution of the younger Le Despenser.

On the 7th of January, 1327, a Parliament was held in London, at which Adam Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, the most active and astute of the queen's partisans proposed the question whether the king should be restored to power, or whether his son the Prince of Wales should be appointed to reign in his stead. The citizens of London crowded to Westminster the next morning to hear the decision, and received with clamorous approbation the news that the son was to be placed on the father's throne. The young Prince Edward was accordingly proclaimed king; and the peers, with the exception of the Archbishop of York and three bishops, swore fealty to him. A few days afterwards, articles were exhibited in Parliament against King Edward II., charging him with cowardice, cruelty, and oppression, and shameful incapacity and indolence. "Among the ridiculous charges brought against him were, that he had made up a Thames party in a returned faggot boat; that he paid a man for dancing on the table to make him laugh; and lastly, that he was addicted to playing at chuck-farthing." On the 20th of January a great deputation from the Parliament, consisting of earls, barons, bishops, knights, and burgesses, proceeded to Kenilworth and obtained from the captive king what might be exhibited as a voluntary resignation of the Crown. Thereupon the deputation returned to London; and a few days afterwards proclamation was

Deposition of the King.

made that Edward II. was "ousted" from the throne by general consent of peers and commons; that he had consented to accept as his successor his eldest son Prince Edward, whose peace was accordingly cried abroad, and his accession proclaimed. The young king was crowned as Edward III. on the 29th of January, at Westminster, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was not yet fourteen years old; accordingly the authority was in the hands of the queen mother, and of her favourite, Roger Mortimer. The deposed king had been placed in the custody of the Earl of Leicester, who treated the unhappy captive with mildness and consideration. Edward was removed from the charge of the Earl, and carried to Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire in the keeping of Sir John Maltravers and Sir Thomas Gournay, both of whom had suffered in the cause of Lancaster, and who were men likely to avenge former wrongs on their helpless prisoner. It was in September, during the absence of the Lord of Berkeley, and while the fallen king was in the hands of the Sir Thomas Gournay above mentioned and Sir William Ogle, "two hellhounds, that were capable of more villainous despite than became either knights or the lewdest varlets in the world," that the miserable life of Edward the Second was ended by a cruel murder. During the night of the 20th, horrible screams and cries of anguish were heard far beyond the thick walls of the castle. In the morning the report spread that Edward had died suddenly during the night; and the castle gates were thrown open to a curious throng, who came to view the corpse of him who had been King of England. With horrible ingenuity, the assassination had been managed so as to leave no outward token of violence, save what might be conjectured from the swollen and distorted feature of the dead man. The body was conveyed to Gloucester Cathedral, and there interred.

Accession of Edward III.

Murder of Edward II. in Berkeley Castle.

One of the chief events of European importance during the unhappy reign of Edward II., was the suppression of the order of the Knights Templars. During the crusades this fraternity had become exceedingly powerful and important. It sprang from a humble origin. The Knights Templars enjoyed great respect and consideration while the crusading enthusiasm lasted. They numbered among their fraternity men of every nation in Europe, and of the most distinguished rank. But they became obnoxious to the government in various countries, whose rulers feared their influence while they coveted their immense wealth and wide possessions. The first monarch who actively undertook the task of their suppression, was the bold, unscrupulous, and encroaching King Philip the Fourth of France. Straitened in his finances by the armies he had maintained to carry on his wars, he determined to find relief by plundering the treasures of the Order. In this enterprise he was seconded and assisted by Pope Clement V. With malignant ingenuity, the Templars throughout France were seized simultaneously, on the 7th of October, 1307, and cast into prison. They were accused of numerous crimes—blasphemy and idolatry among the number. Forged letters were used, among other expedients, to fix the stain of horrible guilt upon the knights,

Importance of the Knights Templars.

Philip IV. and Clement V.

who were, moreover, exposed to the extremity of torture to make them confess. Not until thirty-six had perished under the hands of the tormentors was a kind of confession procured from some of the rest, who, however, retracted their statements so soon as they were relieved from the agony that had extorted the forced admissions. At length, two years of imprisonment, and the endurance of cruelty of every description, induced the Templars to purchase life on any terms; and even the Grand Master, De Molay, made a confession of impossible crimes. In the end, Jacques Molay repudiated his confession, and his companions in captivity and misfortune followed his example. Thereupon they were condemned to suffer death at the stake as relapsed heretics. On the 12th of May, 1310, Jacques de Molay, with fifty-four of his knights, appeared on the scaffold. They now energetically protested their innocence, and denounced as worthless the avowals forced from them by cruelty and torture. Though the king's pardon was exhibited on the scaffold, and offered to them on condition of an acknowledgment of guilt, they refused to accept life and liberty on such terms, and joined all together in a hymn of triumph, as martyrs who were sealing their fidelity with their blood. In various parts of France similar tragedies were enacted. Those knights who retracted the plea of guilty extorted from them, were burnt alive; those who stood by their confession purchased life, indeed, but not liberty, for they were condemned to perpetual captivity.

Execution of De Molay and 54 Knights.

Their Heroic Behaviour.

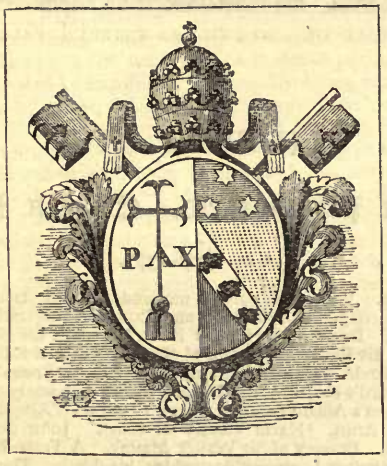
In England, as in other countries of Europe, the servile Clement V. endeavoured to stir up hatred and persecution against the Templars, or Red-Cross Knights. For a time, however, in spite of the urgency of his father-in-law Philip, Edward II. took the knights' part, even writing to the courts of Arragon, Castile, and Portugal, denouncing the accusations against the Templars as malicious and untrue. But he presently went over to the other side. At the beginning of 1308, orders were issued to the sheriffs, for the seizure of the lands, properties, and persons of the knights. The same expedients of false witness and imprisonment were employed as in France, to procure confession. Three years afterwards, vague confessions and retractations of heretical errors were procured from the poor imprisoned knights, who were thereupon sent into convents, a small allowance being set aside for them out of the great revenues of the Order. In 1324, the lands of those who were called the late Templars, were transferred, by ordinance of the Parliament, to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or Hospitallers.

Suppression of the Order in England.

In the reign of Edward II. is traced the establishment of the institutions called Inns of Court. In Reeves's "History of English Law," we are told: "There is nothing but a vague tradition to give us any trace of the places where the practisers and students of the law had their residence, before the reign of this king. But in the reign of Edward II., we are informed that such places were called hotels, or inns of court, because the inhabitants of them belonged to the king's courts. It is reported that William, Earl of Lincoln, about the beginning of this reign, being well affected to the study of the laws, first brought the professors of

Inns of Court: Progress of Liberty.

them to settle in a house of his, since called Lincoln's Inn. It has been rightly observed, by various historians, that the interpolation of the reign of a weak prince in an energetic and able line, has been found favourable to the establishment of popular liberty. Thus it cannot escape the student's observation, that the prerogative of the king had considerably declined, as represented in the power respectively by Richard I. and Edward I.; and this may reasonably be ascribed to the held influence of two weak reigns—those of John and Henry III. The same thing is seen when we compare the reign upon which we are about to enter, that of Edward III., with the reign of Edward I. In spite of his warlike character, and the glory and honour arising from his highly important victories and successes over the French, Edward III. found his prerogative far more restricted than that of his grandfather had been, as seen in the statutes concerning purveyance, the increased jurisdiction of courts, the repeated confirmations of the Great Charter and the Forest Charter, and the re-enactment of various clauses of the former.



ARMS OF THE PAPACY.

EDWARD III. AND PHILIPPA ENTERING CALAIS.

CHAPTER XV.

The Plantagenets.—Edward III.

A.D. 1327–1377.

Council of Regency. War with Scotland renewed. The Scots under Douglas and Randolph. Marriage of David Bruce and Joanna of England. Rule of Isabella and Mortimer. Death of the Earl of Kent. Birth of the Black Prince. Fall of Mortimer: his Execution. Fate of the Murderers of Edward II. Edward Baliol in Scotland. Battle of Halidon Hill. David Bruce and his Queen in France. Edward's claim to the French Crown: its weakness. The Duke of Artois. Edward's Alliance with Flanders. Jacques d'Artevelde. Assumption of the French Arms. Naval Victory of Sluys. John de Montfort The Countess Joan. Bravery of Sir Walter Manny. A Truce broken. Insurrection in Ghent against Jacques d'Artevelde: his death. The great Campaign of 1346. Movements of Philip of Valois. March of the English. Blanchetaque. Battle of Creçy. The Genoese Archers. The Black Prince in danger. John of Bohemia. Battle of Neville's Cross. Capture of King David. Sir John Copeland. Siege of Calais: the Burgesses. The Black Plague. Plundering Expeditions. Prince Edward and the French War. Poictiers. Captivity of John of France. Treaty of Bretigny. The Black Prince and Pedro the Cruel. Navarete. Conclusion of the Reign. Death of the Black Prince. Alice Perrers. Family of Edward III. Order of the Garter.

AS the young king, Edward III., was only fourteen years old, and consequently unable, by reason of his youth, to govern the kingdom for himself, a council of regency was appointed, including the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the late king's brother, the Earl of Kent, the Lords of Norfolk and Surrey, and several others; while the Earl of Lancaster was appointed protector and guardian of the young king. A sum of twenty thousand pounds to pay her debts, with a jointure of twenty thousand pounds a year, was granted to Queen Isabella, who, with her favourite Mortimer, now held the regal power entirely, ruling according to her will.

Excluded from power in the State, Edward, in whom, it is said, sparks of the genius of the future victor of Creçy could already be discerned, proceeded to occupy himself with military affairs. Nor had he to wait long for an opportunity of proving his prowess. A truce had been proclaimed between France and England in the late king's time; but it was now broken, and some formidable raids by the Scots across the border into England quickly developed into a war. Aged more by toil than years, and sorely weakened in bodily health, but with a spirit as ready and dauntless as in days of yore, King Robert Bruce summoned his vassals from all parts around him, purposing to gain for Scotland, before he died, a full and complete acknowledgment of independence. Some twenty-five thousand men accordingly assembled on the banks of the Tweed. Edward marched his forces across the border; but the Scots fell back before him, retiring into wildernesses and difficult regions where he could not well pursue them, especially as the whole district was denuded of supplies. James Douglas, suddenly attacking the king's camp by night, inflicted a serious reverse on him; and then for the second time breaking up in the night, the Scots abandoned their camp, leaving the baffled foe to wonder where they had gone. Edward was obliged to disband his army at York, and returned to London. A peace was secured for both countries in the summer of 1328, when the Parliament met at Northampton, where a treaty was signed in which the independence of Scotland was fully and completely recognised. One article stipulated that a marriage should be solemnized between the young four-year-old Prince David, Robert Bruce's son and heir, and the little Princess Joanna, the young sister of Edward III., who was in her seventh year; and at Berwick, in July of the same year, the marriage between the Scottish prince and "Joan Makepeace," as the Scots called the little English lady, was duly solemnized. In the next year, on the 7th of June, the great Robert Bruce died at his castle of Cardross. He was buried at Dunfermline, in the choir of the Abbey. Before this time the young king of England had espoused Philippa of Hainault, to whom he had been affianced by his mother some years before.

Renewal of the War with Scotland.

The Scots under Douglas

Marriage of David Bruce and Joanna of England.

The arrogance and rapacity of Mortimer aroused deep and deadly enmity against him on the part of the nobles, whose jealousy was moreover excited by the injudicious liberality with which the queen heaped estates and honours on her unprincipled favourite. He was created Earl of March, and enriched with the confiscated estates of

the Le Despensers and others. But the hatred against Mortimer began to find vent in insurrectionary movements. The Earl of Lancaster attempted to raise a force against him, but failed. The Earl of Kent, younger brother of Edward II., was inveigled into a belief that that unhappy king was still alive, and in durance in Corfe Castle; and being further led into writing some letters urging various nobles to help him in restoring the supposed captive to the throne, was arraigned for high treason, tried, and absolutely executed at Winchester, on the 19th of March, 1330. The estates of the earl were given to Geoffrey, Mortimer's youngest son.

Conspiracies against Mortimer. Death of the Earl of Kent.

The career of the arrogant favourite was now drawing to its close. The young King Edward, who was now eighteen years of age, and to whom a son, afterwards known as the celebrated Black Prince, had already been born, determined to assert his authority, and put an end to the tyranny of Mortimer and the scandal occasioned by the connection between that arrogant noble and Queen Isabella. Soon after, in October, the Parliament met at Nottingham; and Edward, his mother, and Mortimer were lodged in the Castle. By agreement with the Lord Montacute, that nobleman and a number of followers were admitted at midnight into the castle through a cavernous passage, still known as Mortimer's Hole, communicating with the building from the foot of the Castle Hill. They were led silently by Edward into a dark room. They could hear voices in the adjoining apartment, where Mortimer and several of his followers were sitting in anxious council, the Bishop of Lincoln being one. They burst open the door, killing the two knights who guarded it. The queen rushed into the room in an agony of alarm, crying, "Sweet son, fair son, spare the gentle Mortimer." But there was no idea in the minds of those angry men of sparing Mortimer.

Birth of the Black Prince.

Fall of Mortimer.

The fallen favourite was arraigned on various charges, such as having usurped, or "accroached the power of the council of regency, having procured the death of the late king, and of the Earl of Kent; having seized the twenty thousand marks paid by the King of Scots for the expenses of the late war; having set enmity between the late king and his queen," etc. It was hardly more than a form of trial, the charges being declared "notoriously true"; and Roger Mortimer, condemned to death as a traitor, was hanged, drawn, and quartered, pursuant to his sentence, at the Elms at Smithfield. The queen was deprived of her jointure, and sent to a kind of honourable captivity in Castle Rising, near Lynn, Norfolk.

Execution of Mortimer.

The great Robert Bruce had died in 1330. Within the next two years, his brave and able adherents, James of Douglas, and Lord Randolph, Earl of Moray and Regent of Scotland for the infant King David, had also passed away; and the new regent, Donald, Earl of Mar, had not the military or the statesmanlike qualities of his predecessor. Two discontented nobles brought over Edward Baliol—a son of the weak king John Baliol—from Normandy, and set him up as a competitor for the throne, against the little King David. The regent Mar and the Earl of March each advanced

War in Scotland. Edward Baliol.

with an army against the invaders, who landed at Kinghorn, on the coast of Fife, on the 6th of August, 1332. Baliol boldly threw himself between the two armies of the Scots. The army of Mar, fighting in a disadvantageous position, was completely defeated. Thirteen thousand are said to have fallen; and among the slain was the Regent Mar himself. Baliol, who had only about three thousand men, hastened towards Perth. Many discontented barons and gentlemen, besides the old adherents of the house of Baliol, joined his standard, and on the 24th of September he was actually crowned King of Scotland at Scone. But Baliol, like his father, could not stand alone. He negotiated with the King of England, to whom he secretly renewed the fealty that John Baliol had paid; and this and other causes raised a powerful opposition against him, headed by the young Earl of Moray, Sir Simon Frazer, Sir Archibald Douglas, and other powerful chiefs. On the 16th of December, he was surprised by his enemies at Annan, in Dumfriesshire, and had but just time to fly on a bare-backed horse, his brother Henry being killed in his sight. Escaping into England, he was protected by Edward III., who was suspected of having favoured the whole expedition. Berwick was besieged in May, 1333, for Edward Baliol; and a large English army having marched northward to Baliol's assistance, the governor, Sir William Keith, was compelled, when the siege had proceeded for more than two months, to promise, on the 16th of July, that he would surrender the place on the morning of the 20th if Sir Archibald Douglas, the Regent of Scotland, did not arrive before that day to relieve it. By making great haste, Archibald Douglas arrived with his army before Berwick on the 19th, and found the English strongly posted about a mile from the town, on Halidon Hill. The Regent Douglas was killed in the mêlée; many lords and chiefs of clans fell around him, and then the Scots got into confusion, and fled on every side. Edward spurred after them with his English cavalry; the Lord Darcy followed up with a horde of Irish kerns, who were employed as auxiliaries. Between the battle and the flight the loss was prodigious; "never," say the old writers, "had Scotland sustained such defeat or witnessed such slaughter." The great defeat of Halidon Hill for a time crushed the patriotic party in Scotland, and reinstated Edward Baliol on the throne. But soon Edward Baliol was driven across the borders by the patriots. In 1335 Edward came northward again to reduce the Scots to submission. But though they confronted him with no great army, the resistance and the desultory warfare recommenced so soon as he had turned his face southward. Meanwhile the patriotic party, who had sent their little king and queen into France for safety after the great disaster of Halidon Hill, appealed to the French king for aid; and though no army was sent from France to assist them, little King David and Joan "Makepeace" were received with all honour, and lodged in Château Gaillard. Fortunately for the Scottish nation, the English king's attention was withdrawn from them by a more alluring object of ambition—the hope of conquering for himself the crown of France, to which he laid claim on grounds that the most ordinary reasoning would prove to be untenable. It arose in the following manner:—

Edward Baliol Crowned.

Battle of Halidon Hill.

David Bruce and his Queen in France.

In 1328 died Charles IV. "the Fair" of France, the third of three brothers, sons of Philip IV., who had all reigned in succession after that monarch's death. The eldest of the brothers was Louis X., called "Le Hutin"; the second, Philip V., called "Le Long." At the death of Louis X., who left an only daughter, the queen was expecting the birth of a child. Accordingly the succession was kept in abeyance until the child should be born; Philip, the second brother, being proclaimed regent for the interim. The infant proved to be a son, but lived only a few days; whereupon Philip, the regent, was appointed king, Philip V., at his death, left only daughters; and thus the third and last son of Philip V., Charles IV., called "the Fair," succeeded to the throne. At the time of his death, his wife, like the consort of Louis X., had hope of issue; and the late king's cousin-german, Philip of Valois, was made regent, provisionally. The queen was delivered of a daughter; whereupon Philip of Valois was proclaimed king, under the title of Philip VI.

The Sons of Philip the Fair.

But Edward III. was the son of Isabella, the only daughter of Philip the Fourth; and he asserted that he himself, as her son, inherited the right to the French throne as the direct and the nearest male lineal descendant of Philip the Fair, whose sons had left no male issue. Philip of Valois, and the whole of France with him, declared that a woman could not transmit a right which she did not herself possess, and thus rejected Edward's claim as untenable. Indeed, even on his own showing, Edward had no right to the throne, for he was not the next heir if the principle that females could transmit the right of ruling to their male heirs was to be admitted. The resolution to support his claim by an invasion of France seems to have been due to the persuasions of Robert of Artois, a great noble, and a member of the royal family of France, who had been exiled by King Philip de Valois, against whom he nourished feelings of intense vindictiveness and vengeance. Philip, aware of the dangerous character of the Duke of Artois, had sent to Edward an injunction to expel his visitor, threatening, in case of non-compliance, to take possession of Edward's castles in Guienne. The high-spirited English king looked upon this as an insult, and retorted by demanding the crown of France. The idea of a war with France was eagerly taken up in England. Parliament granted large supplies to the king, who was, moreover, anxious to strengthen himself by foreign alliances. Partly through the influence of his father-in-law, the Count of Hainault, and still more, it is said, through judicious gifts of money, he obtained the alliance of the Duke of Brabant. He also entered into an understanding with the Emperor of Germany. A more important alliance was that brought about between Edward and the community of Flanders.

The Salic Law.

Weakness of Edward's Claim.

Alliance with Flanders.

The Flemings, in the fourteenth and the succeeding century, stood in an exceptional position with respect to government. To their earls they often paid little more than nominal obedience. Their wealth, which had been gained by trade and commerce, their municipal privileges, of which they were exceedingly jealous and proud, their citizen armies, with which they had frequently combated with effect the feudal forces of their adversaries, gave them a position

and influence almost republican and democratic in its nature, and exceedingly at variance with the accepted feudal notions of rule. They had driven the Earl of Flanders into France; and the man who wielded the highest might among them was a citizen, Jacques D'Artevelde, a brewer of Ghent. He was virtually the king of the country. The Flemings, whose position as a democratic community naturally made them enemies to the King of France, against whom they had also some personal grudges, were soon induced to enter into alliance with Edward. Philip of Valois, for his part, made alliances with the Kings of Bohemia and Navarre, and various German princes, including the Dukes of Austria and Lorraine. The result of all the English king's preparations was, in the first instance, disappointing. But difficulty and danger only rendered him more determined to persevere in his scheme to the end. He assumed the title of King of France, and quartered the fleur de lys in his coat-of-arms. Early in 1340 he made a brief return to England, to obtain fresh supplies from the Parliament. Hearing that the French king had assembled an enormous fleet in the harbour of Sluys, Edward collected as many ships as he could, and sailed to combat it. The French fleet was moored across the passage into the harbour, in four lines. Evidently, little reliance was placed upon naval skill or manœuvring, for the ships were fastened together with chains, and provided with turrets, in which were laid up piles of stones, to hurl at the enemy. Edward bore down, with wind and tide in his favour, upon the foe, and the method was pursued which has always continued the favourite proceeding of the English in naval warfare; namely, to grapple with the enemy at close quarters, and take his ships by boarding them with a rush. The victory of the English was complete. The first line of the French ships was almost entirely taken, after a hard fight; and the opportune arrival of Lord Morley with reinforcements enabled Edward to renew the battle on advantageous terms. Nearly the whole French fleet was sunk or taken, and their loss in mariners and fighting men is variously estimated at from fifteen to thirty thousand; the English lost two ships and about four thousand men. The number of French ships taken in the battle of Sluys is stated at two hundred and thirty. The great victory was gained on the 24th of June, 1340.

Jacques D'Artevelde.

Assumption of the French Arms.

The Naval Victory of Sluys.

But through the mediation of Edward's mother-in-law, the Countess of Hainault, who was sister to the French king, a truce was agreed upon; and it was afterwards lengthened at the request of the Pope.

Very soon afterwards, however, an occasion for a renewal of the war presented itself. John III., Duke of Bretagne, dying in 1341, left no children; and thus, at his death, Joan "la Boiteuse," or the limping, —the daughter of his deceased brother Guy,—claimed the duchy. She was married to Charles of Blois, nephew to Philip de Valois. But John de Montfort, a surviving brother of the late duke, disputed the pretensions of his niece; he moreover seized upon the treasure of the late duke, besieged and took several fortresses, and then hastened to England to beg the succour of the English king in obtaining the inheritance.

John de Montfort.

Thus De Montfort entered upon the struggle backed by the King

of England, while Philip of Valois furnished an army of six thousand men to his nephew Charles of Blois. At first fortune was adverse to De Montfort, who fell by treachery into the French king's hands, and was put into close confinement in the Louvre, while Charles of Blois took possession of various towns, including Nantes. But the cause of the captive De Montfort was upheld by his heroic countess Joan, who is described by Froissart as having the courage of a man and the heart of a lion. With her infant son in her arms, she made an eloquent appeal to the people to uphold the cause of their lord, and to fight for her boy, the descendant of their princes. Froissart gives an animated account of the defence of Hennebon, telling, among other stirring incidents, how, on one occasion, when Charles de Blois was assaulting the walls, the countess, noticing from the battlements that the besiegers' camp had been left almost unguarded, threw herself on horseback, and, followed by three hundred brave knights and squires, set fire to the enemy's tents. But when the last moment of resistance seemed to have come, the countess, who had mounted to the highest turret of the beleaguered castle, in hope of catching sight of the deliverers, joyfully exclaimed that she saw the English coming, for whose arrival she had hoped so long. And presently, as all rushed in haste to the ramparts, they saw an English fleet making for the harbour, which the ships entered. Then there was great joy in the place, and all thought of surrender was abandoned. The force that thus came to relieve Hennebon was under the command of Sir Walter Manny, who afterwards became very famous in the French wars. Immediately after this, the French raised the siege, and retreated.

The Countess Joan.

Sir Walter Manny.

Soon after, they sustained a disastrous defeat at Quimperlé; and, on attempting to renew the siege of Hennebon, were for the second time routed by Sir Walter Manny. The intrepid Countess de Montfort afterwards, in conjunction with Robert of Artois, fought bravely at sea against a French fleet off Guernsey, and then took by assault the town of Vannes, which had declared for Charles of Blois. But soon after, being in his turn attacked by an immense army of Frenchmen, Robert of Artois lost the town, and was obliged to escape, grievously wounded, to England, where he soon afterwards died. Edward thereupon crossed the sea, and proceeded to Vannes, where the intervention of two legates of the Pope brought about a truce, which was, according to the custom of the age, quickly broken. A cruel deed of King Philip of France, who treacherously caused De Clisson, Harcourt, and other knights to be arrested during a tournament, and afterwards publicly executed in Paris, caused many of the French king's partisans to go over to his enemies.

Truce broken.

Edward now meditated a closer alliance than ever with Flanders, where he treated with the rich, powerful towns as free States, going in person to Sluys to negotiate with them. Louis, Count of Flanders, was attached to the Valois house. Edward accordingly tried, by means of his trusty ally and friend, Jacques d'Artevelde, to induce the Flemings to transfer their allegiance to his own son. But some of

the cities were opposed to this extreme measure; and though Bruges and Ypres were ready to cast in their lot with Edward, Ghent, where D'Artevelde's wealth and power had raised him up many enemies, was bitterly exasperated against him. With the proverbial fickleness of a crowd, the mob of artisans and workmen flocked round the great brewer when he entered the city, not with their wonted acclamations, but with dark and threatening countenances. His assailants clamorously demanded an instant account of the great treasures of Flanders, which they declared he had sent away into England. He denied the accusation vehemently, and even with tears, endeavouring to persuade the people to disperse, and promising that a strict account should be rendered on the morrow; but they were far too much exasperated to listen to reason, and when D'Artevelde endeavoured to escape, and make his way into a neighbouring church for sanctuary, they intercepted and slew him. Edward was in great wrath at the news of the death of his steady friend and ally; but the cities of Flanders contrived to mollify his anger by a prompt disavowal and denunciation of the murder, and by a promise that they would provide an army for the invasion of France in the following year, when Edward himself purposed to take the field again.

D'Artevelde's Death.

Accordingly, towards the end of July, 1346, the English king disembarked on the French coast, near Cape la Hogue, a larger and better chosen army than he had yet led against that country. Philip of Valois put himself at the head of all the troops he could muster; and as the English king moved along the left bank of the Seine, Philip marched along the right, breaking down the bridges at various places where the English expected to cross the stream. Edward, for his part, continued his movement along the bank towards Paris, and then, suddenly wheeling round, he caused his bowmen to clear the remains of the bridge at Poissy, about nine miles from Paris, and crossing to the right bank, resumed his march towards the river Somme. Thereupon Philip marched along the line of the Somme, determined to prevent the English from passing that river, and repulsed their efforts at Pont St. Remi, Long, and Pecquigny. At length the English were cooped up in a most disadvantageous position between the river Somme and the sea, and pursued by Philip's army of 100,000 men, six times the number of the English force. A peasant of the name of Gobin Agace pointed out to the king the ford of Blanche-Taque—the "white spot"—where, at dawn of day on the 24th of August, Edward summoned his army to cross.

A Great Campaign.

Philip's Movements.

Edward, after sending some troops in pursuit of Godemar, pitched his camp in the fields between Crotoy and Creçy. He utilized the time at his disposal in refreshing his men, whom he posted in a strong position on some rising ground near Creçy.

Creçy.

The disposition the king made of his army was admirable. It was drawn up in three divisions, the first consisting of eight hundred men-at-arms, two thousand archers, and a thousand Welsh foot-soldiers, under the command of the young Prince of Wales, with Sir John Chandos, Sir Geoffrey d'Harcourt, and the Earls of Warwick and

Oxford; the second division, commanded by the Earls of Arundel and Northampton and Lords de Ros and Willoughby, was made up of eight hundred men-at-arms and twelve hundred archers, and was posted somewhat in the rear and on the flank of the first. The third division, constituting the reserve, of seven hundred men-at-arms and two thousand archers, stood at the top of the hill. Each division had the archers posted in front.

Philip had lost a day at Abbeville, waiting for reinforcements, including a thousand lances of the Duke of Savoy. It is recorded that Philip, in contrast to his great opponent, was full of fury and breathing vengeance. There was no order or arrangement in the marching and movements of his mighty host; everything seemed confused and hurried, and there was an utter want of method and understanding in the proceedings of the various corps. When he saw the English line, Philip, in great wrath, cried, 'Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle in the name of God and St. Denis!'" It was about three in the afternoon of the 26th of August, 1346.

The Genoese Crossbow-men.

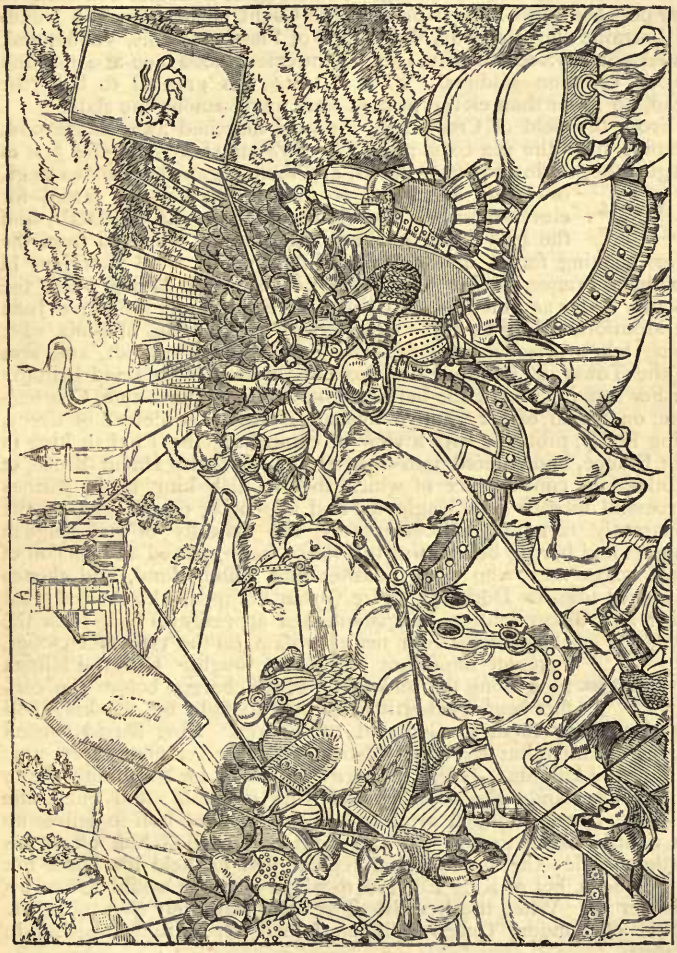
The Genoese crossbow-men, some fifteen thousand strong, were fatigued with carrying their heavy weapons during a six leagues' march. The crossbow-men advanced, however, though it may be supposed not with very good will. The Genoese could not stand their ground before the tremendous discharge, but began to fall back hastily, whereupon the French king, in headlong anger, shouted to his men to "kill the scoundrels, who stopped the way, and were of no use!" Thereupon the French men-at-arms actually began to hew down the Genoese with their swords, to the great confusion of the line of battle. The English archers continued shooting their arrows among the thickest of the throng, and many a war-horse fell wounded, carrying his unwounded but helpless rider with him. The Counts of Alençon and Flanders now fiercely attacked the division of the English army commanded by the Prince of Wales, which stoutly resisted their onset. The King of France was prevented by the dense array of English archers from seconding the attack of the dukes and their force, which was made up of various nations:—Germans, Savoyards, Bohemians, and others. From a windmill on the summit of a hill King Edward watched the conflict, which was now raging fiercely. John of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia, aged and almost blind as he was, had yet come to do battle on the side of the French king. On the morrow, among the thousands lying on the field, were found the corpses of the valiant king and the two knights, his comrades, their horses still fastened together. The three ostrich feathers, with the motto, "Ich dien," "I serve," worn by the king at Creçy, were adopted by the Prince of Wales.

Confusion of the French.

John, the Blind King of Bohemia.

Meanwhile the Prince of Wales and his division seemed likely to be overwhelmed by the sheer weight of numbers. Then it was that the Earl of Warwick despatched a messenger to King Edward, with an earnest request that reinforcements might be instantly sent to the prince. King Edward calmly inquired if his son were unhorsed or wounded, and hearing that he still held his own, but was hard pressed by the foe. —"Return to those who sent you," said the king, "and tell them to send

no more to me for help this day while my son is alive. Let the boy win his spurs, for I am resolved that, if it please God, the honour of this day shall be given to him, and to those to whose care I have entrusted him." King Philip himself, wild with anger and mortification headed



THE BATTLE OF CRECY FROM AN ILLUMINATED MS.

several desperate charges, he was each time driven back; and by the time evening came, a panic had spread among the French. Philip's horse had been killed under him, and his best friends had fallen.

At length, when the panic became a rout, King Philip, with a few barons, rode away, as the summer night closed in, from that disastrous field, to which he had marched but a few hours before in such confidence of victory. The loss on his side had been overwhelming. The Kings of Bohemia and Majorca had perished, with Philip's brother, the Count of Alençon, the Dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the Counts of Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, and Aumale, 1,200 knights, 15,000 gentlemen, 4,000 men-at-arms, and 30,000 common soldiers. When a truce was granted to bury the dead, no fewer than eleven princes were found among the slain.

Flight of Philip VI.

From the field of Creçy King Edward marched away northward, keeping near the sea-coast; and five days afterwards, on the 31st of August, he sat down before Calais, and then began the famous siege, or rather blockade, of that fortress, which lasted for eleven months. During this time the Earl of Derby and the brave knight, Sir Walter Manny, relieved from the overwhelming forces of the Duke of Normandy, were victorious in Southern France, issuing forth from Bordeaux and laying waste the country as far as Poictiers. In Northern France, too, the brave Joan de Montfort, Edward's ally, was victorious over Charles of Blois, who, being taken prisoner, was delivered into Edward's hands, and sent to the Tower of London; and Joan of Montfort maintained Brittany for her son, in spite of the heroic efforts of Joan the Lame, Charles's wife, on behalf of her captive husband. After the defeat of Creçy, King Philip, probably with a view of compelling the English king to quit France, had entered into close negotiations with David Bruce, of Scotland, in consequence of which the Scottish king made various successful inroads into England; and at length, encouraged by the apparently favourable circumstances, the majority of the English knights and barons being away in France, he organized an invasion of some 40,000 men, who came pouring into Cumberland, and thence advanced towards Durham. Here Queen Philippa, who showed great spirit and determination, had summoned an army to beat back the invaders. At Neville's Cross, near Durham, on the 17th of October, 1346, an important battle was fought. Queen Philippa rode along the ranks on a white charger before the conflict began, exhorting her men to fight for the king, and recommending them to God and St. George. King David himself fought valiantly, but was taken prisoner with three earls and forty-nine barons and knights. It was a brave gentleman of Northumberland, named Copeland, who captured the King of Scots; and when, the next day, Queen Philippa wrote to him commanding him to deliver up the Scottish king to her—for Copeland had carried him off to his castle of Ogle—the sturdy vassal replied, that he held his lands not of the queen, but of King Edward, to whom alone he would deliver his prisoner up. When the Scottish king had been safely shut up in the Tower of London, Queen Philippa joined her warlike husband in France.

Siege of Calais.

Neville's Cross.

Edward had wisely determined, in view of the great strength of Calais, to reduce it by famine rather than by breach and assault, and accordingly maintained so strict a blockade of the beleaguered fortress,

that the inhabitants soon began to suffer from scarcity. At length King Philip determined to make a great effort, and in July, 1347, advanced with a great army to the help of the distressed citizens of Calais. But Edward had entrenched his camp completely, and would not be drawn from his impregnable position, or give up the advantage purchased with so much treasure, and with the lives of so many brave men; and at last Philip was fain to disband his army and retire, leaving the town of Calais to its fate.

Calais—Progress of the Siege.

Then at last the governor asked to capitulate Edward would hear of nothing but unconditional surrender. At the urgent pleading of Sir Walter Manny and various barons he would yield only in so far as to say that if six of the principal burgesses of Calais would come into the camp, with halters round their necks and the keys of the town in their hands, he would show mercy towards the rest. They were to come bareheaded and barefooted, and place themselves at the king's absolute disposal. Jean de Vienne thereupon conducted the devoted six out of the city, and delivered them up to Sir Walter Manny, by whom they were led into the presence of the king. Edward was too much incensed against the people of Calais to listen to the dictates of mercy. He ordered that the suppliants' heads should be stricken off. A general cry for mercy arose from the barons and knights; and Sir Walter Manny, who had more influence with the king than any of them, earnestly entreated his majesty to consider the evil effect of such harshness towards men who had thrown themselves on his mercy and grace; but Edward was inexorable, and sent for the headsman. Then Queen Philippa threw herself on her knees before the king, and cried, weeping, "Ah, gentle sire, since I have crossed the sea with great danger, I have never asked you anything; and now I humbly pray, for the sake of the Son of the Holy Mary, and your love of me, that you will have mercy on these six men." The king, after looking at her for a time in silence, said, "Ah, dame, I wish you had been anywhere else but here; but you have entreated in such a manner that I cannot deny you. I give them to you, to do as you like with them." The good queen ordered that the six citizens should be served with dinner, and gave each of them a present of six nobles before sending them honourably away.

Capitulation of Calais.

Queen Philippa and the Citizens of Calais.

The next day the king and queen made their triumphal entry into Calais at the head of a gallant procession. A truce was agreed on with King Philip, which was afterwards prolonged to six years under John, the successor of King Philip VI. de Valois. Edward expelled the inhabitants of Calais from the town, which he repeopled with a colony of his own subjects, nominating Amerigo de Pavia to the post of governor. A naval victory, obtained opposite Winchelsea, under Edward's command, over a fleet of Spanish ships that had co-operated with the French against him, increased the English king's high reputation both at home and abroad. In spite of the truce with France, hostilities frequently broke out, especially in Brittany and in the south of France. Edward, who appears, for State reasons connected with Scotland, to have sincerely

King Edward's Successes.

desired peace, more than once offered to forego his pretensions to the French crown, on condition of being assured in the sovereignty of Guienne, Calais, and the old possessions of the English kings in France; but the offer was not accepted by the French.

It was at this time that the terrible pestilence known as the Black Death invaded Europe, passing from east to west through the whole breadth of the Continent, and falling with terrible violence upon England. It reached London in 1348, after passing through the Levant, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Germany, and France. Whole towns were desolated in its course, and the population of England is said to have been reduced one-half by this fearful scourge.

The Black Pestilence of 1348.

The prospect of a speedy renewal of the war with France made King Edward anxious to settle the affairs of Scotland, from which country frays and raids were frequently made, as in the old times, upon the northern counties of England. The use made by the Scots of the opportunities afforded them by Edward's French wars appeared plainly in 1355. In that year Prince Edward advanced through Southern France at the head of an army of 60,000 men, plundering and burning as he went; and after pillaging Carcasonne and Narbonne, and destroying many villages, he led back his army to Bordeaux. Edward had, meanwhile, landed in the north of France, and tried in vain to bring the French king John to a general battle. At this juncture, the Scots assembled in numbers, recovered Berwick, and marched across the border into England; so that Edward was compelled to leave France in all haste, to fight the enemy in the north. In January, 1356, he once more took Berwick from the Scots, and soon after bought Edward Baliol's shadowy rights to the Scottish throne for a sum of ready money and an annuity of £2,000 to the weak king, who died at Doncaster in England seven years afterwards, forgotten by all. After advancing northward as far as Edinburgh, devastating the country, according to the custom of those days, the English king was obliged, by want of provisions, to return southward, as the Scots avoided a pitched battle in the field. They inflicted a terrible vengeance upon the foe, however, hovering in the rear of Edward's army and cutting off all stragglers. This inroad of King Edward's, avenged by a pursuit which was continued beyond the frontiers, many villages and homesteads in Northern England being set on fire by the exasperated Scots, was known as "Burnt Candlemas," from the time of year at which it took place.

Plundering Expeditions in Scotland and France.

Burnt Candlemas.

Prince Edward, known as the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour, which, as the Père d' Orleans observes, "gave *éclât* to the fairness of his complexion, and a relief to his *bonne mine*," took the field in Southern France, in July, 1356, with an army of about 14,000 men, and resumed the plundering expedition of the year before; penetrating into the centre of France, taking Viesson by storm, and burning the town of Romorantin, not far from Bourges. He also attacked, but vainly, Bourges and Issodun. But by this time King John of France had raised a great army against him, for the whole country was exasperated

The Black Prince in Southern France.

by the plundering and burning and devastation that followed the invader's footsteps everywhere. At a village near Poictiers, on the 17th of September, Edward came suddenly upon the great force of John. His line of retreat was cut off, and there was no resource but to fight. Like his father at Creçy, Prince Edward devoted all his skill to the posting of his small army, which did not exceed 10,000 men, in as strong a position as possible; and on the coming day, the 18th September, this position was further strengthened by earthworks and ditches, so that it could only be approached by a narrow lane. King John had 60,000 horsemen and foot-soldiers besides, and deemed himself, like Philip de Valois at Creçy, certain of the victory. Thus, on the morning of the 19th, the armies confronted each other in battle array, and the conflict began. Two marshals of France, D'Andreghen and Clermont, charged with their knights and followers along the narrow lane by which alone the Prince's strong position could be approached; but they were met with such a deadly discharge of arrows from the English archers posted behind the hedges skirting the lane, that they were utterly dismayed. Man and horse, though clad in complete armour, went down before the clothyard shafts; and of the two marshals, one was killed outright and the other wounded and taken captive. The second division of the French army was now in its turn assailed in flank and rear by six hundred of the bowmen of England, who, making a circuit, spread terror and confusion here also. A panic seized the second division. The Prince and his knights mounted their horses, and by a succession of brilliant charges completed the victory for which the bowmen had prepared the way. The reserve, seized by panic fear, fled precipitately. But still King John, with his young son Philip, wielded his battle-axe undauntedly, until at length, overpowered by numbers, John handed his gauntlet to a French knight in token of surrender, when the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Cobham, riding suddenly up, took charge of him and of his son Philip, and carried them to the Prince of Wales, by whom the illustrious captives were received with all respect and honour.

Poictiers, 1356.

The English Archers.

Triumph of the Black Prince.

John and his Son taken Prisoners.

That night the King of France supped in the tent of the victor, who waited on him with all chivalric courtesy. There he concluded a truce with Charles the Dauphin, the king's eldest son, and in the spring of 1347 carried John and the young Philip to London, where they made their entrance, amid the acclamations of the people, on the 24th of April, the King of France riding on a richly caparisoned war-horse, while the Prince of Wales was mounted on a small palfrey.

While the French king was lodged as an honoured guest, rather than as a captive, in London, an endeavour was made to settle the long-contested question of the English supremacy in Scotland, by other means than the arbitrement of the sword. Several times negotiations were commenced with the Scots for the liberation of David Bruce, who was confined as a prisoner in the Tower of London. The "Burnt Candlemas," and the inability or unwillingness of the Scots to

THE BLACK PRINCE WAITING ON JOHN OF FRANCE.

pay the high ransom demanded by Edward, had caused the negotiations to be broken off; but they were resumed in 1357, and David, after eleven years of captivity, returned to Scotland. But David soon showed himself rather a partisan of the English king than a patriot like his heroic father. In 1362 his queen died. She left him no children; and as he hated his nephew, the Stewart of Scotland, the son of his elder sister, and heir presumptive to the crown, he proposed first at Scone, in 1363, that Edward's third son, Lionel, should succeed to the Scottish throne, and afterwards, that in default of male issue of the Scottish king, the King of England for the time being should succeed to the Scottish throne. The Scottish council and the nation generally were bitterly opposed to this scheme; and Edward was too much engaged by the contest in France, and moreover too much impoverished by the expenses of his long war, to enforce it by dint of arms. In 1365 it was agreed that the truce should be in force till 1371; and when David Bruce died childless, in February of that year, his nephew Robert the Stewart succeeded him. Nor was Edward in a position to renew the long struggle. Thus, then, the house of Stewart came to the throne of Scotland, and held that dignity for more than two centuries and a quarter, until the demise of Elizabeth of England without issue brought about a peaceful and happy union of the crowns, James VI. succeeding to the English royalty by undoubted right of inheritance.

Release of David of Scotland.

End of the English attempts of Supremacy.

By this time, also, Edward seems to have understood that his shadowy claim to the French throne would never be admitted in France, and that the project of conquering that country was one that could not be realized. Edward accordingly offered to liberate John, on condition of receiving a large ransom, and of the restoration of the inheritance of Henry II. and of Eleanor of Aquitaine, to be held in independent sovereignty by the English king without any obligations of feudal homage or service to France. King John temporized, in hope of obtaining more favourable terms; but the horrible state of France,—in which the wretched peasant rising of the "Jacquerie" had led to horrible cruelties practised upon the unhappy country-people by the nobility,—caused him to yield every point, and agree to all Edward's demands. But the French nation repudiated the treaty; and the year 1359 saw Edward once again in France, with a formidable army. From Calais, where he landed his troops, he advanced into the country, desolating and destroying wherever he came; and after a vigorous but unsuccessful effort to reduce Rheims by siege, and a victory over the Duke of Burgundy, whom he compelled to pay a large indemnity and to engage to remain neutral in the struggle, he marched upon Paris itself, and March, 1360, saw him encamped in front of the capital. He was, however, not sufficiently strong to besiege it, and was obliged, by scarcity of provisions, to fall back upon Brittany, losing many men and horses in the retreat, by the hardships of the winter campaign. At Chartres, a tremendous storm, with thunder and lightning, descended upon the king's army; six thousand horses and a thousand horsemen were destroyed by the

Negotiations with France.

New Invasion of France.

lightning, and even the iron courage of the king was shaken by what he deemed a direct judgment of Heaven upon him for his ambition.

Treaty of Bretigny.

Turning his face towards the Church of Notre Dame, at Chartres, he knelt down and breathed a vow to make peace immediately. The result of this resolution was the treaty of Bretigny, concluded on the 8th day of May, 1360, by which Edward, abandoning his claim to the crown of France and to Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, and all his conquests except Calais and Guisnes, contented himself with the full suzerainty over Guienne and Poitou, with their dependencies, and the district of Ponthiers, the inheritance of Isabella, his mother; three million crowns in gold to be paid within six years, hostages being given in the meanwhile for the ransom of King John, who was brought to Calais to ratify the treaty. On the 24th day of October, 1360, in the Church of St. Nicholas, at Calais, matters were brought to a conclusion, the two kings, with a number of barons on each side, binding themselves by oath to observe the treaty. Thereupon King John of France was set at liberty, and returned to his capital after a captivity of four years.

He was not destined to die there. The country had been so devastated and the finances were in such a state of confusion that it was found impossible to pay the ransom agreed upon; and the lords and barons were also offended at the cession of the suzerainty of Guienne to the English king. John's son, the Duke of Anjou, who had remained at Calais as one of the hostages, broke his parole and fled to Paris, to the great displeasure of John, who considered his own honour compromised by his breach of faith. Accordingly,

John's Return to England.

the French king, in 1364, returned to England, and put himself once more into the hands of Edward III., his generous enemy, by whom he was received with every mark of affection and esteem. He took up his quarters, as before, in the Savoy Palace, on the Thames bank near London; but soon after his arrival he fell sick, and died among the people whose king and nobles had treated him from the first more like an honoured guest than like a captive.

The Black Prince had been married some time before to Joan, the daughter of the Earl of Kent. She was the Prince's second cousin, and was known for her beauty as "the Fair Maid of Kent."

There reigned at that time as king of Castile, by undoubted hereditary right, but over very unwilling subjects, Pedro IV., surnamed "the Cruel." That prince had well earned his repulsive surname. The beginning of his reign was signalized by the murder of Leonora de Guzman, the mistress of his father, to whom she had borne two sons, —Counts Henry of Trastamare and Tello of Biscay. The two counts fled to the court of France. Not long after, Pedro gave his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, a French princess, into the custody of his favourite, Maria de Padilla, by whom she is believed to have been poisoned. A number of nobles and gentlemen were compelled to fly

Pedro the Cruel and Henry of Trastamare.

into exile from the tyranny of Pedro; and now Henry of Trastamare, at the suggestion, it is said, of the French king and the Pope, who both assisted him with money, put himself at the head of nearly thirty thousand of the "free companions," and with the exiled nobles and the famous French

knight, Du Guesclin, marched through the passes of the Pyrenees into Spain. Don Pedro fled before him without even fighting a battle, and took refuge with his daughters at the court of Bordeaux, where the Black Prince received him with all friendship as a lawful monarch driven from his throne by a usurper, and was easily induced, greatly to his own disadvantage, to espouse the cause of Pedro against Henry of Trastamare. Thus France was delivered, for a time, from the turbulent freebooters who had kept the country in incessant turmoil. By dint of liberal promises, which he never fulfilled, Pedro induced the Prince of Wales and his brother, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, to take up arms for his restoration. The fame of the Black Prince drew great numbers of partisans to his banner, and in a short time he was at the head of thirty thousand men, among whom were a great many who had first enlisted under Don Henry, but had promptly changed sides, allured by the popularity of the renowned English prince and his brave brother of Lancaster.

With the forces thus levied, Edward marched through the valley of Roncevalles into Spain, and on the 3rd of April, 1367, encountered the army of Don Henry, more than twice as numerous as his own, on the plains of Navarete. Here again mention is made of the prowess of the English archers among the Prince's followers, who exhibited their skill with the national weapon to the great annoyance and hurt of the Spaniards. The young Duke of Lancaster distinguished himself by his bravery no less than his older and more renowned brothers. The Black Prince gained a complete victory; Henry was obliged to fly, and the power of Pedro was restored. That savage man was with difficulty prevented by the remonstrances of the Prince of Wales from massacring his prisoners, to the number of two thousand, on the field of battle. The tyrant treated his English ally with base ingratitude, allowing his benefactor's army to be half-starved for want of supplies, and neglecting to provide the money he had promised to furnish to pay the soldiers. The Prince retired to Bordeaux, and was obliged to incur heavy debts. In this campaign also he was smitten with the illness from which he never entirely recovered. Pedro the Cruel did not long enjoy the kingdom he had regained. The year afterwards he and his brother Henry met at a conference. Inspired by mutual hatred, they rushed upon each other, and struggled with all the fierceness of rage. In the conflict, Henry stabbed Pedro to the heart with his dagger, and by his murder he regained the throne of Castile.

Battle of Navarete.

Death of Don Pedro.

To meet the demands made upon him by the "free companions" whom the ungrateful Don Pedro had left him to pay, Prince Edward was compelled to levy increased taxes upon his vassals in Guienne. The king, Charles V. of France, had been watching with a wary eye the course of events in the South, and was not ill-pleased when some of the Gascon lords, with the Count of Armagne at their head, came to Paris and appealed to him as lord paramount, complaining of the exactions and arrogance of his vassal, the Prince of Aquitaine. Charles thereupon summoned the Black Prince, as his vassal, to appear. The Prince replied, that if he came, it should be with sixty thousand men. King Edward, who was now

New Quarrel with France.

old, and inclined to pacific counsels, offered to give up a part of the territory guaranteed to him by the treaty of Bretigny; but Charles, considering this conciliatory offer a sign of weakness, became the more aggressive, and pronounced the Prince of Aquitaine contumacious for his refusal to appear. The war was rekindled.

Charles V., appropriately called the Wise, was too prudent to risk a battle in the open field, even after the famous Du Guesclin had been made Constable of France, and invested with the chief command of the French armies. The increasing sickness of the Prince of Wales caused the conduct of the war, on the English side, to fall into the hands of the brave John of Gaunt. At length, in 1374, an arrangement for a peace was made, through the intervention of the Pope. It lasted until the death of King Edward. Bordeaux, Bayonne, a few towns in the South, and the important fortress of Calais in the North, formed all the dominions in France that remained to King Edward after so many years of toil and bloodshed.

The concluding years of the life of Edward III. were very mournful. In 1369 he lost his good queen Philippa, who died of dropsy after two years of suffering. She had endeared herself to the nation by many charitable actions, among which the chief was the foundation of the Nuns of St. Katherine, near the Tower of London. After her death, the king, whose character and intellect were alike weakened during his latter years, became dotingly attached to Alice Perrers, one of her maids of honour, whom he allowed to exercise such uncontrolled influence upon him, that the people's anger was excited against the minion who flaunted in public with the late queen's jewels. The Commons even took official notice of the favourite's proceedings, as is shown in the following ordinance: "Whereas complaints have been laid before the king that certain women have pursued causes and actions in the king's courts by way of maintenance, and for hire and reward, which thing displeases the king, the king forbids that any woman do it for the future, and in particular Alice Perrers, under the penalty of forfeiting all that she, the said Alice, can forfeit, and of being banished out of the realm."

Edward III. and Alice Perrers.

The Black Prince, though fast sinking into his grave, still took an interest and a part in public affairs, and in Parliament even headed an Opposition. But he was at length obliged to seek quiet and repose; and the chief power fell into the hands of the Duke of Lancaster, who was unpopular with the nation at large. On Trinity Sunday, the 8th of June, 1376, the Black Prince died, in his forty-sixth year, "leaving a reputation as a consummate commander, a generous knight, a wise and vigorous statesman, and a model of regal dignity and magnificence, unmatched by any man of that age, unless his father may be excepted." The Parliament looked with dissatisfaction upon the state of affairs, and complained of excessive expenditure and undue taxation. Vast sums had been spent on the wars in France; and a few towns only remained, as a tangible result, in the possession of the English, after all this expenditure of blood and treasure. The Duke of Lancaster, into whose hands the power was gradually, and it seemed inevitably, falling, was disliked. Accordingly the Parliament scrutinized with jealousy every branch of

Death of the Black Prince.

the administration, removed several of the king's advisers, and impeached the principal agents of the Duke of Lancaster. The long remonstrance of the Parliament ended with a request that Richard of Bordeaux, the young son of Prince Edward, who was then in his tenth year, might be brought forward to receive the homage and greeting of the Houses. A suspicion that the Duke of Lancaster had ambitious designs on the succession is said to have caused, or at any rate hastened, this action of the Commons. That powerful nobleman was now paramount in the State. He had a strong influence in the next Parliament, which assembled in January, 1377, and of which the Speaker was the duke's steward, Sir Thomas Hungerford. He warmly espoused the cause of John Wyclif, the parish priest of Lutterworth, famous since among the world's great men as the Morning Star of the Reformation, and the forerunner of Huss and Luther, Calvin and Zwingle. When Wyclif was summoned to answer before Courtenay, Bishop of London, for the doctrines he had preached, Lancaster appeared, with his friend Lord Percy, the Marshal of England, to support Wyclif; and took his part, indeed, so hotly against the bishop that a wrangle ensued, and the bishop was threatened with personal violence. When this came to the ears of the Londoners, they showed their indignation at the treatment their bishop had received by attacking and plundering the duke's palace of the Savoy; in revenge for which the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, though they made an abject submission to the duke, were deprived of their offices.

John of Gaunt and Wyclif.

The last months of the life of Edward III. were spent partly at the palace of Shene (now Richmond, in Surrey), partly at Eltham, in Kent. He was broken down in body and mind alike. He seemed to have no one near him but Alice Perrers; and of her it is related that, in his last moments, she drew a costly ring from his finger, and then left him to die alone. The two last public acts of his reign were the levying of a poll-tax of fourpence a head on all the population, except beggars, on the plea that, as the truce with France was about to expire, a renewal of the war must be prepared for. The completion of the fiftieth year of the king's reign, in February, 1377, was celebrated by the granting of an amnesty for minor offences. Four months afterwards he expired in his palace at Shene, deserted even by his ordinary attendants, who are said to have decamped after plundering the palace. The poet of "The Bard" has described "the mighty victor, mighty lord," lying low on his funeral couch, with no pitying heart or eye to afford a tear to grace his obsequies. One solitary priest was left, it is said, in the palace, to hold the crucifix to the dying lips, and receive the last sigh of one of the greatest of England's kings.

Last Moments of Edward III.

By his queen Philippa, Edward the Third had a numerous family. The eldest son was the celebrated Black Prince, the victor of Poictiers and Navarete. It is recorded that the mother and babe, in consequence of their beauty, were generally taken as models for pictures and statues of the Virgin and Child.

Early in this reign, the cloth manufacture was established, in the city of Norwich, mainly through the exertions of Queen Philippa, who

established a colony of weavers from Flanders in 1335, which flourished greatly; and the industry soon grew into important dimensions. The working of the Newcastle coal-fields also dates from this time. Queen Philippa procured a grant authorizing the working of mines at Tyndale, and soon various ships were employed in the trade of carrying "sea-coal" southward, chiefly to London. To this period also belongs the employment of cannon in warfare. We are told that at the Battle of Creçy the English employed "bombards, which, by means of fire, shot small balls of iron, with a report like the thunder of God, causing the slaughter of men and the overthrow of horses." There are records, however, of the use of heavy cannon with gunstones before this time, as, for instance, at Roxburgh in Scotland; but they appear in the first instance to have been used only at sieges and bombardments, the lighter cannon, for field-pieces, called chambers, being of later date. The royal castle of Windsor was enlarged and improved—indeed, it may be said rebuilt—by William of Wickham, who afterwards became Bishop of Winchester. The Round Tower dates from this period; its completion is said to have been celebrated by a magnificent tournament, and by the first chapter of the Order of the Garter. The origin of this celebrated Order of Knighthood is veiled in obscurity. Probably it was a revival, in some measure, of the "Knights of the Blue Thong," who engaged to scale the walls of Acre with Richard I. The more modern order dates from 1344, and consisted of forty knights, including the king himself, his sons, and the most distinguished among his warriors, who dedicated themselves to the service of St. George, and swore to maintain the statutes and privileges of the Order. A popular but somewhat doubtful story tells how the beautiful Countess of Salisbury having dropped her garter at a festival while dancing, the king picked it up, and restored it to the fair owner, with the words, "Honi soit qui mal y pense," "Despised be he who thinks evil of it," which sentence became the motto of the Knights of the Garter. To the present day this has continued to be the most exalted of the British Orders of Knighthood, no one under the rank of an earl being deemed eligible for admission into its ranks.

Manufactures, Inventions, etc.

Order of the Garter.

RICHARD III. AND HENRY BOLINGBROKE.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Plantagenets.—Richard II.

A.D. 1377–1399.

Accession and Coronation. Unpopularity of the King's Uncles. Incursions of the Scots and the French. John Philpot and William Walworth. Serfdom in England: Aspirations for Freedom. Attempts to Abolish Serfdom. The Poll Tax: Harshness in the Collectors. John Ball, the Priest. Wat Tyler. Risings in different Counties. The Insurgents at Blackheath: Riotous Proceedings in London. Death of Wat Tyler. Submission of the Rebels: their Punishment. Conflicting Factions of the Government. Wyclif and his Doctrines. The Lollards. Expedition of Sluys. Struggle between the Dukes and the Favourites. The Duke of Gloucester and De la Pole. Gloucester's Vengeance on the Favourites. Battle of Otterbourne. The King asserts his Independence. Fall of the Duke of Gloucester: his Mysterious Death. The King's Triumph. His Tyranny and Folly. Thomas Mowbray and Henry Bolingbroke: their Quarrel: their Banishment. Bolingbroke's Return. Execution of Bussy, etc. Deposition of Richard II. Statute of Præmunire.

RICHARD of Bordeaux, son of the Black Prince and of the Fair Maid of Kent, was only ten years old when the death of his grandfather placed him on the English throne. On the 15th of July, 1377, he was crowned in Westminster Abbey. There was a deeply rooted distrust, at that time, of the Duke of Lancaster, who was suspected of a design to seize the crown; and both he and the king's other uncle, the Duke of Cambridge, were excluded from power. The Duke of Lancaster, though angry,

The King's Uncles Unpopular.

yielded to circumstances with a tolerably good grace, and a kind of reconciliation between him and the Parliament took place.

The King of France took advantage of the young king's minority to ally himself with Henry of Trastamare, who was indignant at John of Gaunt's assuming the title of King of Castile. The two kings equipped a fleet, with which they harassed the south coast of England.

Depredations of the French.

The Isle of Wight was plundered and ravaged, and the town of Hastings was burnt; but at Southampton the invaders were grievously defeated by the Earl of Arundel. The Scots also, according to their custom, seized the opportunity for invasion. They surprised and took Berwick, which was, however, soon regained from them; and John Mercer, a rover, came with a mixed fleet of Scottish, French, and Spanish vessels, and captured all the vessels in the port of Scarborough. John Philpot, a wealthy citizen of London, thereupon fitted out a fleet at his own expense, took Mercer prisoner, captured fifteen of his ships, and recovered all that had been lost at Scarborough. John de Montfort, Duke of Brittany, driven from his country by the King of France, took refuge in England, and entreated the help of the English Government. Provided with a small force of knights and men-at-arms, he returned to Brittany, where he was received with open arms; and presently he was seconded by a large force from England under the Earl of Buckingham. On the death of the French king, Charles V., the Bretons persuaded their duke to abandon his alliance with England. The English Parliament insisted that all sums voted should be strictly used for purposes of military defence; and John Philpot and William Walworth acted as secretaries and treasurers for the due administration of the funds.

John Philpot; John de Montfort.

Already at the close of the last reign, the expedient of a poll-tax had been used, to obtain a supply of money; and in 1381 this project was renewed, under circumstances of tyranny and hardship which led to a general and formidable rising of the peasantry. Each person, male or female, of the age of fifteen was to pay three groats, or twelve pence; but in the towns a sliding-scale of payment was adopted, according to the means of the citizens, the poorest burgher paying one groat, the richest as much as sixty groats for himself and his wife.

Serfdom in England.

The collectors in Kent and Essex threatened and bullied defaulters, "which some of the people taking in evil part, secretly took counsel together, gathered assistance, and resisted the exactors, rising against them, of whom some they slew, some they wounded, and the rest fled." A leader soon appeared, in the person of one John Ball, or Bull, a priest, who made to the peasants stirring orations, in which certain truths, such as the equality of men before God, and the consequent reasonableness of equality of all men before the law, were mingled with much that was impracticable and absurd. The nature of his discourse may be gathered from his text, that has been preserved, and ran, "When Adam delved and Evè span, Where was then the gentleman?"

Harsh Measures of the Tax Collectors.

It happened that a collector, levying the impost at Dartford in Kent, outrageously insulted a young girl, the daughter of a tiler named

Walter, or Wat, declaring, against the assertion of the maiden's mother, that she was of an age to pay the tax. The mother and daughter cried out; whereupon Wat came running up, and with a blow of his hammer dashed out the brutal collector's brains. The tiler's fellow-townsmen applauded the deed, and rose in insurrection, appointing Wat their leader. Followed at first by five hundred of the poorer sort, Wat Tyler marched towards London; and by the time he had reached Blackheath, early in June, 1381, his army, recruited as he went along by serfs from all quarters, amounted, it is said, to more than sixty thousand—some accounts say a hundred thousand—desperate men. At Blackheath, the mother of the king, the fair Joan of Kent, fell into the hands of Wat and his men; but she was allowed to pass, on paying the toll of sundry kisses to the chief insurgents. They then proceeded to London and were guilty of various outrages, such as burning the Marshalsea and the King's Bench prisons, in Southwark, sacking and setting on fire the Savoy Palace of John of Gaunt, demolishing Newgate and the Temple, and putting to death certain obnoxious citizens, and especially a number of Flemings, against whom, as foreigners, and alleged extortioners, grinding the people's faces, there was especial anger. The demands they made were, firstly, the abolition of serfdom; secondly, the liberty of buying and selling in all fairs and markets; thirdly, a general pardon to all who had taken part in the rising; and fourthly, that land should be let out at a fixed and uniform rate of fourpence the acre. Plundering was strictly prohibited; and a rustic who had purloined a silver cup was at once thrown, with his prize, into the Thames. The young king behaved, in these dangerous circumstances, with a courage and resolution beyond his years. Followed by a few attendants, and by his two half-brothers, the Earl of Kent and Sir John Holland,—who deserted him soon after, alarmed for their own safety,—he rode forth from Tower Hill, and proceeded, at the head of the majority of the insurgents, to Mile End, where he graciously granted the four requests; whereupon a great number of the peasants returned home. Some, however, had not followed the king, but made their way into the Tower, where they beheaded the Archbishop of Canterbury and several gentlemen. The next day the king rode forth, with a retinue of some sixty followers, to Smithfield, where Wat Tyler had drawn up his men. Wat, who was mounted on a horse, and armed, rode forward, saying that he would have some conference with the king. It is said that he put his hand upon the hilt of his dagger in a menacing way, and that he even thrust forth his hand, as he talked with Richard, as if to seize the bridle of the king's horse. Sir William Walworth, the Lord Mayor of London, seeing, or affecting to see, a danger of personal violence to the king, rode forward, and struck Tyler on the head with his mace. Another account says that he thrust his dagger into the insurgent's throat; and hence the dagger that is borne in the arms of the city of London. The followers of Tyler, seeing their chief fall, cried out that they were betrayed, and drew forth their arrows to avenge him; but the young

Wat Tyler.

The Insurgents at Blackheath.

Riotous Proceedings in London.

Richard II. and the Insurgents.

Death of Wat Tyler.

king, who was only in his fifteenth year, with admirable presence of mind rode forward, and called out to the insurgents: "What are you doing, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor. Come with me, and I will be your leader!" Near Islington a force of men-at-arms, led by Sir Robert Knowles, came to the king's assistance, whereupon the rebels fell on their knees, and begged for mercy. For the time they were allowed to go away unharmed; with the death of Wat Tyler the formidable rising had collapsed.

Punishment of the Insurgents.

The villeins were forced back into their old state of bondage. The Essex men, the only ones who made a bold stand, were defeated with great slaughter. John Ball and other leading men in the insurrection were executed, with great numbers of the poorer sort, whose bodies were hung in chains by the highways, to inspire terror in the community. No fewer than fifteen hundred are said to have been thus put to death.

Conflicting Factions of Courtiers.

In 1382, Richard married Anne of Bohemia,—generally known as "the good Queen Anne,"—daughter of the Emperor, Charles IV., of Germany. A struggle now began between the uncles of the king and the favourites with whom the Princess of Wales had injudiciously surrounded her son. This was especially seen during a short and inglorious campaign against the Scots, in 1385. To conciliate his relatives, the king, at the close of the campaign, made great promotions among them; Henry of Bolingbroke, the Duke of Lancaster's son, being created Earl of Derby, the king's uncles, the Earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, being made respectively Dukes of York and Gloucester. But, on the other hand, the king's favourites were promoted in equal measure, Robert de Vere being made Earl of Oxford, and afterwards Duke of Ireland, while Michael de la Pole became Earl of Suffolk.

Wyclif and his Doctrines.

In 1384 died John Wyclif, to whom succeeding ages have given the title of the Morning Star of the Reformation. A learned and an earnest man, Wyclif was enabled, in his office of parish priest of Lutterworth, to attack the doctrines of the Church and challenge the authority of the Pope. He was condemned on various points, the principal being—"his deviation from orthodox language respecting the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; his doctrine, that a pope, bishop, or priest who is in a state of mortal sin, has no authority over the faithful, and that his acts are null; his assertion, that Scripture prohibits ecclesiastics from having temporal possessions; and the assertion, that where contrition is sincere, confession to a priest is useless." The followers of Wyclif, afterwards known as the Lollards—a word equivalent to the chaunters, or psalm-singers—though exposed to much persecution in subsequent reigns, served, like the Hussites in Germany, to keep alive the idea of purification in the Church, until the time was ripe for the great Reformation in the sixteenth century.

Expedition of Sluys.

A mighty armament was prepared in Flanders, and a great fleet collected in the port of Sluys, by the young King Charles VI. of France for the invasion of England. But the French king was ruled at that time by his uncles, who decided that the expedition should not take place. The army was disbanded,

DEATH OF WAT TYLER.

and the fleet being scattered by a storm, like the Spanish Armada two centuries later, many of the ships fell into the hands of the English,

and nothing was gained by a projected enterprise, the preparations for which still further exhausted the overtaxed French people.

Though the king had attained his majority, his weak frivolous character perpetually made him the tool of contending factions; and his uncles and the favourites now strove for the possession of his person. The quarrel was now between the Dukes of Gloucester and York on the one side, and De la Pole and De Vere on the other. Against De la Pole, the Duke of Gloucester, a far harsher master than John of Gaunt had ever been, aroused a parliamentary opposition.

The Duke of Gloucester and De la Pole.

De la Pole was ignominiously expelled from office; and not content with this, the Commons impeached him on various charges; and being found guilty on some of these, he was heavily fined. The king found himself deserted, except by a few favourites and courtiers and bishops—De la Pole, De Vere, and Tresillian, the chief justice, being his chief adherents. The king thereupon returned to London, but was presently startled by hearing that his uncle Gloucester, with the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, was marching towards London with an army of 40,000 men. The duke entered the capital in November, 1387, and the chiefs of the king's party, the Archbishop of York, De la Pole, and De Vere, the chief justice Tresillian, and Sir Nicholas Brember, the Lord Mayor of London, were accused of treason. They immediately fled.

Vengeance of the Favourites.

De la Pole escaped to France, where he died soon after. De Vere succeeded in raising a small army on the borders of Wales; but being defeated by Gloucester and Henry Bolingbroke at Radcot, also escaped abroad, and died in Holland. The Archbishop of York fled to Flanders, where he lived as a parish priest. Tresillian and Brember were taken, and executed at Tyburn. The king retired in a panic into the Tower of London.

Gloucester was now thoroughly master of the situation, and proceeded to take vengeance upon those judges who had pronounced the commission government illegal. Various executions took place, with a cruelty and rancour which made the duke very unpopular. For a year the government was left almost completely in Gloucester's hands.

Battle of Otterbourne.

On the 15th of August, 1388, occurred the famous battle of Otterbourne, between the border Scots led by Douglas, and the English under Lord Percy. The victory remained with the Scots, but their leader, Lord Douglas, was slain. This combat has been widely celebrated by that glorious old ballad of Chevy Chase.

The King asserts his Independence.

Suddenly the king at a great council, held in May, 1389, abruptly asked Gloucester, "How old do you think I am?" "Your highness is in your twenty-second year," replied the duke. "Then I am surely of age to manage my own affairs," resumed the king. "I have been longer under the control of guardians than any ward in my dominions. I thank ye, my lords, for your past services, but I want them no longer." This astounding outburst he followed up by at once depriving Gloucester's chief adherents of their offices, and issuing a proclamation that he had taken the government into his own hands. Gloucester was driven from the council, but the chief power fell into the keeping of the Duke of York

and Henry Bolingbroke. On the return of John of Gaunt from the Continent, an apparent reconciliation took place between the king and his uncle Gloucester; and John of Gaunt also regained his popularity. But the king's vengeance was only deferred. In 1394 the "good queen Anne" died. Richard married Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI., a child seven years of age, in 1396. He now considered himself strong enough to revenge himself on Gloucester and the other lords who had opposed his arbitrary designs in former years. In July, 1397, after maintaining an appearance of friendship to the last moment, he arrested the Earls of Arundel and Warwick; and then, proceeding to Plashy House, in Essex, the residence of his uncle Gloucester, he caused the duke to be suddenly and secretly carried off, while he himself held the duchess in friendly talk. Gloucester was conveyed on board a boat and taken to Calais. A parliament was summoned, and many who had joined Gloucester and his friends in their resistance to Richard now took part in prosecuting their former friends as traitors. The Archbishop of Canterbury was banished for life. The Earl of Arundel was led away to execution on Tower Hill. Presently it was declared that the Duke of Gloucester had died suddenly in Calais. There is little doubt that he was secretly murdered. The Earl of Warwick was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. After the punishments came rewards, bestowed upon those who had stood by the king. Henry Bolingbroke was created Duke of Hereford; Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; and John Holland, the king's half-brother, Duke of Exeter.

Fall of the Duke of Gloucester.

Triumph of Richard.

The king considered himself safe in his newly acquired authority, and seemed utterly unaware of any necessity of obtaining popular approbation. His court became noted for luxury and extravagance; never before had there been such vain and ostentatious display in furniture, in feasting, in gorgeous apparel. Indolence and self-indulgence, with an utter contempt of the feelings of the nation, characterized the short period during which the degenerate king was allowed to have his own way.

The anger of the nation was excited, and deep murmurs were heard that the late Parliament had betrayed the liberties of England to the king. A catastrophe was at length brought on by a quarrel between two great nobles, Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, and Henry Bolingbroke, Earl of Hereford, the king's cousin. Both these men had been at one time active and prominent in the party opposed to the king. They had since gone over to his side, and had been rewarded with dukedoms; but both had cause to fear the cunning and vindictive spirit of Richard. The details of the quarrel are involved in mystery, but it seems to have arisen out of a warning given by Mowbray to Bolingbroke. Hereford, when called upon to report to the Parliament, in 1398, what had passed, presented the whole of the conversation in writing. Norfolk, on being summoned, emphatically denied it, and threw down his gauntlet, challenging Hereford to trial by battle as a false traitor and liar. It was arranged that the combat should take place at Coventry on the 16th September. When

Thomas Mowbray and Henry Bolingbroke.

Defiance of Hereford by Norfolk.

the champions were ready to encounter, the king threw down his short staff, or warder, to forbid the combat, and after a short conference with his council, pronounced sentence on the two dukes, banishing Hereford from the kingdom for ten years (afterwards shortened to six) and Norfolk for life. Mowbray undertook a journey to the Holy Land, but soon afterwards died broken-hearted at Venice. Hereford went away calmly into banishment, but remained in France, waiting the course of events. The king had promised him, when commuting the term of his banishment, that his estates and property should be held inviolate during his absence. But within a few months the old Duke of Lancaster died; whereupon Richard basely broke his promise, and confiscated the property to which Hereford should have succeeded, being in want of money for a new expedition to Ireland where disturbances had broken out.

Death of John of Gaunt.

Shortly after Richard had set sail from Milford Haven, Bolingbroke landed at Ravenspring in Yorkshire. He was at once joined by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. He declared that he came only to claim the rightful inheritance unjustly withheld from him; and this appearance of moderation increased the numbers of those willing to join him, and by the time he reached London, by rapid marches, he was at the head of 60,000 men. The Duke of York, who had been left as Regent, marched towards the west, to await the return of the king. Bolingbroke followed with his army; and after a conference between the uncle and nephew at Berkeley, York joined his forces to those of Bolingbroke, and they proceeded together to besiege Bristol Castle, into which Bussy, Green, and the Earl of Wiltshire, three of the king's committee of government, had thrown themselves. The castle surrendered; Bussy, Green, and Wiltshire were at once executed; and Henry of Bolingbroke, leaving his uncle to guard Bristol Castle, moved on with his men towards Chester to meet the king.

Bolingbroke's Return.

Execution of Bussy and others.

Richard had wasted valuable time in Ireland. When he landed at Milford Haven, he found himself abandoned by the Welsh and English alike; forsaken by all, and despairing of escaping to France, he resolved to surrender to Henry of Lancaster. Henry sent the Earl of Northumberland with an armed force to bring Richard, who, beguiled, it is said, by delusive promises of safety, accompanied the convoy, in reality as a captive, to Flint Castle, where he met Henry. He was compelled to ride to Chester in the train of Bolingbroke, mounted upon a wretched hackney; and there, and at Lichfield, was made to issue writs for the assembling of a parliament, which met at Westminster on the 29th of September, 1399.

Submission of Richard II.

On the day when the Parliament met, before a deputation of ecclesiastics and laymen, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and many other persons of note, the king read a renunciation of the crown, and a release of his subjects from their oath of fealty to him. The next day, the 30th of September, the two houses of Parliament met in Westminster Hall. The throne stood empty, Henry of

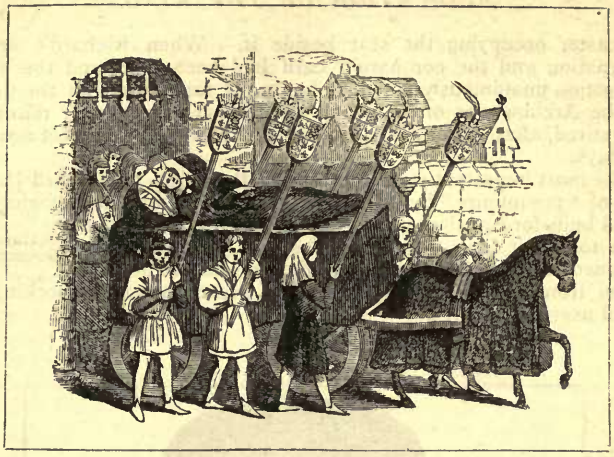
Richard's Resignation of the Crown.

Lancaster occupying the seat beside it. When Richard's act of resignation and the coronation oath had been read, and the king's deposition unanimously voted, Bolingbroke was seated on the throne by the Archbishops of York and Canterbury; and giving thanks to all, retired, after appointing that the Parliament should meet again in six days.

The most important statute passed in the reign of Richard II. was that of "præmunire," by which all persons bringing into the kingdom papal bulls for translations of bishops and other purposes were to forfeit their goods and chattels, and to be imprisoned for life. This act received a very large interpretation from the judges, and proved of great service in checking the papal usurpations.

Statute of Præmunire.

GEOFFREY CHAUCER.



FUNERAL OF RICHARD II., FROM AN ILLUMINATED MS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Lancastrians—Henry IV.

A.D. 1399–1413.

Accession of the King. The Mortimers. Quarrels among the Nobles. Death of Richard II. War with Scotland. Condition of Wales. Owen Glendower. The Percies. Battle of Homildon Hill. Conspiracy of the Percies. Battle of Shrewsbury. Death of the Leaders. New Revolt. Skipton le Moor. Henry's warlike activity. Capture of Prince James Stuart. Battle of Tadcaster. Death of Northumberland. Anxieties and Sickness of the King. Prince Henry of Monmouth. Misunderstandings between Father and Son. Death of Henry IV. The English Parliament under Henry IV.: Its increased power and privileges. The King's Council responsible to Parliament. Persecution of the Lollards. Condition and Progress of the Country in Learning, etc. Manners and Customs, etc., of the English People.

ACCORDING to the law of hereditary succession, Henry could not rightfully claim the crown. The succession rested in the descendants of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III. As the duke died without heirs male, his claims descended to his daughter Philippa, who was married to Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, the representative of that Roger Mortimer who was executed early in the reign of Edward III. for the murder of Edward II. Edmund Mortimer was the lineal heir to the crown of

The Mortimers.

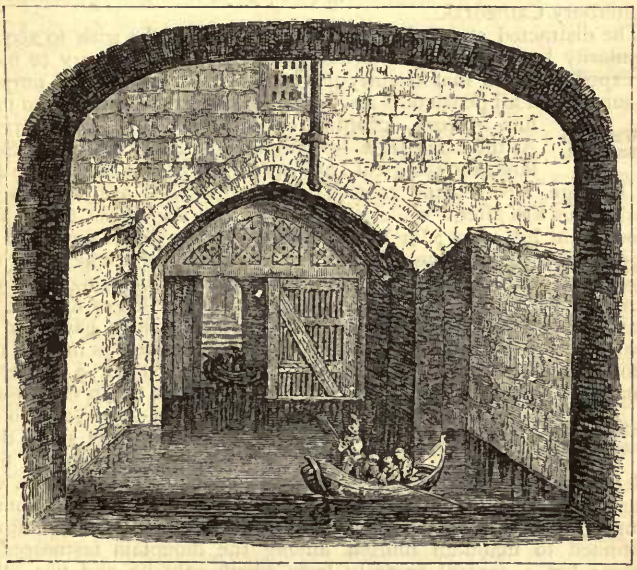
England at the beginning of the reign of Henry IV. He was a boy of ten years of age, and was educated in a mild and honourable imprisonment at Windsor.

A violent altercation, with much accusation and recrimination, arose in the upper house with regard to the intrigues and prosecutions of the last twelve years of the late king's reign. The titles given to the appealers as awards for their proceedings against Gloucester were revoked, and the Parliament wisely abolished the practice of "appeal of treason," deciding that in future such accusations must be made and maintained in due form of law. Henry of Monmouth, the king's eldest son, was created Prince of Wales.

Altercations among the Nobles.

Richard II. was removed from the Tower, in the first instance, to Leeds Castle, Kent; and, like Edward II., he seems to have been removed secretly by night from one castle to another. A conspiracy among Richard's former adherents, for the murder of the new king, probably hastened the fate of the unhappy captive. The Earl of Rutland, eldest son of the Duke of

Captivity of Richard II.



TRAITOR'S GATE—TOWER OF LONDON.

York, and Richard's two half-brothers, the Earls of Kent and Huntingdon, entered into a bond duly signed and sealed, by which they bound themselves to co-operate with each other in this attempt. Henry was invited to a joust at Oxford, by the Earls of Huntingdon and Kent,

for the 3rd of January, 1400 and was to be set upon and murdered, with his son, at a given signal, like Cæsar in the Capitol. But the old Duke of York, the father of Rutland, is said to have discovered the plot, through a letter his son vainly tried to conceal; and when he threatened to disclose the whole matter to the king, Rutland anticipated him by hastening to Windsor, revealing the plot to King Henry, and obtaining a pardon for himself. After such an insurrectionary movement in his favour, it was hardly in the spirit of the times that the captive king should have lived much longer. He had been removed to Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire, and here it was soon after given out that he was dead. The corpse was carried to London and exhibited to the people with only the lower part of the face uncovered for identification. It was then interred at Langley; but Henry V. afterwards caused it to be removed to the royal place of sepulture at Westminster.

Plot against the King.

Death of Richard II.

Scrope, the Archbishop of York, afterward declared publicly that Richard was starved to death in prison. Another account represents a certain Sir Piers of Exton as proceeding to Pontefract and murdering Richard to please the new king, as the knights murdered Becket in Canterbury Cathedral.

The distracted state of Scotland, and probably the wish to acquire popularity by a display of warlike prowess, induced Henry to make an expedition into that country in 1401. To accomplish this purpose he summoned all pensioners and feudatories of the last reigns to meet him at York, according to the old terms of feudal service. At the same time he commanded King Robert of Scotland, and the great barons, to meet him at Edinburgh and do homage. This being refused, he marched his army across the border, but was after a while compelled to retire for want of supplies to maintain his army; for the Scots would not come to a general engagement, and the country was bare of provisions. One great improvement over his predecessors in his manner of carrying on war is shown in his rigidly preventing the burning of villages and the ill-treatment of peaceful and unarmed inhabitants, which had been an invariable accompaniment of former wars. While he was in Scotland, a formidable insurrection broke out in Wales, under a leader of remarkable energy, courage, and talent—the famous Owen Glendower. Henry himself marched with an army into Wales to put down the rebellion; but he encountered the same difficulties as in Scotland, and, unable to keep the field indefinitely against a foe who studiously avoided a general battle, was obliged to retire with his army, having effected nothing; and a similar campaign in the next year had the same termination. Glendower continued to maintain himself among the mountain fastnesses of Wales; but a general amnesty, from which only he and two other Welshmen, Owen ap Tudor and Rice ap Tudor, were excepted, ended the insurrection for the time. Disturbances in Scotland were renewed, and on September 14th, 1402, was fought the battle of Holmedon, or Homildon Hill, in which the Earls of Douglas, Moray, Angus, Fife, and various other great Scottish nobles were taken prisoners by the Duke of Northumberland

War with Scotland.

Wales: Owen Glendower.

The Percies: Homildon Hill.

and his son Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur. The English archers here again had the chief share in gaining the victory. But in the same year Glendower gained two battles, in the second of which, near Knyghton, in Radnorshire, he captured Edmund Mortimer. Though the king, his son, and the Earl of Arundel invaded Wales at different points, they were all compelled to retire, partly through the tempestuous rains that flooded the country; and this increased the reputation of Glendower as a magician. Though Henry allowed the relatives of Lord Grey, whom Glendower had taken prisoner, to ransom that nobleman, he would not accord the same favour to Mortimer, whom he probably did not desire to see back in England; for this Edmund Mortimer was uncle to the young Mortimer, Earl of March, whom the king was detaining as a prisoner in Windsor Tower, and who had undoubtedly the lineal right to the English throne. This refusal is said to have given offence to the powerful Percies, who, having been mainly instrumental in placing Henry on the throne, considered it a personal slight to them; for Henry Percy had married the sister of Edmund Mortimer. They also seem to have considered, though Henry had made them liberal grants of land, that their services had been inadequately rewarded; and thus, in 1403, they organized a formidable conspiracy, the chief instigator being Scrope, Archbishop of York, who advised them to renounce their allegiance to Henry of Lancaster, and raise a rebellion with the object of placing the Earl of March on the throne in his place. The other confederates in the plot were Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, Douglas, whom the Percies had released without ransom, and Owen Glendower, with whom they formed a close alliance, and who, releasing his prisoner Edmund Mortimer, gave him his daughter in marriage, and promised to bring twelve thousand Welshmen to reinforce the rebel army.

Conspiracy of the Percies.

The king, whose anger never overcame his prudence and policy, even on the morning of the day when the arbitrement of swords was to decide between the revolted lords and himself, sent the Abbot of Shrewsbury to them with offers of accommodation. But these were rejected; and thus, on the morning of the 14th of July, 1403, the famous battle of Shrewsbury was fought, between the army of Henry and that of the rebel lords. The rallying cry of the insurgents was, "Espérance, Percy!" that of the king's troops, "Saint George for us!" The battle was obstinate and bloody. A shaft pierced the brain of Hotspur, who fell dead. His followers lost heart and turned to fly, after a contest maintained with great fury for three hours. The king seized the propitious moment for a general advance, and the day was won. Douglas was overtaken in the retreat and made prisoner; he was treated with all courtesy by his captors. Worcester, Sir Richard Vernon, and Lord Kinderton also fell into the victor's hands; they were at once led away to execution. Northumberland, on hearing of the crushing defeat and of his son's death, shut himself up in his strong castle of Warkworth; a month afterwards, on the 11th of August, he surrendered himself to the king at York, and soon after received a pardon.

Battle of Shrewsbury.

Death of the Leaders.

The victory of Shrewsbury did not secure permanent tranquillity to the king. In 1405 another rebellion broke out. In the previous year an attempt had been made by one Serle, who had been a gentleman in the suite of Richard II., to persuade the people that that unfortunate king was still alive; and a pseudo-Richard was found in the person of Ward, the court fool. But the fraud was unsuccessful. Various persons who had taken part in it were put to death, and among them Serle himself, who was executed in London, after making a full confession of his guilt. The rebellion of 1405 was organized by Archbishop Scrope, with whom were the Duke of Northumberland and Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, the son of Henry's old enemy, the late Duke of Norfolk. Again a manifesto was issued, charging King Henry with various heavy crimes, such as perjury, rebellion, and murder. Eight thousand men assembled, under the leadership of the archbishop and Mowbray, at Skipton le Moor, when they were suddenly confronted by Prince John, the king's third son, and the Earl of Westmoreland. A conference took place between the leaders on both sides. What passed is not known; but the insurgent leaders, probably induced by specious promises, disbanded their forces, and were then conveyed as prisoners to the king at Pontefract. Henry desired Gascoigne, the chief justice, to pass sentence upon them forthwith; and when that upright judge refused to condemn untried men to death, a knight named Fulthorp was found ready to do the king's bidding; and for the first time in England a prince of the Church died by the hand of the headsman. The deed excited much anger among the clergy; the Pope issued an excommunication against the perpetrators generally, but withdrew it on receiving an explanation from Henry, whose danger seemed to justify the use of extreme measures. The Duke of Northumberland fled to Scotland on learning the fate of his confederates, and implored help from the Government of Scotland. Henry marched rapidly northward, took the castle of Berwick, and then captured all the castles belonging to the Duke of Northumberland in the North.

New Revolt—Skipton le Moor.

A fortunate chance placed the king in a position of great advantage with respect to Scotland. The old weak King Robert of Scotland was compelled to take refuge in the Isle of Bute from the ambitious and unscrupulous Duke of Albany, who ruled the country as regent. The Duke of Rothsay, Robert's eldest son, had fallen into Albany's hands, and was starved to death in Falkland Castle. To preserve his second son, James, from a similar fate, Robert sent the young prince to France, with strong letters commending him to the protection of the French king. The prince's ship was captured by an English cruiser; and though there was a truce between England and Scotland, Henry kept the young prince in custody, first in the Tower, and then in Windsor Castle. James remained a captive for nineteen years; but he was well cared for and educated, and became celebrated afterwards as the first of royal poets; his work, "The King's Quhair," or book, composed in his captivity, contains poems of rare merit. During his enforced residence in England, he became acquainted with the Lady Jane Beaufort, to whom many of his poems are dedicated, and whom he afterwards married.

Capture of Prince James of Scotland.

Thus the true heirs to the throne of England and Scotland were both at one time in the power of Henry IV.

The last important outbreak against the king's authority was caused by his old enemy, the indefatigable Duke of Northumberland, who continually laboured like another Hannibal to raise up opponents against him, and again set up the standard of rebellion in the North in 1408, in conjunction with the Lord Bardolf, and some friends of the late Archbishop Scrope; but at Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster, on the 28th of February, he was defeated and slain by Sir Thomas Rokeby. Bardolf was captured and died of his wounds. Domestic troubles embittered the last years of the energetic and unscrupulous king. The success he had gained had been purchased with an amount of bloodshed and strife unusual even in those fighting days. He had seen the men by whose means he had attained the throne ranged against him as deadly enemies; and the suspicion and hardness naturally resulting from continual warfare had produced a sombre and gloomy state of mind, which became intensified as his labours sapped his bodily strength, and his health failed more and more. He suffered, moreover, from a disease resembling leprosy, and bodily discomfort was intensified by remorse. He is said also to have been seriously disquieted by the conduct of his eldest son, the Prince of Wales. In one of the last interviews he had with his son, the king is said to have advised the prince to find employment in foreign wars for the unquiet spirits who, if left to themselves, would be sure to raise civil strife at home.

Tadcaster—Death of Northumberland.

Troubles and Sickness of the King.

As the king was praying in Westminster Abbey, before the shrine of Edward the Confessor, he was seized with a fit, which proved fatal. He was removed, dying, to the abbot's apartment, which bore the name of the Jerusalem chamber; and there, after a turbulent but not inglorious or useless reign, the ambitious son of an ambitious father breathed his last. It was on the 20th of March, 1413. He had reigned for thirteen eventful years. His body was conveyed to Canterbury, and buried in the cathedral there.

Death of Henry IV.

Henry IV. was twice married—first to the Lady Mary de Bohun, daughter of the Earl of Hereford, and secondly to Joan, daughter of Charles, King of Navarre. He was in his forty-seventh year at the time of his death. By Mary de Bohun he had four sons: Prince Henry, who succeeded him as Henry V.; Thomas, Duke of Clarence; John, Duke of Bedford; and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; and two daughters, of whom the elder, Blanche, married the Elector of Bavaria, and Philippa, the younger, the King of Denmark. By his second wife, Joan of Navarre, he had no issue.

His Descendants.

The parliament of England increased greatly in power during the reign of Henry IV. Henry was especially cautious in demanding subsidies from the houses, and set up no kind of claim to lay taxes on the people without consent of parliament. The Commons established the right, which the king never questioned, of devoting to specific purposes the supplies voted by the houses; now, also, it became an established principle to

The Parliament: its increasing power.

make redress of grievances a condition of the granting of supplies; and in 1406 an important and memorable change was made. The king was obliged to accept a permanent council, by whose advice he was to act in matters of government; and the members of council were bound by an oath, taken in parliament, to defend the reformed institutions.

As Henry was anxious to secure the suffrage of parliament, so was he also equally desirous of the support of the Church. Thus was passed, under his sanction, the statute 'de heretico comburendo,' on the burning of heretics, which put into the hands of the Churchmen the terrible weapon of religious persecution for centuries to come. The first recorded execution under

Statute de Heretico Comburendo.

BARONIAL HALL OF THE 14TH CENTURY.

the new statute was that of William Sautre, the parish priest of St. Osyth's, in London.

The execution of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, in the reign of Henry V., excited still more attention; for Cobham had been the friend of the Prince of Wales; indeed, Shakespeare found it necessary, in the epilogue to Henry IV., to defend himself against the accusation of having brought Cobham on the stage in the character of Sir John Falstaff, whom the prince calls "my old lad of the castle"; and the poet declares "Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man."

Among the eminent men of letters of the time must be recorded the names of the theologians Peter of Blois, John Duns Scotus, the highly popular lecturer of the University of Oxford, Robert Gronthed, William Ockham, and the great 'morning star of the Reformation,' John Wyclif; among many chroniclers, Ralph Higden, the author of the 'Polychronicon,' Froissart, who was at one time secretary to Queen

Philippa, and has left us the best account of the French wars of Edward III., and of the various transactions as far as the death of Richard III., Giraldus Cambrensis; the notable Matthew Paris, besides Thomas Wykes, Walter Hemingford, Robert de Avesbury, Nicholas Trivet, Matthew of Westminster, and Henry Knighton; and far beyond and above all his contemporaries, the Father of English poetry, the immortal Geoffrey Chaucer, has given us, in his admirable "Canterbury Tales," a wonderful series of pictures of the men and women of his own time; and next to him comes John Gower, his contemporary and survivor, who wrote the "Vox Clamantis," "Speculum Meditantis," and "Confessio Amantis," and who claims Chaucer as "my disciple and my poëte." With these deserves to be classed, for his valuable rhyming chronicle, John Barbour, the historian of Wallace.

Men of Culture.

Chaucer and Gower.

The art of music was also held in high repute and consideration in this period, and musicians formed a part of the following of the nobles and gentry, being maintained in the houses of the great, and taking an important part in all public festivals and merrymakings. Among the sports and pastimes of the higher classes, after the tournament, which as an imitation, and indeed sometimes a realization of noble war, of course stood pre-eminent, hunting and hawking took the foremost rank. For the lower classes athletic sports formed a constant amusement. Some of these sports, such as archery and backsword and sword and buckler play, partook of the warlike character of the time, and constituted a kind of military exercise or drill; running at the quintain, with a pole, was a popular imitation of the tilting of the knights, and of the running at the ring with spears, in which the esquires and men-at-arms displayed their skill.

Sports and Pastimes.

A great and constant source of amusement was found in the practice of masquerading, or as it was called, mumming—from the German 'mummen,' to muffle or disguise. Vizors or masks, and disguises of all kinds were put on, as in a Christmas pantomime at the present day. The mummers in many instances assumed the appearance of birds or beasts, angels or demons. At Christmas time especially, a whole train of mummers appeared in the baron's hall or the knight's castle, St. George and the Dragon, Friar Tuck, Robin Hood, Maid Marian, burlesque knights on hobby horses, and the whole train of the Lord of Misrule being favourite characters. The present games of schoolboys and children had also their prototypes in those days. Thus the game of hoodman-blind is the mediæval form of blindman's buff, baseball and stool-ball, etc., are perpetuated in hockey, trap-ball and similar games, and even cricket was not unrepresented.

Mummers and Performers.

Public pageants or shows, of which we find about the last relic in the Lord Mayor's Show of the 9th of November, in London, also played a great part in the festivals of those days, and had considerable importance and significance, as the readiest method of spreading among the people the knowledge of important events, such as victories, the accession or marriage

Pageants and Shows.

of kings or princes, the birth of an heir to the throne, or similar occurrences. Victories over national enemies, and the public entry of kings on their triumphant return to the capital, were frequently celebrated by such shows, which had often an allegorical meaning, victory, justice, truth, mercy, and other ideas being personified by characters suitably habited. The interest of the people in public affairs, and their feelings of national pride and patriotism, were greatly promoted by these means. Similar to the pageants were the mystery and miracle plays, in which events from the Scriptures and stories from the legends of the saints were represented in the market places and streets of towns, on stages erected for the purpose.

Architecture.

Architecture flourished greatly, and the religious feeling of the nation found expression in the beautiful cathedrals that remain as the chief glory of those times. In considering the various orders of Gothic architecture in England, the concluding twenty-five years of each century may be looked upon as a period of transition from one style to another; the massive Norman architecture with its round arches gradually giving place to a lighter style, with high-pointed arches, known as the Early English. From about 1275, we have the transition from the Early English to the decorated style, with its beautiful and elaborate tracery, and rose windows of circular form. At the end of Edward the Third's reign we note the gradual change towards the Perpendicular style.

Condition of the People.

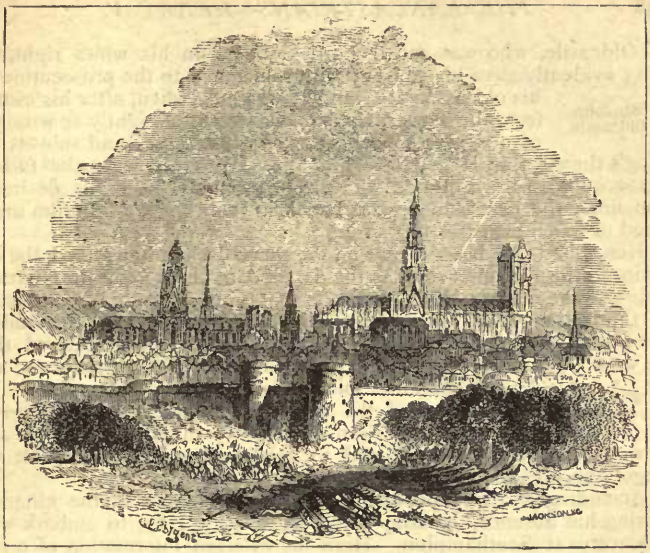
The condition of the lower classes was sufficiently miserable to shake the faith of the strongest believers in the happiness and comfort of the "good old times." Famine and pestilence were frequent scourges, and the food of the people was both coarse and insufficient. The middle and upper classes were, however, rapidly advancing in prosperity, commerce increased, and manufactures assumed a considerable degree of importance. Our ancestors kept early hours, breakfasting at six in the morning, dining at ten, supping at six, and retiring to bed at or before ten at night. In the richer families, a livery or collation of cakes and manchet bread and spiced wine was served shortly before bedtime. The beds were hard enough, a sack stuffed with straw, and sometimes straw without a case of any kind, doing the duty of a feather bed.

Domestic Habits.

Forks were unknown luxuries; and in many houses the food was placed before each guest on a platter or trencher, formed by a thick slice of bread. Sometimes these improvised plates were eaten by the family and guests after their contents had been cleared off; in charitable and wealthy families they were collected after each meal and distributed to the poor at the gate of the mansion.

Dress and Decorations.

The dress of each class was regulated by sumptuary laws, the breaking of which entailed a fine. The reign of Richard II. was especially remarkable for lavish expense in dress, and for extravagant fopperies of fashion, such as the wearing of prodigiously long hanging sleeves, and of boots with points that were fastened to the knees or the girdle with silver chains. The population of England is estimated at about two and a half millions at the commencement of the fifteenth century.



CHAPTER XVIII.

The Lancastrians.—Henry V.

A.D. 1413–1422.

Accession of Henry V. His Popularity. Sir John Oldcastle. Revived Claim to the French Crown. War with France. Plot against the King's life. Harfleur. Battle of Agincourt. Henry's return to London. The War resumed. Duke of Bedford's Victory at Harfleur. Miserable condition of France. Strife of Armagnacs and Burgundians. Massacre of the Armagnacs in Paris. Assassination of John, Duke of Burgundy. Ruin of the Armagnac Party. Treaty of Troyes in Champagne. Marriage of Henry V. with Catherine of France. Return of Henry to France. Birth of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry VI. Henry's last Triumphs in France. His Death at Vincennes. His last Directions. His Funeral. His Character. Subsequent Fortunes of Queen Catherine.

WHEN he ascended the throne, on the death of his father, Henry V. was received by the English people with joyful acceptance. His first acts, also, increased the general impression in his favour He caused the body of Richard II. to be removed from Langley, and reinterred in Westminster Abbey. He set free the Earl of March, and restored him his estates; and extended the like favour of restoration to the son of Henry Percy.

Popularity of Henry V.

The persecution of the Lollards might, under other circumstances, have interfered with his popularity; but in the case already mentioned

of Oldcastle, who was called Lord Cobham in his wife's right, the king evidently gave his consent with reluctance to the prosecution of his old associate; and it was only when, after his escape from the Tower, Cobham was accused, rightly or wrongly, of a design to collect 25,000 insurgents and subvert the king's throne, that Henry gave him up. His consent to the furious persecution of the Lollards was given, probably, from his desire to conciliate the Churchmen, who had it in their power to do him much good or much evil.

Sir John Oldcastle.

Henry had not been a year on the throne, when he revived the old claim to the French throne, as the descendant of his great-grandfather, Edward the Third. France was at that time distracted by the feuds of the factions of Burgundy and of the Armagnacs. After demanding the crown of France, and receiving no answer, Henry declared that he would be satisfied if the treaty of Bretigny were carried out, and Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, bestowed upon him. He also demanded the hand of Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI. of France, with two millions of crowns as a dowry. The French negotiated to compromise the matter, but the negotiations came to nothing.

War with France.

Accordingly, after appointing his brother regent of the kingdom during his absence, the king prepared in July, 1415, to embark with his army at Southampton. Here he received information of a plot against his crown and life, in which the chief conspirators were the king's cousin, Richard Earl of Cambridge, Sir Thomas Grey, a knight, and Lord Scroop of Masham, who had enjoyed the especial favour and confidence of the king. All three suffered death for their attempt. The king thereupon embarked upon his great enterprise, with an army of about 30,000 men of all kinds, including some 6,000 cavalry; and on the 13th of August, the fleet anchored in the mouth of the Seine, opposite Harfleur. The siege of that town was immediately begun; and Harfleur capitulated on the 22nd of September, after a resistance of a little more than a month.

Plot against the King's life.

Siege of Harfleur.

So great had been the losses of the king's army, even in the short campaign, that various of the leaders counselled re-embarkation for England; but to this Henry would not consent. His design was to march through the hostile country to Calais. Two great armies were now ready to oppose him, one under the king and the Dauphin, the other under the Constable of France. The march through Normandy further lessened the king's force; for provisions were almost unprocurable, and many perished from want, sickness, and exhaustion. On the 24th of October, Henry came in sight of the enemy's army, which, however, did not, as he expected, attack him at once, but fell back upon Agincourt; while the English king established his quarters for the night at Maisoncelles, a large village not far off.

March towards Calais.

Agincourt.

The hostile armies were encamped so close to each other that the noise of each could be plainly heard in the hostile lines. The English, though tired and exhausted by "rainy marches in the painful field," were cheerful and undismayed, and their trumpets and martial in-

struments sounded defiance at intervals in the ears of their enemies. The French, after lighting great fires to warm themselves and dry their garments, talked in their bivouacs of the prisoners they should take next day, and the ransoms they should gain.

The Night before Agincourt.

The king of England marshalled his troops in the early morning, with remarkable judgment and skill. They were divided into three bodies, with the archers in advance, and each archer was provided with a stout stake, sharpened at both ends and iron shod, which, fixed obliquely in the ground before him, formed an admirable defence. The king rode along the various divisions, encouraging them with words of hope and bravery. So, with cheerful alacrity each man prepared to do his best, all full of trust in their gallant leader. In the French host, on the other hand, there was no unity of action, or definite plan for the operations of the day. Nominally they were all under the command of the Constable, but the petulant young lords would not obey his commands. The English army, without allowing for losses on the march from Harfleur, could only muster 9,000 men, while the French, according to the lowest estimate, had 60,000.

Towards noon the order was given for the banners to advance, and the English moved bravely forward. The archers, when they had come within proper distance, fixed their stakes in front of them, and gave a loud shout. The French replied in like manner, and their foremost horsemen pressed onward against their foes; but they were met with a discharge of arrows which staggered them, while on their flank the ambushed archers poured in a withering discharge of cloth-yard shafts. Their army had been arrayed in files thirty deep, and they were all mingled together. The English files were but four deep, and had room to move readily. The first division, falling back, became helplessly entangled in some ploughed cornfields; whereupon the English archers, rushing forth with loud shouts from behind their stakes, made a massacre among the steel-clad French with their hatchets and billhooks. And now the gallant bowmen having done their part, King Henry advanced at the head of the men-at-arms against the second division of the French led by the Duke of Alençon. The Duke made a dash at the standard of England, and rushing at Henry, cut off a part of the crown that encircled his helmet, but was himself slain the next moment, and with his death the battle was virtually decided. The third division of the French, who had not yet been engaged, lost heart, though it was more than double the number of the whole English army, and began to fly from the field. An alarm was raised that a fresh force was advancing from the rear, where the baggage had been left under the care of horseboys and camp-followers. Then Henry gave the order that the prisoners were to be instantly killed, for he feared an attack from the reinforcements of the Duke of Brittany, who had been expected to arrive by the French; but the supposed hostile force proved to be only some plundering peasants of Maisoncelles, and the order was recalled.

Discomfiture of the French.

The slaughter of the French on this day was tremendous. Among the slain were a hundred and twenty great lords, and eight thousand

gentlemen, knights or esquires. A number of prisoners of rank, from the Duke of Orleans downwards, had also fallen into the victor's hands, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Counts of Eu, Vendôme, and Richemont, being also among the captives. The loss of the English at the highest estimate is set down at about sixteen hundred men, the Duke of York, uncle of the king, and the Earl of Suffolk, being the principal among them.

Number of the Slain and Prisoners.

After his great victory, King Henry proceeded on his way to Calais, whence he presently returned to England, carrying his prisoners with him. He was received with shouts of joyous welcome. According to the rough customs of the time, some of his jubilant subjects rushed into the sea at Dover, and carried the king on shore on their shoulders. The journey to London was a continued triumphal progress; and in the capital splendid pageants and public rejoicings, the conduits running wine, and the whole city rejoicing with the victory, marked the public appreciation of the deeds achieved by gallant King Henry and his undaunted followers.

Reception of Henry in London.

In France, the great defeat of Agincourt led to still further confusion in the already wretched government. For the moment, the Armagnacs had seized the king's authority, and the Count of Armagnac made a vigorous attempt to recover Harfleur from the English. He attacked the place both by sea and land; but the Duke of Bedford presently appeared with a fleet, and on the 15th of August, 1416, gained a gallant and hard-fought victory over the French; the battle being decided, after a tough struggle, by the already then favourite English device of carrying the enemy's ships by boarding. King Henry undertook another campaign in France, in which he was brilliantly successful, fortress after fortress falling into his hands. Indeed, the whole fighting power of France seemed so completely occupied in the fratricidal civil war between the Armagnac and Burgundian factions, that little strength was available to oppose the foreign invader. Caen, Bayeux, and Falaise successively fell into the hands of the English king, who, moreover, in the spring of 1418, received a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men; whereupon, after conquering the whole of Lower Normandy, he proceeded to invest Rouen, which fell on the 13th of January, 1419. Meanwhile a great change had taken place in the position of parties in France.

Duke of Bedford's Victory at Harfleur.

There were two opposing governments in France — that of the Armagnacs at Poictiers, or Bourges, acting under the name of the dauphin, and that of the Burgundians at Paris, who used the name of the imbecile king. Each opened negotiations with the king of England; and Henry, fully seeing his advantage, played off one against the other. He professed himself ready to make peace with the Duke of Burgundy; and Queen Isabella undertook that the French king and his council should agree to whatever conditions King Henry and the duke should fix upon. Thus was brought about the famous treaty of 1420, most inappropriately termed the Perpetual Peace. It was concluded at Troyes, in Champagne, whither the king of England proceeded with a great and magnificent following, arriving in the city on the 20th of May. The chief stipulations of the treaty were: that Henry should marry the Princess

Treaty of Troyes, 1420.

HENRY V. REVIEWING HIS MEN BEFORE AGINCOURT.

Catherine, on whom he was to settle an income of twenty thousand nobles; that during the life of the French king, Charles, he should rule France, as regent, with the advice and assistance of a council; and that on the king's death he should succeed to the throne, Normandy being re-annexed to the crown of France, provision being made for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the various classes of the French nation. The treaty was duly signed and sworn to. Henry was at once affianced to the Princess Catherine, and their marriage followed on the 2nd of June. In January, 1421, Henry brought home his bride to England, and the beautiful young queen was crowned in Westminster Abbey.

The King's Marriage.

The work in France, however, was not yet done. The king left his brother Clarence in command in France; and the duke was surprised and attacked at Beaujé by a body of troops of the dauphin's faction, reinforced by some thousands of Scots under the Earl of Buchan. Clarence was slain in the attack. Henry saw the necessity of a speedy return to France, whither he accordingly at once repaired with an army of some thirty thousand men; Victory attended his efforts as before; all France north of the Loire, except Anjou and Maine, submitted to him. Queen Catherine gave birth to a son on the 6th of December, 1421, at Windsor Castle. Soon afterwards she joined him in France with the infant prince, and the English king and his French queen entered Paris, and kept their state in the Louvre.

Return of Henry to France.

Birth of a Prince of Wales.

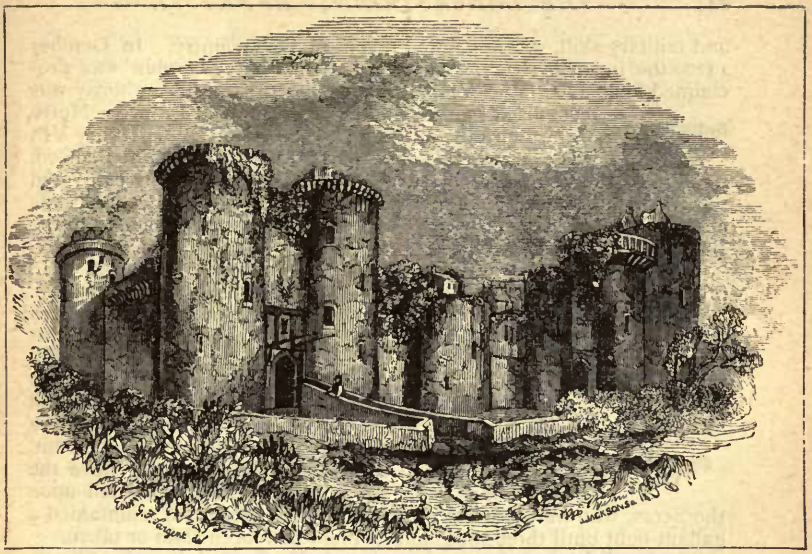
Here his glorious career came to a close. He had been for some time suffering from a painful disease, and was obliged to retire to Vincennes. The Duke of Bedford was hastily summoned to his bedside. He appointed his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, to be regent in England, and the Duke of Bedford to undertake the same duty in France, during the minority of his son; especially recommended that the princes taken at Agincourt should not be set at liberty. He caused the seven penitential psalms to be recited by his bedside, and soon afterwards expired, on the 31st of August, 1424, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

His obsequies were most magnificent. After a solemn funeral service in the Church of Notre Dame in Paris, the corpse was borne, with a great procession, and with every mark of respect, through the different towns, to Calais, and thence escorted by a fleet to Dover, and so to London, where, after services in St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey, it was interred near the shrine of Edward the Confessor.

His Funeral.

The young Queen Catherine, after her short but brilliant reign, continued to reside in England as Queen Dowager. She afterwards married a Welsh gentleman, Sir Owen Tudor, and had two sons by her second husband, Edmund, Earl of Richmond, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke; and after many troublous years, her descendants ruled, as the Tudor kings over an England greatly increased in population, importance, and prosperity.

Queen Catherine's Fortunes.



CHAPTER XIX.

The Lancastrians.—Henry VI.

A.D. 1422–1461.

Accession. Regency of Gloucester, Bishop Beaufort, and Bedford. War in France. Release of James of Scotland. Battle of Verneuil. Gloucester and Jacqueline of Hainault. Siege of Orleans. Battle of Herrings. Joan d'Arc. Charles VII. crowned at Rheims. Successes of the French. Capture, Trial, and Execution of the Maid of Orleans. Coronation of Henry VI. in Paris. Reverses of the English. Conclusion of the War. Factions in England. Marriage of the King with Margaret of Anjou. Death of Gloucester and Beaufort. Fall of Suffolk. Rebellion of Jack Cade. Duke of York's claim to the Crown. Council of Regency. War of the Roses. Battle of St. Albans. St. Albans. Wakefield Green. Death of Richard Duke of York. Murder of the Earl of Rutland. Cruelties of the Leaders. Mortimer's Cross. Second Battle of St. Albans. Proclamation of Edward Duke of York as King.

AT the death of his heroic father, the heir to the throne of England was barely nine months old. The Duke of Gloucester was appointed protector of the Realm and Church, and was to preside in the council while the Duke of Bedford remained abroad. Of the sixteen members of whom the council consisted, the most prominent were the Earl of Warwick and the Bishop of Winchester, Henry Beaufort, a son of John of Gaunt by his third wife, Catherine Swynford, and consequently great-uncle to the infant king.

The Regency: Gloucester and Bishop Beaufort.

The Duke of Bedford, already renowned in France for his valour

and military skill, was appointed regent in that country. In October 1422, the imbecile King Charles VI. died. The dauphin was proclaimed king as Charles VII. by his partisans; but his authority was recognised scarcely in the fourth part of France. North of the Loire the authority of the infant king, Henry VI., was everywhere acknowledged; and the regent Bedford, mindful of the counsel of his deceased brother, sedulously cultivated the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy The Duke of Bretagne was also induced to give the weight of his authority and influence to the Burgundian faction.

Bedford Regent in France.

For the time the war, rekindled by the claims of Charles VII., proceeded favourably to Bedford and the English and their allies. The Duke of Bedford reduced to submission the towns and strong places in the north that had declared for Charles, who, though afterwards known by the surname of the Victorious, showed himself—at least at that period—unworthy of the exertions his party were making for him in risking their lives and fortunes for his cause. An army of Frenchmen, in alliance with a Scottish force, laid siege to the fortress of Crevant. Bedford despatched the Earl of Salisbury to relieve the town. The brunt of the combat before Crevant fell upon the Scots, who were deserted by their French allies, but maintained a gallant fight until three thousand of them had been slain or taken.

War in France.

Siege of Crevant.

The English government now offered the Scottish king his liberty, after a detention of nineteen years in England, on condition that he promised to pay a sum of £40,000, and forbade his subjects from making war against England in France or elsewhere. King James consented to these conditions, and at length returned to his own country. But the spirit of the French nation was rising after a long period of discouragement and apathy; and discontents among the most important of the allies of the English worked favourably for the cause of the dauphin. A secret compact had been made between the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany; and the Count de Richemont, offended by Bedford's refusing him a separate command, detached himself from the English interest. All the energy of Bedford was not sufficient to prevent secret understandings with the opposite party by the French. In 1424 a mixed army of French, Scots, and Italians, sent to the succour of Charles by the Duke of Milan, advanced to the relief of the strong town of Trean in Normandy, which was besieged by the Duke of Bedford, after having declared for Charles. But the English had taken up so strong a position, that the dauphin's force forbore to attack them, and turned aside towards Verneuil. Here a battle was fought on the 17th of August. After a three hours' contest, the French and their allies fled in all directions. The Scots suffered terribly, alike in the rank and file, and in their leaders. The whole loss of the French is estimated at between three and four thousand men, while the Duke of Bedford had purchased the victory with the lives of sixteen hundred of his followers. The victory of Verneuil, the last important triumph of the English in France, brought them no lasting advantage; and for the general defection of the foreign

Release of James I. of Scotland.

English Victory of Verneuil.

allies, which soon afterwards turned the scale of victory, the Duke of Gloucester cannot be pronounced altogether blameless; for his marriage with Jacqueline of Holland, and the ambitious claim he endeavoured to enforce upon the territories of that princess, produced great and lasting anger in the hearts of the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany. Jacqueline married the Duke of Gloucester, who forthwith claimed Hainault, Holland, and Zealand. This naturally excited the violent anger of the Duke of Burgundy, which was increased when, shortly after the battle of Verneuil, Gloucester and Jacqueline landed with five thousand Englishmen in France, and marching to Hainault, attacked the territories of Burgundy's cousin, the Duke of Brabant. For a year and a half Gloucester continued in Hainault a contest in which he had no chance of success. Want of money, and the increasing power at the English court of his enemy and rival, Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, at length induced him to return to England, leaving Jacqueline behind him. She fell into the power of the duke at Mons. Soon afterwards Pope Martin V. declared Jacqueline's marriage with Gloucester null and void. The duke himself acquiesced in the papal decision in the most practical manner, by marrying Eleanor, the daughter of Lord Reginald Cobham.

Gloucester and Jacqueline of Holland.

Struggle of Gloucester in Hainault.

On Bedford's return to France, in 1428, it was resolved to carry on the war with renewed vigour; the campaign was now to be signalized by the siege of Orleans, a strongly fortified and important city on the right bank of the Loire. The enterprise was entrusted to the renowned Earl of Salisbury, who advanced against the city at the head of ten thousand men. It was the 12th of October, when Salisbury arrived before the town. On the 23rd he captured the Tournelles, a strong castle on the left bank of the river; but a few days afterwards he was fatally wounded, to the great regret of his army. The Earl of Suffolk now took the command. Throughout the winter the blockade was maintained. On Ash Wednesday of 1829, Sir John Falstaff, or Fastolfe, left Paris with fifteen hundred men, escorting a large convoy of provisions for the use of the besieging army. A force of four thousand men, Scots and Frenchmen, endeavoured to intercept him, under the Count of Clermont and Sir John Stewart, the Constable of Scotland. The French, who insisted on fighting on horseback, did little service. The Scots, who made a gallant attempt to break the phalanx or square into which Fastolfe had formed his force, with the wagons as a fortification, were discomfited by the tremendous volleys of the British archers, and at last were obliged to retire, leaving six hundred men dead on the field, including Sir John Stewart and his son. This combat, which is known as the battle of the Herrings, was fought on the 12th of February, 1429.

Commencement of the Siege of Orleans.

Battle of Herrings, 1429.

The king, Charles, is said to have meditated abandoning the struggle altogether, and escaping into Scotland or Spain, and to have been only dissuaded by the appeals his mistress, the fair Agnes Sorel, made to his nobler feelings. Just when his prospects seemed darkest, a great turn of fortune in his favour was brought about by a phenomenon as astonishing as has

Apathy of Charles VII.

ever appeared in the history of any age or nation. At the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, in Champagne, lived a peasant family named D'Arc. Joan, one of its daughters, a girl of enthusiastic temperament and fervent piety, was deeply touched by the calamities of her country; her intense sympathy with the suffering around her, engendered and matured in her the fixed belief that she was chosen by Heaven to bring deliverance to France. She fancied she saw around her a bright light, and angelic forms with wings, who exhorted her to take up the great task she was appointed to fulfil. More and more frequently did the spirit voices sound to her exalted mind, as the horrors of war came nearer to her native village; and at length they took the definite form of a revelation to her, that she was destined to deliver the dauphin from his enemies, and to bring him to Rheims to be crowned. Accordingly she presented herself before the commander at Vaucouleurs, the Sire de Baudricourt, who gave permission that she should be conducted to Charles. The people of Vaucouleurs, in whom her appearance had raised a hope of deliverance from the national enemy, fitted her out for the expedition. She put on male attire, at the command, she said, of the mysterious voices; she was mounted on a white charger and attended by two squires, who were sworn to conduct her safely to the king's presence, and arrived safely at Chinon, where Charles was sojourning with his court.

Character of Joan d'Arc.

Joan's Journey to Chinon.

It is said that though she had never seen the king, she recognised him at once among his following. She announced her mission with such firmness and confidence in herself and her powers, that Charles, after a long conversation with her, was convinced of its reality. Thereupon it was resolved to make use of her, to rouse the drooping spirits of the dauphin's army. She was furnished with a suit of new armour, and placed at the head of a troop of chosen horsemen, mounted on a white horse, and with a banner borne before her. The enthusiasm caused by her appearance brought crowds of new recruits to Charles's banners. The relief of Orleans was the first part of the mission which Joan confidently declared herself destined to fulfil. An army of seven thousand men was put under the command of La Hire, and despatched to Orleans with a supply of provisions. Joan marched thither in their company. A convoy of boats carried the provisions down the Loire to the beleaguered city, while a large army, moving along the left bank of the river, watched and protected it. The garrison of Orleans, sallied forth from several of the gates with loud cries of "The maid! the maid!" and Joan was enabled to get into the city with a reinforcement, and supplies of food. The English gave up the idea of reducing Orleans, and retired from the city; and thus Orleans was saved.

Joan's Mission accepted.

Expedition to relieve Orleans.

After abandoning the siege of Orleans, the Earl of Suffolk shut himself up in Jargeau, a strong place not far off, to await reinforcements from the Duke of Burgundy. He was speedily besieged by the royalist army with Joan, who took part in an assault. She attempted to scale the walls, but was flung into the ditch. Still she called upon the soldiers to advance,

Capture of Jargeau.

declaring that Heaven had yielded the place into their hands. Full of zeal and confidence, the besiegers entered the fortress at an unguarded spot. The Earl of Suffolk himself was taken prisoner. Lord Talbot now took the command, and led the English forces towards Paris, pursued by the French army. The impassioned eloquence of Joan induced their leaders to give battle to the English at Patay, where Talbot, though earnestly recommended by Sir John Fastolfe to wait for reinforcements, persisted in making a stand, and receiving the enemy's attack. The result was a disastrous defeat to the English. Talbot, fighting desperately to retrieve the fortunes of the day, was taken prisoner. The army of Charles, led by La Hire and Santrailles, now proceeded towards Auxerre; which made submission to the king immediately on his arrival. Troyes opened its gates, and on the 15th of July, 1429, Charles entered Rheims, where he was solemnly crowned in the cathedral two days afterwards. By his side stood the maid of Orleans, holding her banner; she had accomplished the mission to which she had considered herself called, and now craved, even with tears, of the king, that he would dismiss her. But the king considered her too important to be spared, and on various pretexts induced her to remain with his army. But the unhesitating confidence and the fervent conviction of success which had animated her, while she believed herself an agent chosen by Heaven to bring about a certain end, had now deserted her.

English Defeat at Patay.

Coronation of Charles VII. at Rheims.

The position of the Duke of Bedford was now one of great peril and difficulty. He was badly seconded from England The continual strife between his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and his uncle, the Bishop of Winchester, distracted the attention of the English government from the contest in France. The Duke of Bedford advanced to encounter the army of Charles, which was greatly superior to his own in number. The opposing forces met at Senlis, but after watching each other for three days, the armies marched from the field. Bedford led his army into Normandy, and Charles directed his march upon Paris, which was held by the English. An attack made on the 12th of September on the suburb of St. Honoré failed entirely, though the Maid of Orleans showed her wonted heroism. Charles, hearing that the Duke of Bedford was advancing against him once more from Normandy, retired from before Paris, and continued his retreat until he had placed the Loire between himself and his foes. Bedford entered Paris, where he was joined by Duke Philip of Burgundy.

Difficult Position of Bedford.

Charles VII. before Paris.

At Compiègne, to which the Duke of Burgundy laid siege in the next year, 1430, Joan of Arc headed a sally against the enemy. Her men were obliged to retire before the Burgundians; and Joan, striving to rally the troops, was left behind them in the retreat. She surrendered to the Bastard of Vendôme, who delivered her up to the commander of the army, John of Luxemburg. The Bishop of Beauvais made such strong representations to the Dukes of Burgundy and Luxemburg that Joan was delivered up to him; and, after some months, was brought to trial at Rouen. Heresy and sorcery were the charges on which, for sixteen days, the

Capture of Joan d'Arc at Compiègne.

Maid of Orleans was called on to defend herself. She astonished and frequently baffled her judges by the clearness and the strong sense of her replies. She maintained the reality of her inspiration, and declared that the voices she had heard were those of heavenly messengers. When her simple eloquence made an impression on the assembly, the Bishop of Beauvais silenced her with threats and invective. Joan submitted at last, and affixed her mark—for she could not write—to a written confession of heresy and a profession of repentance. Upon this, her sentence was commuted to one of perpetual imprisonment. But a soldier's dress was left in her cell, probably by design, and she was discovered with it on. Thereupon she was condemned to suffer death by fire as a relapsed heretic, and the sentence was carried out on the 30th of May in the market-place at Rouen. The Cardinal Beaufort and some English bishops were seated in a gallery to witness the execution; but it is recorded that they rose from their seats and departed in tears before the sorrowful scene was concluded. Joan was executed as a relapsed heretic, apostate, and idolater. Charles made not the slightest effort to save her, nor did he show any interest in, or care for, her fate. Directly she ceased to be useful she was looked upon as one already dead.* A quarter of a century later the proceedings at her trial were revised by command of the pope, and the condemnation reversed.

Trial and Condemnation of Joan.

Her Execution.

In 1431 the regent Bedford brought over the young king Henry to Paris, where he was crowned in November, in Nôtre Dame, the crown being placed on his head by Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. A year later, in November, 1432, the Duchess of Bedford died. Philip of Burgundy made Bedford's marriage the next year with Jacquetta of Luxemburg, a vassal of Burgundy, a cause of quarrel. The health of the Duke of Bedford was declining, and the time had evidently come when negotiations for peace should be entertained. Accordingly, in 1435, a great congress for a general pacification was held at Arras, Cardinal Beaufort appearing for England, with a following of English and French lords. But the demands of the English were exorbitant. Consequently the negotiations led to nothing. But the Duke of Burgundy had now an opportunity of reconciliation with the King of France, which was accordingly brought about, Charles expressing regret for the old crime on the bridge of Montereau; a considerable cession of territory, including Peronne and some other fortresses on the Somme, was made to Philip.

Coronation of Henry VI. in Paris.

Peace Conference at Arras.

Reconciliation of Charles and Philip.

The great Duke of Bedford died while the congress of Arras was still sitting. He was succeeded by the Duke of York, who, however, never gave the undivided attention that Bedford had bestowed upon

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* It is right to observe that of late years considerable doubt has been cast upon the record of the fate of Joan; and that according to investigations made by the late M. Octave Delepierre, there is some probability that the execution recorded as that of Joan was in reality that of another victim of the Inquisition,—that Jehanne la Pucelle was living some years subsequent to these events.

THE CITY WATCH IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

them to affairs in France. Famine and pestilence, by which England and France were alike visited, interrupted the warlike operations of the next year. In 1440 the chief event was the recovery by the English, under Talbot and the Earl of Somerset, of Harfleur, the first conquest of Henry V. On the other hand, Charles took Pontoise in 1441, and then the war lingered on, until a cessation of hostilities for two years was arranged in 1444.

Truce with France.

During the years in which Bedford was upholding the English cause in France, the young king had been advancing towards manhood in age far more rapidly than in character. A mild, feeble disposition, easily swayed by whoever chose to assume authority, he was the

last man to govern a turbulent nobility in unquiet times. During his minority, court and parliament alike were divided into the factions of Cardinal Beaufort and the Protector, Gloucester. The impetuous Protector was no match for the crafty, ambitious, and wealthy priest. The triumph of the cardinal over the Duke of Gloucester was manifest in 1349, when, against the Protector's strenuous advice, he succeeded in procuring the liberation of the Duke of Orleans, one of the captives of Agincourt.

Character of Henry VI.

Another token of the waning power of Gloucester was seen in an insult put upon him in 1441. His duchess was accused of sorcery. She was alleged to have plotted the death of the king, with Roger Bolingbroke, a chaplain of the duke's, and Margery Jourdain, a reputed witch. Bolingbroke was executed as a traitor, and Margery Jourdain burnt as a heretic. The duchess was compelled to do public penance, with a taper in her hand, and was then sent to perpetual imprisonment.

Trial of the Duchess of Gloucester.

The question of the king's marriage was taken into consideration. Gloucester was overruled by the Beaufort faction, who selected Margaret, daughter of Réné, Duke of Anjou, as the king's bride. Margaret was a beautiful woman, of an imperious and domineering temper, and possessed of no small talent for government. She was related to the King of France, with whom she was supposed to have considerable influence. The Earl of Suffolk was sent over to arrange the match, and acting on his own authority, consented that Anjou and Maine, which the English still held, should be given up to the phantom King Réné, thus yielding to France territories that had been won by a lavish expenditure of English blood and treasure. The earl was raised to the rank of a marquis immediately on his return. Margaret, by the absolute ascendancy she gained over her husband, was enabled for some years to rule the kingdom, in conjunction with Cardinal Beaufort. His nephew, the Duke of Somerset, and Suffolk, whom she regarded with especial favour, became unpopular in a short time. At the beginning of 1447, the ruin of Gloucester had been determined on. A parliament was summoned to meet at Bury St. Edmunds. The knights of the shire were ordered to come armed to this parliament, and the king was surrounded with armed guards. Gloucester was arrested on the 11th of February, the day after the opening of the parliament, on a charge of high treason, and on the 28th he was found dead in his bed. His corpse was exhibited to the people, as in the case of Edward II. and Richard II., and it was asserted that he had died of apoplexy, caused probably by grief at his arrest; but the general suspicion pointed to murder, and Suffolk and the queen were secretly pointed at as the murderers. A great part of his estates was seized upon by Suffolk, who divided them among his own partisans. These proceedings increased the sympathy of the people for the memory of the good Duke Humphrey.

The King's Marriage.

Suffolk and Margaret of Anjou.

Death of the Duke of Gloucester.

A few weeks afterwards, the cardinal, his rival, died at the age of fourscore; an ambitious and grasping man, of great wealth and insatiable covetousness. To the last, it is said, he cherished hopes of

gaining the great prize of the Church, the papal crown. "More noble of blood than notable in learning," the chronicler Hall says in describing his character, "haughty of stomach and high in countenance, rich above measure of all men, and to few liberal, disdainful to his kin and dreadful to his lovers, preferring money before friendship, many things beginning and nothing performing."

Death of Cardinal Beaufort.

The consequences of the cession of Anjou and Maine to France soon became apparent. They were the key to Normandy, and soon that important possession was attacked. Dunois, the Bastard of Orleans, made himself master of Rouen itself, and not all the valour of the good Lord Talbot could save the city for England. The English possessions in Guienne also were attacked; and at length, in 1451, of all the heritage in France, the town of Calais alone remained.

Loss of Franco.

On the head of Suffolk, who had been made a duke, was accumulated all the wrath of the nation. In January, 1450, the Lords committed Suffolk to the Tower. Sixteen charges were exhibited against him, such as embezzlement of the public money, ill-advice given to the king, and the corrupt distribution of pardons and offices. The king made an effort to save him by pronouncing him neither guilty nor innocent on the charge of treason, and banishing him for five years from the kingdom on the other indictment. The Londoners were furious at the prospect of their enemy's escape. He embarked at Ipswich with his retinue, in two small ships, for Calais. Before he could land there his ships were brought to by a large war-ship, the *Nicholas of the Tower*. Suffolk was ordered to come on board, and on the third day a small boat came alongside, in which was an executioner, with a block and a long sword. Suffolk was handed down into the boat, and his head was struck off. The employment of the war-ship in the business shows that it was arranged by persons of power and distinction.

Fall of the Duke of Suffolk.

Suffolk's Death.

Soon after the death of Suffolk, the singular outbreak occurred known as Cade's rebellion. John Cade, the leader, is said to have been an Irishman by birth, and to have served as a soldier in the English army in France. He appeared suddenly in arms at Blackheath, at the head of twenty thousand Kentish men. He assumed the name of Mortimer, and justified his appearance at the head of an army by two papers which he handed in to the king, and which were entitled respectively "The Complaints of the Commons of Kent" and "The Request of the Captain of the Great Assembly in Kent." The "complaint" set forth the usual grievances,—unjust and unequal taxation, extortion by collectors of taxes and other hardships. Special complaint was made that the princes of the blood were exiled from the king's presence while mean and corrupt persons surrounded him. The second document spoke out still more plainly, demanding that the king should dismiss "all the false progeny and affinity of the Duke of Suffolk." It has been imagined that Cade had received some secret instigation from the followers of the Duke of York, as that noble was already meditating

Cade and his Grievances.

ambitious projects upon the crown. An army was collected, and marched against the rebels, who retreated before it; but, making a stand at Sevenoaks, gained a victory over the king's men, and killed their leader, Stafford. Emboldened by success, they re-turned to Blackheath, led by Cade, who dressed himself in the fallen knight's armour. The king having entrusted the defence of the Tower to Lord Scales withdrew to Kenilworth for safety. Cade thereupon advanced to Southwark, and on the 3rd of July, entered the city. It is recorded that he struck his sword upon the celebrated London stone, saying, "Now is Mortimer lord of London!" The next day Lord Say, the royal chamberlain, who had fallen into the hands of the insurgents, was put to death. Presently Cade's followers began sacking houses in the city, whereupon the citizens resolved to debar the insurgents from entering London on the next day. Cade and his men tried to force London Bridge, on which a conflict took place. The citizens proved victorious. The next day the king's pardon was offered to all who would retire to their homes. This had the effect of breaking up the force. Cade, however, was again in Southwark two days afterwards, with a large following; but his partisans quarrelled among themselves, and a price had been set on Cade's head. He retreated to Rochester. There he flung himself on a horse, and fled into Sussex; but was overtaken by Alexander Iden, an esquire, by whom he was slain. His head was fixed up on London Bridge. Various of his followers were afterwards executed as traitors.

Cade at Blackheath and Southwark.

Fate of Cade.

In the year 1451 the Duke of York, after assembling his followers at Ludlow Castle, appeared at the head of four thousand men before the king at Westminster, and implored him to convene a parliament, which the king promised to do. The queen's party resolved to put forward the Duke of Somerset in opposition to York. Accordingly, in the next month, Somerset arrived from abroad; and when the parliament met, the two dukes angrily reproached each other. In the end, the Duke of York summoned the partisans of the house of Mortimer, with whom he marched to London. The Londoners shut the gates against him, whereupon he had a conference with the king. York demanded the immediate arrest of the Duke of Somerset; then the duke himself stepped from behind a curtain, and confronted him with many hard words. The king, ordered York to be arrested, but on the announced approach of Edward, Earl of March, the Duke's son, York was released. He retired to his castle of Wigmore.

Return of York from Ireland.

Arrest and Release of York.

At this time it was determined to make an effort to recover Guienne, and the veteran Talbot was put at the head of four or five thousand soldiers, to undertake the expedition. He was presently joined by his son, Lord Lisle, with about three thousand more. At first the result was encouraging. But the next year Talbot was slain. His son perished with him. Bordeaux, after holding out to the last extremity, was compelled to submit to the army of Charles. To the queen and her faction, the effect was an ever-increasing unpopularity, one result of which is seen in the recall of the Duke of York to the councils of the king. The birth of a prince

Last Attempt to Recover Guienne.

was regarded as likely to lead to further complications; for it took away the hope that if the king died childless, the Duke of York might gain the throne, by peaceful succession. About this time, also, Henry sank into a state of entire apathy and imbecility. Somerset had been committed to the Tower when the York faction gained the ascendancy. The Duke of York was appointed Protector "during pleasure," until the king should recover, or till Prince Edward came of age.

Birth of Edward, Prince of Wales.

After nine months, King Henry recovered in some degree. The Duke of York immediately resigned his office; and the king, probably under the directions of Margaret and her party, released Somerset from custody and restored him to favour. York now became alarmed for his safety; he retired to his estates, where he assembled his vassals; and being joined by the lords of Warwick, Norfolk, and Salisbury, advanced towards the capital with about 3,000 men. The king went forth, or rather was taken, to meet him, with a force about equal in number, who had advanced as far as St. Albans, when the banners of the duke were seen approaching. It was the 22nd of May, 1455. The advantage of position was with the king's soldiers, who were in the town; but Warwick and his men contrived to enter the town by another route, whereupon the soldiers of the king fled. The whole conflict lasted hardly an hour; it was the first time the followers of York and those of Lancaster met in hostile array. About one hundred and twenty * of the Lancastrians fell on the field, among them Northumberland and Clifford, and the Duke of Somerset himself.

Battle of St. Albans, 1455.

The war of York and Lancaster, which commenced with this battle, forms the darkest period of the history of England. The old observances and courtesies of chivalry were now no longer observed. Vindictive cruelty and malice took the place of knightly consideration; and the chief aim and striving of each party seems to have been to inflict the greatest possible amount of damage on its opponents.

The War of the Roses.

The unfortunate Henry VI. at times completely insane, was made the mouthpiece of the party which had him in its power. Immediately after the battle of St. Albans, York appeared before him, calling on him to rejoice, for the traitor Somerset was dead. A parliament was then called and the king publicly exonerated York and his partisans from blame in connection with the battle of St. Albans, and the Duke of York was once more declared Protector of the realm. The next year, however, Henry, having once more fallen under the influence of the queen and her friends, pronounced the protectorate at an end, and took away the duke's office from him. York retired to his castle of Wigmore, and the queen ruled once again.

Second Protectorate of York.

For more than two years the queen's party kept the ascendancy.

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* Several historians have remarked on the circumstances of this battle, as indicating the tendency of the chroniclers to exaggerate numbers. Hall gives the number of slain at St. Albans at 8,000, and Stowe at 5,000; while the number "six score" is given in the Paston letters, by one of that family, who was present in the battle, and wrote directly after the day of combat.

The Duke of York made no open attempt to reverse the state of things; but during this time the great parties of Yorkists and Lancastrians were definitely separated into two hostile factions. York and his friends the Nevilles, the house of Warwick, had remained for some time in the north, unwilling to face the queen's party until they had increased their own strength. Margaret summoned them to London in 1458, it is said at the suggestion of Archbishop Bourchier and other men of moderate temper, to effect a reconciliation. The outward forms of reconciliation were gone through, Yorkists and Lancastrians marching in company to St. Paul's Cathedral to hear mass. But it was at best but a hollow truce. The queen removed the king and the court to Coventry and the Yorkist lords retired to their castles in the north. Soon after the Earl of Warwick, being assailed by a mob in the streets of London, betook himself to his government of Calais, and from thence opened a correspondence with the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury for a rising, with the object of placing the crown on the head of the Duke of York. So far as hereditary right was concerned, there is no doubt that the pretensions of the duke were well founded. The Duke of York was the lineal representative of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, an older son of Edward III. than John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. But long possession would have been considered as more than an equivalent to hereditary right, if Henry VI. had been a king of even moderate energy and ability. But the queen and her favourites had rendered themselves odious, by harshness and tyranny, while the Duke of York had made himself popular, by mildness and affability. It was not until the government had become hateful, that the banner of the white rose of York was raised in opposition to the red rose of Lancaster.

Apparent Reconciliation of the Factions.

Popularity of the Duke of York.

The Earl of Salisbury towards the end of the summer of 1459 marched towards London with five thousand men, to join the army of the Duke of York. Queen Margaret sent against him Lord Audley with nearly ten thousand. At Bloreheath, near the borders of Shropshire and Staffordshire, the two hostile armies met on the 23rd of September, 1459. Salisbury drew the enemy after him, turned suddenly upon their disordered ranks, and utterly defeated them, their leader, Lord Audley, being killed with two thousand of his men, while Lord Dudley and other chiefs fell into the hands of the victors. At Ludlow, Salisbury effected his purpose—junction with the Duke of York and his forces; and presently Warwick, the son of Salisbury, had come over from Calais with a body of veteran troops under Sir John Blount and Sir Andrew Trollop. But Trollop and his troops went over to the king's side, the forces of York dispersed, and the duke and his sons took refuge in Ireland, while the two Nevilles, Salisbury, and Warwick, fled to France. The next year, 1460, saw Warwick return from the Continent with a force he had mustered in his government at Calais. In Kent his followers increased in number so rapidly that he entered London with twenty-five thousand men. With these he marched northward, and at Northampton encountered the army of the king, or rather of the queen, over whom he gained a complete

Battle of Bloreheath, 1459.

York's Victory at Northampton, 1460.

victory on the 10th of July, 1460. Queen Margaret and the boy Prince of Wales fled to Scotland.

The victorious Yorkists, who now had possession of the king's person, returned to London. Presently the Duke of York, who had come over from Ireland, entered London at the head of a great retinue. A few days later he sent in to the chancellor a formal claim to the crowns of England and France. The judges and the king's counsel and attorneys, appealed to, on the question, urged the long possession of the Lancastrian family, the oaths of fealty sworn to them, and the entails by which the crown was established in the house of Lancaster. At length a compromise was arrived at to the effect that Henry should retain the crown during his lifetime, and that the Duke of York and his heirs should inherit after him. The compact might have been carried out but for the energetic action of Margaret of Anjou; the high-spirited queen determined not to surrender the rights of the son whom his father had thus tamely abandoned. The party of the Lancastrians was strong in the north, and soon the followers of the Earl of Northumberland, with Lords Dacre, Clifford, and other chiefs, mustered in the cause of Margaret, and presently they were joined by the Earl of Devon and the Duke of Somerset. Thus the queen was surrounded by a very considerable army when she appeared before the castle of Sandal, near Wakefield, the residence of the Duke of York. The duke marched his army to Wakefield Green on the 30th of December, 1460. He was instantly attacked with superior forces by Margaret. His troops were completely defeated in less than an hour. The duke himself perished on the fatal day of Wakefield. Some accounts represent him as having been slain in the battle, and others assert that he was taken prisoner, and after suffering mockery and insult at the hands of his captors, was beheaded by them. His head was brought to Margaret, it is said, by the ruthless Lord Clifford, crowned with paper, in mockery of the duke's pretensions to the throne; by her order the head was fixed up with its paper diadem on one of the gates of York, where that of Lord Salisbury was presently placed beside it.

York's Claim to the Crown.

Compact for York's Succession.

Battle of Wakefield Green, 1460.

An incident horrible even in these ruthless times disgraced the victory. The little Earl of Rutland, the youngest son of the Duke of York—a boy only twelve years of age—was being conveyed to a place of safety by his tutor, Sir Robert Aspall, a venerable priest. On the bridge at Wakefield they were met by the cruel Lord Clifford, who plunged his dagger in the boy's heart. Lord Clifford's father had been killed by the Yorkists at St. Albans.

Murder of Rutland.

The queen certainly set a bad example of vengeance and of cruelty to captives, which recoiled heavily upon herself, when her foes took the opportunity of requiting her in kind.

In the long contest of the Roses, Richard Duke of York stands out as almost the only chief who had regard to the dictates of chivalry. His respect for law and order, and for the decrees of parliament, his mild and merciful treatment of King Henry when that unhappy monarch fell into his power,

Character of the Duke of York.

and his humanity towards prisoners and vanquished foes, form a striking contrast to the proceedings of the other leaders in the hour of victory. Edward, Earl of March, now Duke of York by the death of his father at Wakefield, was at Gloucester when the fatal news reached him. He was marching to bar the queen's way to London, when he was obliged to encounter a force of Welsh and Irish, under Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke. At Mortimer's Cross, near Hereford, on the 1st of February, 1461, he gained a complete victory over the Lancastrians. Jasper Tudor contrived to escape. Three thousand six hundred Lancastrians perished in the fight of Mortimer's Cross.

Battle of Mortimer's Cross, 1461.

The queen had been making her way towards the capital with her army. The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Norfolk, in whose hands King Henry then was, placed themselves across her path at St. Albans, where, on the 17th of February, the Yorkists were defeated with the loss of two thousand men. Warwick was obliged to retreat in such haste, that he left the king behind him in a tent, where he was found by the queen and the Prince of Wales. Thereupon Edward, "late Earl of March," was proclaimed a traitor, and a reward promised to whosoever should capture him. As Essex, Kent, and above all London, had declared for the Yorkists, Queen Margaret, with her husband and son, was compelled to retire towards the north.

2nd Battle of St. Albans, 1761.

Edward of York, on the other hand, being joined by Warwick with his forces, was able to march upon London, where he was received with acclamations. On the 7th of March the Lord Falconbridge and the Bishop of Exeter, at a grand review held in St. John's Fields, Clerkenwell, at which a great number of citizens was present, asked them if they would have Henry any longer for their king, and was answered by shouts of "No!" The second question, whether they would obey Edward Earl of March as their lord, they answered with equal vehemence, "Yea; yea! King Edward! King Edward!" He was then proclaimed in the city by the heralds; and thus assumed the crown, under the title of Edward the Fourth. He was in his twenty-first year.

Deposition of Henry VI.

CHAPTER XX.

The Yorkists.—Edward IV.

A.D. 1461–1483.

Ruin of the Lancastrian Party. Battle of Towton. Great Slaughter. Margaret of Anjou in France. Abortive Attempt in the North. Battles of Hedgley Moor and Hexham. King Edward and the Nevilles. His Marriage with Elizabeth Woodville. Rebellion in Yorkshire. Edgcote. Revolt of the Earl of Warwick. His compact with Queen Margaret. Flight of Edward to Holland. His Return. Battle of Barnet. Return of Margaret of Anjou. Battle of Tewkesbury. Murder of Prince Edward. Death of Henry VI. End of the War of the Roses. Period of Peace. Rule of Edward. Quarrel with France. Treaty of Pecquigny. Concluding Transactions of Edward's Reign. His Death and Character.

THOUGH Edward was received with acclamations by the citizens of London, his throne was not yet established in safety. To the north of the Trent and the Humber, the Lancastrians had assembled in great force; and he instantly set out to do battle against them. The Duke of Somerset was now the leader of Queen Margaret's army, which amounted to sixty thousand men near York, where King Henry and the young Prince of Wales were residing. The chief of Edward's

partisans was the renowned Earl of Warwick, Richard Neville, whose power and importance earned him the name of the "King-maker;" and with him was Lord Fitzwalter, who was sent forward to secure the pass of Ferrybridge on the Aire, in Yorkshire. This task he accomplished, but was a few days afterwards attacked, and his force routed by Lord Clifford. Fitzwalter was slain in the combat; but soon afterwards the same fate befell Clifford, who was killed in a second fight, in which Lord Falconbridge recovered the pass. On the 29th of March was fought a battle more sanguinary and more extensive than the war had yet produced. It was at Towton, a few miles from York. The battle, interrupted by the darkness, was continued the next day. The whole number of slain is stated at thirty-seven thousand; but this estimate appears too high. Among the slain were the Earls of Northumberland and Wiltshire. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter escaped to the Scottish border, carrying King Henry and Queen Margaret with them.

The Earls of Somerset and Warwick.

Battle of Towton, 1461.

Edward entered York, where he caused the heads of the Earls of Wiltshire and Devon to be fixed up in lieu of the remains of his father. Returning in triumph to London, he was crowned with great magnificence at Westminster; and his two brothers, George and Richard, were created Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. Meanwhile the proscribed faction was making efforts to secure help in Scotland, and in the next year Queen Margaret proceeded to France, in the hope of obtaining men and money to renew the struggle. King Louis XI. was induced to lend twenty thousand crowns, on the security of the town of Calais, and gave permission to Peter De Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, to raise two thousand men in the queen's cause. Margaret induced a number of Borderers to join her standard, and obtained some slight successes in the capture of the castles of Alnwick, Bumborough, and Dunstanburgh. Presently Edward advanced in person to besiege the three fortresses, which were surrendered to him, on the stipulation that the Duke of Somerset and Sir Richard Percy, with some of their friends, should be pardoned, and restored to their honours. Early in 1463, Queen Margaret sailed for Flanders with De Brezé, the Duke of Exeter, and a small band of followers. King Henry found refuge in the castle of a Welsh vassal. In the next year Somerset and Percy went over to the side of the red rose; and Alnwick Castle was seized by a discontented vassal of Edward, Sir Ralph Grey. Percy met his death in battle against the Earl of Montacute, the brother of Warwick, at Hedgley Moor, on the 25th of April, 1464; and Somerset was defeated on the 15th of May, near Hexham. He fell into the hands of his enemies, and was at once beheaded. King Henry contrived to fly in time to distance pursuit. For more than a year he remained concealed in Lancashire; but at the end of that time he was taken prisoner by Sir John Harrington at Waddington Hall, and carried to London. He was then lodged in the Tower, where he remained for some years. Queen Margaret also had gone through many perils before she found an asylum with her father in France. On one

Margaret of Anjou in France.

Abortive Attempt in the North.

Battles of Hedgley Moor and Hexham, 1464.

occasion she and her young son met one of the outlaws, many of whom were then lurking in the woods. The queen, with great presence of mind, said, "My friend, I commit to your care the son of your king." The outlaw brought mother and child to a place of safety.

Queen Margaret and the Outlaw.

The affairs of the nation were now for a time carried on by the Nevilles. King Edward gave himself up to pleasure and dissipation; but, in spite of his vices, preserved his popularity with the citizens of London.

Supremacy of the Nevilles.

The Earl of Warwick, who, as well as his brothers, desired to see the king married, was entrusted with a mission to the Continent to negotiate for Edward's union with the Princess Bona of Savoy, the sister-in-law of Louis XI. During his absence from England, Edward made the acquaintance of Lady Elizabeth Grey, daughter of Jacquetta of Luxemburg, Duchess Dowager of Bedford, and of Sir Richard Woodville, of Grafton, in Bedfordshire, whom the widowed duchess had married after the duke's death. The Lady Elizabeth herself was the widow of Sir John Grey, of Groby, who had been killed fighting on the Lancastrian side. The fair young widow had a suit to him for the restoration to her children of the confiscated lands of her late husband. The wit and grace of the fair suppliant won the gay king's heart; on May-day morning, in 1464, they were privately married, and in May, 1465, the queen was crowned. The relatives of the new queen were now advanced to dignities in a manner that excited surprise and jealousy.

King Edward's Marriage.

Promotion of the Woodvilles

These proceedings offended the Nevilles, who found their influence interfered with by that of the queen's family. In another marriage, too, the Earl was offended. He was again despatched, in 1467, to the Continent, to treat with Louis XI. concerning an alliance of Margaret with a French prince. But during his absence, the marriage of Margaret with the Count de Charolais, the son and heir of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, was arranged.

Marriage of the King's Sister.

In 1469 the eldest daughter of Warwick, Isabella, was married to the king's brother, George, Duke of Clarence. At the same time a peasant rising occurred in Yorkshire, under Robert Hilyard, commonly called Robin of Redesdale; and although Hilyard himself was taken and executed, new leaders were found, and it was believed that the rising was secretly favoured by Warwick. The Lords Herbert and Stafford were despatched against the rebels; but Stafford retired, and Herbert was defeated and slain at Edgcote, on the 26th of July. The queen's father, Earl Rivers, and one of her brothers, John Woodville, were taken and put to death by the insurgents. The king had already written urgently to Warwick and Clarence to come back from Calais. They now appeared and met the king at Olney, but he was placed in a kind of imprisonment. But a second reconciliation was soon afterwards effected. The renewed amity was to be cemented by a marriage of Edward's eldest daughter to George, the son of the Earl of Northumberland. A new insurrection broke out in Lincolnshire; and the king, though he seems

Rebellion in Yorkshire. Battle of Edgcote.

Reconciliation with the Nevilles.

to have suspected the Nevilles of having a hand in it, gave the Earls of Warwick and Clarence a commission to raise troops for its suppression. He himself marched against the rebels, whom he defeated.

Revolt of the Earl of Warwick.

Edward then turned openly against Warwick and Clarence, and proclaimed them traitors. They were obliged, after a short time, to retreat southwards, and disband their forces. Warwick and Clarence, on Louis' invitation, repaired to Amboise, where the French court was then held. Louis invited the exiled Queen Margaret to Amboise, and there a reconciliation was effected between Margaret and Warwick. A marriage was concluded between Warwick's younger daughter, Anne Neville, and Edward, Prince of Wales; Clarence and Warwick were to join their forces for the restoration of Henry VI.

Compact with Queen Margaret.

Warwick landed on the Devonshire coast on the 13th of September, 1470. King Edward found his own men deserting, and was obliged for the moment to yield to the storm, and make his escape into Holland. Warwick proceeded to London, where, under the name of Henry VI., and with the aid of Clarence, he ruled England for a short time.

Flight of Edward to Holland.

Fortified with assistance, rendered by the Duke of Burgundy, King Edward landed on the 14th of March, 1471, at the mouth of the Humber, at Ravenspur, where Henry IV. had disembarked in 1399. At Pontefract, Warwick's brother Montacute allowed his small force to pass southward. When once he had crossed the Trent he was in the Yorkist country, and many flocked to his standard. Near Coventry the Duke of Clarence marched over, with his whole force, to the side of his brother Edward. After passing two days in London, where he was received with enthusiasm, Edward marched forth to meet the Lancastrian army, which was advancing along the great north road. At Barnet, twelve miles north of the capital, the decisive battle of the war was fought. Lord Montacute had joined his brother. From early morning on the 14th of April until noon the contest raged; but by that time it was decided in favour of the Yorkists. The great king-maker and his brother, the marquis, both lay dead on the plain.

Return of King Edward.

Battle of Barnet, 1471.

On the very day of the fatal battle that destroyed all the hopes of her party, Margaret landed at Weymouth, in Dorsetshire, with her son and some troops, Frenchmen and others. On the 4th of May, 1471, King Edward attacked her at Tewkesbury, where was fought the closing battle of the long struggle of the roses. A spirited charge by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, seconded by King Edward and Clarence, broke the line of the Lancastrians, and the battle quickly ended in their total defeat and rout. Queen Margaret was taken prisoner, and also her son. Young Edward was stabbed to death "by the king's servants," say the contemporary chroniclers, "by the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester," according to the accounts of the Elizabethan writers, Holinshed and Hall. Soon afterwards Henry VI. lay dead in his prison in the

Return of Margaret of Anjou.

Battle of Tewkesbury, 1471.

Death of Prince Edward and Henry VI.

Tower. Popular rumour ascribed his death to murder, and pointed to the Duke of Gloucester as the slayer.

Thus did King Edward triumph over the House of Lancaster, and the long and disastrous war found its termination in the triumph of the White Rose. Of the partisans of the ruined faction, some escaped to the Continent, and others obtained by submission the reversal of their attainders. The sketch of the character of Henry VI., as given by Mackintosh, gives a true picture of the feeble king. "He was as void of manly as of kingly virtues," says that historian. "No station can be named for which he was fitted, but that of a weak and ignorant lay-brother in a monastery."

Edward IV. and Louis XI.

The principal foreign event of the reign of Edward was an expedition to France, undertaken with the avowed intention of recovering Guienne and the other provinces that had once belonged to the English. But Louis XI. was sufficiently astute to see that his brother of England had no very serious intention of conquering France with the eighteen thousand men who constituted his army. Edward consented to an interview with the French king, with the idea of arranging an accommodation. At the town of Pecquigny, not far from Amiens, where the Somme is crossed by a bridge, a strong barrier or grating was erected across the centre of the structure, and to this the two kings advanced to pay their greetings to each other through the interstices, and to express the joy that the propitious meeting aroused in them. Seventy-five thousand crowns paid down, and an annuity of fifty thousand to Edward, with a further stipulation that the dauphin Charles should marry a daughter of Edward, constituted the price at which the astute French monarch bought a truce of seven years; and, in addition to this, Louis consented to pay a ransom of fifty thousand crowns for the release of Margaret of Anjou.

Treaty of Pecquigny.

Clarence and Gloucester. Warwick's Inheritance.

Clarence had married Isabella, the elder daughter of Warwick, the king-maker; and after the death of that powerful noble, at Barnet, he had claimed the earl's inheritance. In this, however, he had found a rival in his younger brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who had married Warwick's younger daughter, the Lady Anne. When, after the death of his wife Isabella, in 1476, Clarence became a suitor for the hand of Mary, of Burgundy, the suspicion and distrust of the king extended, not to the duke alone, but to his followers and favourites. Among these was one Thomas Burdett, who, on the occasion of the king's killing a favourite buck, while hunting in Burdett's park at Harrow, had exclaimed in anger that "he wished the horns of the deer had been in the belly of the man who slew it." Burdett was executed; and Clarence was himself accused of treason and sorcery, arrested by the king's order, and conveyed to the Tower. Some weeks later, it was announced that the duke had died in the Tower. Popular rumour asserted that he had been drowned in a butt of malmsey wine.

Impeachment and Death of Clarence.

From that time Edward seems to have given himself up, without restraint, to the life of licentiousness and dissipation which doubtless shortened his days. The best known among his numerous favourites

was one Mistress Jane Shore, the wife of a London goldsmith. When war broke out with Scotland, the king entrusted the management of successive campaigns in the north to his brother, Richard of Gloucester. The war, however, led to no important consequences for England.

War with Scotland.

Mary of Burgundy, the rich heiress, who was married to the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, met her death from an accident. She left two daughters; and Louis XI. at once saw that a marriage with one of these would be a far more advantageous match for his son than the proposed English match, and accordingly negotiated a marriage between the dauphin Charles and Mary's elder daughter, "la gentille demoiselle Margot." Edward was furious at the insult put upon himself and his daughter, and declared he would avenge himself by an invasion of France.

Duplicity of Louis XI.

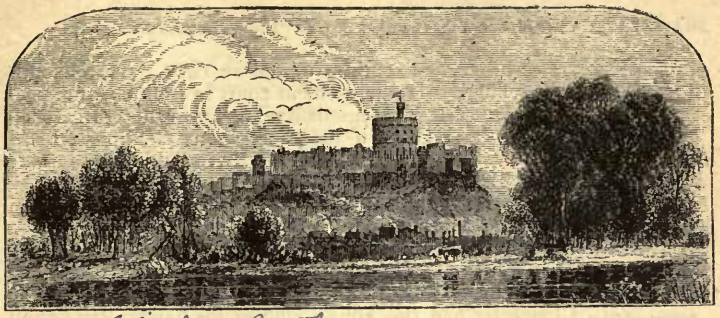
But licentious pleasures and the indulgence of his passions had undermined his strength. He was only forty-one years old, but his manly beauty had changed to bloated corpulence. A sudden illness brought him to the grave. He died on the 9th of April, 1483, in the forty-second year of his age, after a reign of twenty-two years.

In his character, which was stained by odious vices, ambition and cruelty were the leading features. Gratitude and mercy were unknown to him. His selfishness, like his ambition, was boundless, and he never hesitated in the gratification of either. Even in that savage period he was noted for harshness and cruelty, which contrasted singularly with his amorous and epicurean habits. On the whole, his fortune was far better than he deserved. He died in prosperity, and his sins were visited upon his innocent children.

His Character.

Among the domestic events of his reign, the most important was the introduction into England of the art of printing by William Caxton, who, establishing himself in the almonry at Westminster, continued for a series of years to issue from his printing press a number of works, of which "The Game and Playe of the Chesse" is supposed to have been the first.

William Caxton.



Windsor Castle

CHAPTER XXI.

The Yorkists.—Edward V.—Richard III.

A.D. 1483–1485.

Accession of Edward V. The Woodvilles and the Nobles. Opposition of Hastings. The Queen takes Sanctuary. Arrest of Rivers, Grey, etc. Edward V. and Duke of York in the Tower. Intrigues of Richard Duke of Gloucester. Death of Hastings, Rivers, Grey, etc. Accession of Richard III. Murder of the Princes in the Tower. Conspiracy for the King's Dethronement. Henry Duke of Richmond. Revolt of Buckingham. His Execution. Richard's Final Struggle for the Crown. Second Embarkation of Richmond. Battle of Bosworth Field. Defeat and Death of Richard. His Burial. Remarks on the English Constitution in Mediæval Times, compared with that of France. Sir John Fortesque's Comparison.

THE boy Prince of Wales, who, by his father's death, had become King of England, was at Ludlow Castle, in the care of Earl Rivers, the brother of Queen Elizabeth Woodville. The great nobles were divided into two parties—the faction of the queen, headed by the earl Rivers, the Marquis Dorset, Lord Richard Grey, and Lord Lyle,—and the followers of the Yorkist House, the Stanleys, Howards, and Hastings, who looked on the Duke of Gloucester as their head. Next to Richard of Gloucester himself, the most powerful adherents of this faction were the Lord Chamberlain, Hastings, and Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

The Woodvilles and the Nobles.

Gloucester at once proceeded southward, and at York took the oath of fealty to the new king. Hastings was at court in London, and soon showed a spirit of antagonism to the queen, and threatened to retire from court, if the young monarch appeared surrounded with guards. It seems that at this time he was acting in concert with the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham.

Opposition of Hastings.

Meanwhile, Earl Rivers had set out from Ludlow Castle with the young king, whom he purposed carrying to London. When he reached Stony Stratford with his charge, he found that the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham were at Northampton, only a few miles off. The next day the two dukes advanced to Stony Stratford; but so soon as Gloucester had the young king in his hands, Rivers and Grey were carried off under arrest to Pontefract Castle, and the dukes proceeded with the young Edward towards London.

Arrest of Earl Rivers, Grey, etc.

The queen took Sanctuary at Westminster, with Richard Duke of York, her second son, and her five daughters. In London the arrival of the two dukes and their royal charge was impatiently awaited. The young king was sent, ostensibly for the safety of his person, to the Tower of London, there to await his coronation. Gloucester was named Protector of the Realm.

The Queen in Sanctuary.

On the morning of the 13th of June a council was held in the Tower of London, to which various lords, including Hastings and Stanley, were summoned. At nine o'clock the Protector appeared, apparently in the most gracious mood. Presently he left the council hall for a short time; he returned, in a mood sorely changed. Looking sternly around, he asked what should be done to those who by witchcraft and sorcery had compassed the death of him, the Protector of the realm, and denounced the queen and her associates. Hastings replied that if they had done this, they deserved signal punishment. The Protector appeared to be roused to fury by Lord Hastings' "*if*," denounced him as a traitor, and declared he would prove his assertion on the Chamberlain's body. A number of armed men rushed in and filled the council chamber. The unfortunate nobleman was hurried away to the Tower Green, where his head was struck off on a log of timber that happened to be lying on the ground. On the same day the captives at Pomfret—Rivers, Vaughan, Grey, and Hawse—were put to death by Ratcliffe, a partisan of Gloucester.

Arrest and Murder of Hastings.

Death of Rivers, Grey, etc., at Pomfret.

For Gloucester's designs it was necessary to get the king's younger brother, the little Duke of York, into his power. The Archbishop of Canterbury undertook the task. With many misgivings the unfortunate queen delivered the little Duke of York into the care of the prelate. The Protector sent him to join the king in the Tower.

Edward V. and Richard of York in the Tower.

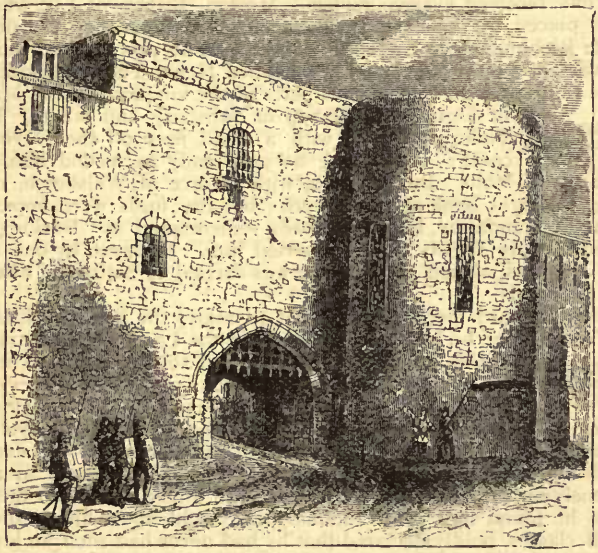
Gloucester proceeded to throw doubt upon the right of succession of the two princes in the Tower, declaring that Edward IV. had been contracted to another lady at the time he married Elizabeth Woodville. The vices of the late king were also paraded before the people, to undermine the influence of his wife and children; and Dr. Shaw, the brother of the lord mayor,

Intrigues of Gloucester.

preaching to a great crowd at Paul's Cross, boldly asserted that Edward IV. himself was not really a son of Richard Duke of York. A day or two later, on the 24th of June, Buckingham addressed the citizens at the Guildhall, going over the substance of Shaw's arguments. Some of the poorer citizens, incited by certain followers of the duke, were induced to shout, "Long live King Richard!" and on the following day a deputation, headed by Buckingham, waited on the Protector at Baynard's Castle, on the Thames, with a formal petition that he would assume the crown. Richard yielded to solicitation; the nominal reign of Edward V. closed, and the reign of Richard III. began.

Gloucester chosen King.

The next day Richard appeared publicly in Westminster Hall, and received the homage of the lords, and heard the acclamations of the



THE "BLOODY TOWER," SCENE OF THE PRINCES' MURDER.

people. The sons of Edward IV. were not heard of again. The commonly received account of their death, as given by Sir Thomas More, appears to be the true one: "King Richard, during his progress, despatched an emissary, named Green, with a letter to Sir Robert Brackenbury, commanding him to put the princes to death. Brackenbury, however, refused to stain his hands with the blood of the royal children; whereupon the king sent Sir James Tyrrel, his master of the horse, with orders to Brackenbury to deliver up the keys of the Tower to Tyrrel for twenty-four hours. John Dighton and Miles Forrest, two servants of Tyrrel, were sent one night into the chamber where the young princes lay sleeping.

Murder of the Princes in the Tower.

They smothered the royal brothers with the pillows of the bed; and after Tyrrel had viewed the corpses, the remains were buried at the foot of the stairs, under a heap of stones."

It is said that the fate of the princes was hastened by a rumour of efforts for a restoration of Edward V. Soon after their death a conspiracy was in existence for Henry Duke of Richmond, grandson of Owen Tudor and Catherine of France. His mother was Margaret Beaufort, a great-grand-daughter of John of Gaunt. Henry had long been an exile and a fugitive, having fallen by shipwreck into the hands of the Duke of Brittany, after he had escaped from England with his uncle, Jasper Tudor. Edward IV. had at various times demanded the surrender of the two prisoners of the Duke of Bretagne, but had received evasive replies. Morton, Bishop of Ely, who had been placed in the custody of Buckingham, persuaded the duke to invite Richmond into England. Thereupon he proceeded to summon his vassals, and at Brecknock proclaimed Henry Tudor as king; the same thing was done in various parts of the kingdom by the Marquis of Dorset, the Bishop of Salisbury, and others. Henry Tudor appeared with a small fleet off the Devonshire coast; but finding no one ready to second him, sailed back to St. Malo. Buckingham, with a force of Welshmen, moved along the right bank of the Severn; but the fords were impassable from the inundation, long afterwards remembered as "Buckingham's Flood." His Welsh troops deserted him. Betrayed by one of his own servants, named Banister, he was carried to Salisbury, where he was executed.

Conspiracy for the King's Dethronement.

Henry Earl of Richmond.

Revolt of Buckingham.

King Richard thereupon resolved to marry the Princess Elizabeth of York. True, he had a wife living; but the Lady Anne was in weak health, and might be expected to die soon. The king accordingly opened negotiations with the dowager queen, Elizabeth Woodville, for the hand of her daughter, his niece. The princess fell in readily with the scheme, and even in a letter to her uncle expressed indecent impatience for the expected death of Queen Anne Neville—an event which happened in a suspiciously opportune manner a short time afterwards. But the king, when he found how much the marriage would injure him in the eyes of all classes, boldly declared that he had never had such an idea.

Richard's Design of Marriage.

Charles VIII. of France was the friend of Henry Tudor, and supplied him with money and some three thousand troops. With these Henry marched to Harfleur, in the summer of 1485, awaiting an opportunity for a second embarkation for England. Richard issued a contemptuous proclamation against his rival. He had still many powerful friends in the North. Accordingly he set up his standard at Nottingham, that he might be in readiness to march against Henry Tudor. Henry landed at Milford Haven on the 7th of August, 1485. Richard was presently joined by the Earl of Northumberland, with his northern vassals, and moved on to Leicester. John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, Brackenbury and Viscount Lovel, Ratcliffe, and Catesby, were among his adherents. The most important among

Richmond's Second Embarkation.

Richard and his Adherents.

the absentees was Lord Stanley. He had a difficult part to play. His wife was the mother of Richmond. His son, Lord George Strange, was in Richard's hands, and was kept as a hostage for his fidelity. But the earl managed to move on a little in advance of Richmond's army, as if retreating before him, keeping near enough to join him at any moment.

Battle of Bosworth Field.

On the 22nd of August, 1485, was fought near the town of Bosworth the last battle under the Plantagenet rule in England. Many defections had thinned the king's ranks. The Duke of Norfolk began the battle by a spirited attack upon the van of Richmond, whose army was well posted. Norfolk was not adequately seconded by the other leaders. Stanley went over with his troops to his son-in-law. With a wild, despairing cry of "Treason!" Richard pushed forward, hoping by a final effort to cut his way to the standard of his foe. Borne down by numbers, and fighting desperately, he was slain on the field. The conflict had lasted but two hours when the forces of the king broke and fled. Richard's crown was found in a bush, and was placed on the head of the Duke of Richmond, by Lord Stanley, who saluted his victorious son-in-law by the title of King Henry the Seventh. The body of Richard, disfigured with many wounds, was found on the field, exposed to the view of all men; it was buried without pomp in the church of the Grey Friars, Leicester.

Death and Burial of Richard III.

Among the dead on the king's side were the Duke of Norfolk, Sir Robert Brackenbury, Lord Ferrers, and Sir Richard Ratcliffe.

The English Government.

Even in the turbulence and misrule inseparable from a time of civil strife and anger, the condition of England, so far as the constitution and the position of the people and their rights with regard to the law are concerned, may compare favourably with that of other nations. Sir John Fortescue, an English lawyer long resident in France, contrasts the operation of absolute monarchy, in impoverishing and depressing the people of that kingdom, with that more free government which raised up the race of English yeomen, qualified by their intelligence, and by their independent situation, as well as spirit, to take an important part in dispensing justice as jurors,—an accession to popular power, which spread more widely over popular life than perhaps any other; and while it fostered the independence of the people, contributed by a happy peculiarity to interest their pride in duly executing the law, and taught them to place their personal importance in enforcing the observance of justice. Moreover, the writer emphatically tells us that "the laws of England, in all cases, declare in favour of liberty."

CHAPTER XXII.

The Tudors.—Henry VII.

A.D. 1485–1509.

Nature of the Yorkist Triumph—founded on General Desire for Peace. Increased Power of Edward IV. Commencement of the Reign of Henry VII. Promotions and Preferments. Attainders. Settlement of the Succession. Lovel's Rebellion. Insurrection of Lambert Simnel. The Pretender in Ireland. Battle of Stoke. Henry and James III. of Scotland. Anne of Brittany. War with Charles VIII. of France. Campaign in France. Treaty of Etaples. Insurrection of Perkin Warbeck. Execution of Stanley. Cornish Insurrection. Warbeck's Landing. His Surrender, Imprisonment, and Execution. Fate of the Earl of Warwick. Marriage and Death of Prince Arthur. James IV. and the Princess Margaret. Execution of Tyrrell and others. Extortions of Empson and Dudley. Henry's Marriage Projects. Last years of his Reign. His Wealth; his Will. Character and Policy. Discovery of America.

Nature of the Yorkist Triumph.

IN the contest of York and Lancaster, the Yorkist faction owed its triumph, in a great measure, to the fact that men saw, in the valour and energy of the princes of that house, the prospect of the re-establishment of law, and settled government, and the hope of a reconstruction of government on a firm and settled basis. Henry IV. had been able, by his personal talent and his undaunted energy, to put down the turbulent and rebellious barons who rose up in arms against him. Henry V. had found occupation for their warlike propensities in the great enterprise

which the triumphs of Agincourt and other victories in the fields of France seemed to warrant. But under the third Lancastrian king the aspect of affairs had changed. The name of the weak and shadowy king was used by the nobles as a means of increasing their own importance and extending their might, and retribution came upon them in the shape of the ruin of themselves and their families, and in the loss of a power they had abused.

Apathy of Henry VI.

When Edward IV. emerged triumphant from the struggle, after the fields of Barnet and Tewkesbury, he was able to strengthen himself and establish his position by means of the general desire for peace and order. His exactions under the specious name of benevolences, his cruel vengeance upon men against whom his suspicions were often groundlessly excited, the subserviency shown to him by parliament, and the condonation of his vices and crimes, are proofs that the nation was willing to overlook much in the way of bad government, lest a worse thing should come upon them in the rekindling of a long and cruel war.

Desire for Peace under Edward IV.

To the same general desire for peace, and fear of the renewal of strife and bloodshed, Henry VII. was in a great measure indebted, in taking possession of the throne of England. His claim was weak in comparison to that of the Yorkists; and the young Edward Earl of Warwick, the son of the late Duke of Clarence, and of Isabella, eldest daughter of Richard Neville, "the king-maker," was undoubtedly the rightful heir to the English throne. Clarence had also left a daughter, Margaret, married to Sir Richard Pole, whose title stood next in order after the claim of her brother.

The Children of Clarence.

Henry's first step was to despatch an adherent, Sir Thomas Willoughby, to Sheriff Hutton, in Yorkshire, whence the young Earl of Warwick was removed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for the rest of his life. Henry's second proceeding was to cause Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville, to be escorted to London, with all honour and ceremony. Henry then marched to London. The coronation was delayed for a short time, on account of the sudden appearance of the strange and startling plague known as the "sweating sickness," which proved fatal to great numbers of people, generally showing itself very suddenly, and either killing the person attacked, or leaving him convalescent within a few hours.

The Earl of Warwick imprisoned.

The king conferred rewards upon the chief of his adherents; his uncle Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, being made Duke of Bedford, while Lord Stanley was made Earl of Derby, and Sir Edward Courtenay became Earl of Devonshire, and Sir Humphrey Stanley, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and Sir John Cheney were also advanced in rank. At this time also was established the corps of Yeomen of the Guard. The first parliament of the reign met in November. A number of attainders, passed of late years against the chiefs of the Lancastrian party, were reversed; and, on the other hand, bills of attainder were exhibited and passed against the late king, and his chief supporters. The principal persons thus attainted were John Duke of Norfolk,

Promotions and Preferments.

Attainder of Henry's Foes.

his son the Earl of Surrey, the Lords Ferrers, Zouch, and Lovel, whose forfeited estates were in part bestowed upon the friends of the king, and in part claimed by Henry himself; who thus laid the foundation of that wealth which it was the constant study of his subsequent life to increase. The cautious Henry also procured an act settling that the succession to the crown "should be, rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of the then sovereign lord King Henry VII. and the heirs of his body lawfully coming;"—and on the 18th of January, 1486, he married the Princess Elizabeth of York. Elizabeth, however, was excluded from all authority by her suspicious husband; the dowager queen, Elizabeth Woodville, was still deprived of her dowry, and remained dependent upon the bounty of Henry, whose disposition was the reverse of liberal. At a later period, when Simnel's insurrection had aroused the king's malevolence, she was strictly imprisoned in the convent of Bermondsey, where she remained in captivity for the rest of her life.

Settlement of the Succession.

Elizabeth Woodville.

The king began a progress through the kingdom. At Lincoln he heard that Viscount Lovel had raised a force with the design of intercepting him in his journey to York. But the insurgent's heart failed him; he dismissed his followers, and made his escape into Flanders. Meanwhile the queen, whom he had left with her mother and his own at Winchester—for he was jealous of the affection the people testified when she appeared in public—gave birth to a son, who was baptized by the name of Arthur, on account of the pretensions of royal descent of the ancient Welsh family of the Tudors. But he did not live to inherit his honours.

Rebellion of Lovel.

Birth of Arthur Prince of Wales.

An imposture, extraordinary in its audacity, and in the strange fortune which for a time gave it a prospect of success, was now attempted, with the view of overthrowing the king's authority. There suddenly appeared in Ireland a priest named Symmonds, or Simons, with his pupil, one Lambert Simnel, the son of a baker, or, according to another account, of an organ-maker. This youth was declared to be Edward Plantagenet, the son of the Duke of Clarence, and the rightful heir to the English crown. The Pretender's claims were received with favour by nearly all the nobility and their followers. Presently the Earl of Lincoln, a son of one of the sisters of Edward IV., secretly proceeded to Flanders, and there secured for Simnel the assistance of the Duchess Margaret of Burgundy, widow of Charles the Rash, a sister of Edward IV., and an inveterate enemy of the Lancastrian house. The Duchess Margaret provided a body of two thousand German soldiers under a valiant and experienced leader, Martin Schwartz; and with these the conspirators landed at Dublin in 1487. The Bishop of Meath actually crowned the pretended Earl of Warwick in Christ Church Cathedral, saluting him by the title of Edward the Sixth.

Insurrection of Lambert Simnel.

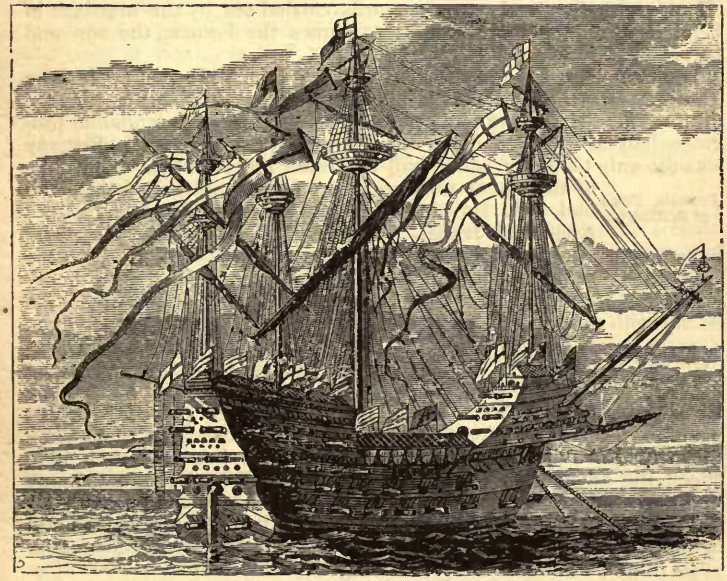
Margaret Duchess of Burgundy.

Simnel in Ireland.

King Henry caused the real Earl of Warwick to be taken from his prison in the Tower, and paraded on horseback through London. Then he himself marched northward to encounter the expected inva-

sion. Simnel and his adherents crossed from Ireland, but the people of the North were more inclined to remain quietly under the sway of a wise ruler, than to second a stranger who came to establish his authority by means of German mercenaries and Irish strangers. The young Earl of Lincoln, though greatly disappointed, marched boldly forward to meet Henry, and on the 16th of June, 1487, the two armies encountered at Stoke, not far from Newark. The battle lasted for about three hours. The Earl of Lincoln and his army, who did not exceed eight thousand in

Battle of Stoke.



WARSHIP OF THE TIME OF HENRY VII.

number, fought with desperate courage, and half the rebel force perished in the field, the Germans and Irish fighting valiantly and well. Lord Lovel was never seen after that day, and it was supposed that he had been drowned during the retreat. The priest Symmonds and Lambert Simnel himself fell into the victor's hands. Simnel was pardoned by the politic Henry, who appointed him "to a bare office in his kitchen;" and afterwards promoted him to be a falconer.

On his progress northward after the battle, Henry proceeded to punish such as could be accused of complicity with the rebels—not

by means of the axe and cord and quartering-block, but by heavy amercements and fines. The parliament met soon afterwards, and seconded his efforts in this direction by passing a bill of attainder in connection with the late disturbances, a great number of names being inserted, all of persons who had property.

Bill of Attainder against the Rebels.

Henry now entered into a negotiation with James the Third, proposing that the Scottish king, who was a widower, should marry the dowager queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and two of his sons should at the same time be united to two daughters of the queen. The tragic death of the King of Scots in the next year prevented the fulfilment of this scheme, but the matrimonial alliance with Scotland was afterwards carried out by the marriage of Henry's own daughter Margaret to James the Fourth, the son and successor of James the Third.

Henry and James III. of Scotland.

Henry now engaged in a foreign war. Charles VIII. of France, who was only fourteen years old at his accession, was under the tutelage of his elder sister, the Lady of Beaujeu. Since the Burgundian provinces had fallen to France on the death of Charles the Rash, Brittany was the only great fief which still remained independent. The duke of that great territory, Francis, was old and feeble, and had only two daughters to succeed him—the Ladies Anne and Isabel. Charles VIII. would himself gladly have married the heiress, but that he was contracted to Marjory, the young daughter of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy. Accordingly he asserted an ancient feudal claim to Brittany, and invaded the duchy with an army to take possession of it. The duke thereupon appealed to Henry for aid, and the parliament, approving of a war that was to weaken the power of the French king, granted supplies. On the other hand, King Charles made overtures to Henry, who accordingly played a double game in the matter, taking the money voted by parliament, and taxing the people heavily for the expenses of the war; but doing nothing to check the advance of Charles, who shortly afterwards had Brittany in his power. Soon afterwards the duke died, whereupon Charles claimed the duchy and renewed the war. The King of England still held back from active interference, though he received abundant supplies from parliament for prosecuting the war. The avaricious king, moreover, taxed the nation to such an extent, under the pretext of war expenses, that the people of Durham and Yorkshire refused to pay the subsidy. Presently the exactions led to a rising under Sir John Egremont, and a certain John à Chambre, a man of low birth. The discontent at the manner in which the war was carried on induced the king at last to send six thousand men to Brittany, under Lord Broke; but they presently returned home without having effected anything. The heiress of Brittany, meanwhile, was betrothed to Maximilian of Austria, and married to him by proxy; but the King of France induced Anne to become his wife, by using the authority he possessed over her as the Suzerain of Brittany. Henry hereupon feigned great anger, and declared that the French war should be

Francis, Duke of Brittany.

Quarrel with Charles VIII.

Disturbances concerning Taxes.

Marriage of Anne of Brittany.

prosecuted with vigour. The nation, always ready for a contest across the Channel, approved of the resolution; and the parliament, in October, 1491, showed even unusual liberality in the voting of supplies, two-tenths and two-fifteenths being voted; and the exactions of the king, disguised under the name of benevolences, greatly increased the resources thus obtained. When the king at length landed at Calais, with twenty-five thousand soldiers and some sixteen hundred horse in 1492, it was already the month of October, somewhat late in the year for commencing military operations; but the king declared that, as France would not be conquered in a single campaign, the time of year at which the invasion was commenced was not important. From Calais he advanced to Boulogne, and made a pretence of besieging the place; but the programme had been arranged beforehand, and negotiations with the French king were in progress. When the siege of Boulogne had gone on for a month, and everything was ready for the assault, it was suddenly announced in the English camp that negotiations had been concluded for peace. The treaty of Etaples was shortly after signed, by which, after the usual preliminaries, it was agreed that Henry should receive the sum of £149,000, payable in regular instalments; of which £25,000 was to be considered as arrears due upon the pension of Edward IV., and the rest in satisfaction of claims upon Anne of Brittany.

Treaty of Etaples.

Already, before the treaty of Etaples, there had landed in Ireland a handsome youth, known by the name of Perkin Warbeck, but who announced himself as Richard Duke of York, second son of King Edward IV., declaring that he had escaped from the Tower seven years before, and claiming to be king of England. The great Desmond family, and various Irish nobles, took up his cause. Charles VIII. invited Warbeck to France, and treated him with all honour, and many English exiles came to Paris to pay him homage. This made Henry VII. anxious to conclude peace, and when the treaty was concluded, Charles obliged Perkin Warbeck to depart from France. The Duchess of Burgundy received him at her court as her nephew. Sir Robert Clifford, sent by the discontented Yorkists from England to ascertain the truth, reported strongly in his favour. Henry's emissaries declared the pretender to be the son of a Jew, of Tournay, named Warbeck or Osbeck. Henry applied to Philip the Handsome, the duke of Burgundy, urgently desiring the expulsion of Warbeck from the Burgundian territories; but he was informed that the duke could not assert authority over the duchess in the lands that formed her dowry.

Perkin Warbeck.

The Adventurer in France.

Philip Duke of Burgundy.

In January, 1495, Henry removed his court to the Tower; and here Clifford, it is supposed by pre-arrangement, revealed to the king the name of Sir William Stanley, the chamberlain, as one of the chiefs in the Warbeck conspiracy. Sir William was rich, and the temptation of the plunder of Stanley's money-bags and estate probably stifled any compunction with which the king may have been visited. Stanley was condemned and executed; though the chief offence proved against him seems to have been his having declared that he would never bear arms against Warbeck, if he

Execution of Stanley.

were once persuaded that that man was really the Duke of York.

Warbeck's Invasion of Kent.

Warbeck attempted a landing on the Kentish coast near Deal, with a few hundred followers. But the country people beat them back to their ships, and took above a hundred and fifty prisoners, while Perkin and the rest put off to sea in haste. In the next year, Warbeck was obliged to quit Flanders, a treaty of commerce having been signed between that country and England, with the important condition that the duchess should be prevented from harbouring rebels against the king. Perkin proceeded to

Warbeck in Scotland. His Marriage.

Scotland, where James the Fourth gave him a hearty welcome. The king gave to Warbeck in marriage the Lady Catherine Gordon, a relation of his own, and daughter to Lord Huntley. Presently a raid into the north of England was made by the pretender, in company with James ; but the invaders were obliged to retire across the border. Henry obtained from parliament, a subsidy for carrying on the war ; but the exactions of his collectors provoked a revolt among the Cornishmen in the West. Sixteen thousand men assembled under Joseph, a smith, and Flam-

Insurrection in Cornwall.

mock, a lawyer. Joined by Lord Audley, they advanced towards London. At Blackheath they were met by the king's troops, and totally defeated. The three leaders were put to death ; the other prisoners were allowed to depart. With Scotland a truce for seven years was agreed upon, and it was arranged that James should marry Henry's daughter Margaret. Warbeck was permitted to depart from Scotland. After an ineffectual attempt to raise a rebellion in Ireland, he crossed over to Cornwall, where he found the inhabitants better inclined to hear him ; he soon found

Warbeck's Landing in the West.

himself at the head of a formidable gathering. He marched into Devonshire, and reached Exeter with a force that had swelled to ten thousand men. The attack on the city failed. The Devonshire men who had joined his standard now deserted Warbeck, but the stout Cornishmen marched with him to Taunton, in the neighbourhood of which place lay a numerous and well-appointed royal army, commanded by the Duke of Buckingham and other noble chiefs. Warbeck's heart failed him, and

Sanctuary of Beaulieu.

in the night he rode away, and took refuge in the sanctuary of Beaulieu. The Cornishmen were fain to submit to the king, who dismissed the starving host, after hanging the ringleaders. The king, pitying Lady Catherine Gordon, placed her under the protection of the queen. After her unhappy death, the White Rose of York contracted a second marriage with a Welsh knight.

The sanctuary of Beaulieu was closely surrounded. Warbeck came out and submitted to the king's mercy. His life was spared. He rode in the train of the king to London, he was watched, and ordered not to absent himself from the precincts of the court. Six

Warbeck in the Tower.

months afterwards he attempted to escape. Being pursued, he was given up to the king on the understanding that his life should be spared. He was now compelled to read his confession, sitting in the stocks, at Westminster, and in Cheapside. After the second reading, he was committed to the Tower, and

there thrown, it would seem purposely, into the society of the unhappy Earl of Warwick. Six months afterwards, Warbeck was asserted to have engaged in a conspiracy to murder the governor of the Tower, and escape with the young Earl of Warwick. On this, he was tried, and after having been made to read his confession once more, was hanged as a traitor at Tyburn. The Earl of Warwick was indicted for conspiring with Perkin and compassing the king's destruction. His innocence and imbecility did not prevent his being condemned and executed three days afterwards, on the 24th of November, 1499. Henry had been, for some time before the judicial murder of the Earl of Warwick, in serious negotiation with Ferdinand of Aragon for the hand of the Spanish king's daughter Catherine, for his eldest son, Prince Arthur. Ferdinand had written to the English king, plainly stating that, so long as Warwick lived, the succession to the English crown would be insecure, and that he was loth to send his daughter to occupy an unsafe throne. The execution of the unhappy and harmless prisoner awakened feelings of horror and pity throughout the nation, mingled with detestation for the cruelty of the king.

Execution of Warbeck and Warwick.

Fate of the Earl of Warwick.

The latter part of the reign of Henry VII. was chiefly occupied by the king in political intrigue and in extortion. His scheme of the marriage of his son Arthur with Catherine was realized on the 6th of November, 1501. The marriage portion of the princess was 200,000 crowns. But a few months afterwards, in April, 1502, Prince Arthur died, and soon afterwards a negotiation was set on foot between the two kings for the marriage of the widowed princess to Prince Henry, Arthur's younger brother, which marriage did not, however, take place until five years afterwards, the princess in the meanwhile continuing to reside in England. A dispensation was easily obtained from Pope Julius II. A more important alliance, in the consequences it ultimately entailed, was that of the king's elder daughter, Margaret, with James IV. of Scotland, which, after much delay, was at length brought about in 1503, and led to the union of the crowns of England and Scotland exactly a century after.

Marriage and Death of Prince Arthur.

Catherine in England.

The suspicious nature of Henry showed itself in his conduct towards Edmund de la Pole. When the Duke of Suffolk, his father, died, De la Pole naturally claimed the earldom of Suffolk, with the estates belonging to the title; but Henry would only grant him a small portion; and when, soon afterwards, the duke, in a fit of anger, killed a man, the king insisted that Suffolk should plead the royal pardon in open court. Indignant at this humiliation, Suffolk quitted the country, retiring to the court of the Duchess of Burgundy. He was induced to return for a time, but soon afterwards escaped once more to the Burgundian court. Henry caused an agent of his own, Sir Robert Curson, to introduce himself to the duke in the character of a malcontent, and extract what information he could from him. On Curson's information various persons were arrested, including William de la Pole, a brother of the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Courtenay, Sir William Windham, Sir James Tyrrel, and others.

Edmund de la Pole.

A Conspiracy. Execution of Tyrrel and others.

WARBECK READING HIS CONFESSION.

Tyrrel and Windham, with some offenders of lower rank, were executed. Courtenay and De la Pole were kept in secure ward.

Henry's avarice increased with his years. Towards the end of his reign he no longer convoked the parliament, preferring to levy supplies by means of benevolences. An inquisition was also made by royal order into the titles on which estates were held; and many proprietors found themselves harried by the old feudal obligations, for the extraction of money. Two lawyers, Empson and Dudley, were the chosen agents for the king in these matters. Empson was a low and coarse man, the son of a sieve-maker; but Dudley was of a good family. These men exercised a horrible ingenuity, not only in the searching out of fineable persons by their spies and informers, but in the invention of new offences not until then known to the law; for the filling of their master's coffers and their own.

Extortions of Empson and Dudley.

In 1506, Philip the Handsome, Duke of Austria, and, in right of his Queen Joanna, King of Castile, was compelled with his wife to put into Weymouth, proceeding to take possession of their new kingdom. The archduke was made aware that he could not depart from England without the king's permission; therefore he set out in all haste to visit Henry at Windsor. King Henry made him understand that he could not expect to escape some very substantial sacrifices. A treaty of commerce, in which all the advantages were on the side of the English king, was extorted from him; and Henry induced him, though with great reluctance, to give up Edmund de la Pole, the Duke of Suffolk, who had of late been wandering through his dominions. Henry took advantage of his position to exact other concessions from his guest. When Suffolk had arrived, and was shut up in the Tower, Philip and Joanna were permitted to depart for Spain. On the death of Philip, some time after, Henry opened negotiations with Ferdinand of Aragon for the hand of Philip's widow, Queen Joanna, though that unhappy princess, always weak of intellect, had become quite insane with grief at her husband's death. He even threatened to break off the match between his son Henry and the infant Catherine, on Ferdinand's persistent refusal; but at last was induced to abandon his intention, on condition that another hundred thousand crowns should be added to the dowry of Catherine.

Philip the Handsome in England.

Advantageous Treaty.

The King's Marriage Projects.

It is related that on one occasion when he visited the Earl of Oxford, that nobleman, somewhat in disregard of the so-called statute of maintenance, had his tenants and retainers to assemble, and had them dressed in his liveries, and drawn up in two lines at the king's departure. Henry looked fixedly at the goodly band. The earl proceeded to explain that these were mostly his retainers, come to do him service, and to see the king. "I thank you for your good cheer, my lord," said Henry; "but I cannot have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you on this matter;" and the earl was compelled to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds.

Henry and the Earl of Oxford.

For some years the king was sorely troubled with the gout, and

with a consumptive cough. He was visited by compunctions of conscience, and endeavoured by almsgiving to make amends for many years of extortion and injustice; and even for the first time lent his ear to the bitter complaints against Empson and Dudley. Remorse came with the approach of death. In his will he enjoined his successor to make reparation to those who had been injured by his extortions. He died on the 21st of April, 1509, at his palace of Richmond.

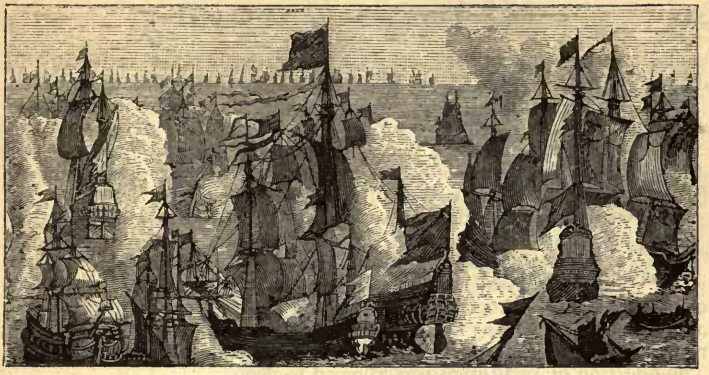
Last Years of the King. His Will.

The character of this king is that of a crafty, cold-hearted man, undeviatingly bent upon following out his own interest, and thoroughly unscrupulous as to the means by which his ends were attained. Like Louis XI. of France he preferred negotiation to fighting, and trusted to his subtlety in the council, rather than to his prowess in the field. That he was not cruel in disposition is shown by his pardon of Simnel and of the Cornish rebels; but the murder of the Earl of Warwick, and the injunction Henry left to his successor, to have the Earl of Suffolk put to death, show that no reluctance to shed blood deterred him from following out his crooked policy. Of his ability and his sagacity there can be no doubt. No monarch better understood the art of turning the deeds of other men to his own profit.

Policy of Henry.

Henry was buried in the chapel erected by himself in Westminster Abbey. In his reign the limits of the known world were extended by the discovery of America, or, more strictly speaking, its re-discovery, by Columbus. It was in 1498 that the mainland of the South American continent was reached; and in the year before, in 1497, John Cabot, or Gavotta, a navigator sailing from England, landed on the coast of North America, and explored its shore from Labrador almost to the Gulf of Florida.

Discovery of America.



CHAPTER XXIII.

The Tudors.—Henry VIII.

A.D. 1509–1547.

Wealth and Prosperity of Henry VIII. Indictment of Empson and Dudley. Their Execution. Foreign Affairs. The League of Cambraï. War with France. Dorset and Alva. Action of Sir Edward Howard. Battle of the Spurs. Intrigues of Maximilian. Terouenne and Tournay. War with James IV. of Scotland. Battle of Flodden Field. Defeat and death of James IV. Margaret of Scotland, Regent. Peace with France. Marriage of the Princess Mary to Louis XII. Her Second Marriage to Charles Brandon. Rise of Cardinal Wolsey. His Great Abilities. His Good Fortune. Francis I. and Charles V. The Field of the Cloth of Gold. The Trial and Execution of the Duke of Buckingham. Arbitrary Government of the King. Wolsey and the Papacy. Surrey's Invasion of France. Breach with the Emperor, and Peace with France. Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn. The Question of Divorce. Fall of Wolsey—his Death. Thomas Cromwell, Anne Boleyn. Religious Persecution. Fuller and More. Fall of Anne Boleyn. Jane Seymour's Brief Career. Suppression of Monasteries. Reginald Pole. Anne of Cleves. Fall of Cromwell. Catherine Howard. War with Scotland. Catherine Parr. Execution of the Duke of Norfolk. Death of the King—his Character.

THE crown of England now passed, to the great joy of the nation, into the possession of a king whose coming to the throne promised a very different state of things. Henry VIII. was just eighteen years old, a gallant young prince, skilled in knightly ac-

complishments and athletic exercises, apparently open and frank in disposition, and a man rather likely to scatter with a liberal hand the treasures his father had amassed, than to increase the hoard. He was proclaimed king on the 22nd of April, 1509; on the 3rd of June he married Catherine of Aragon, and on the 24th of June he was crowned with great magnificence with his queen in Westminster Abbey.

Accession of Henry VIII.

Henry retained around him the counsellors of his father. Empson and Dudley and their chief agents were promptly arrested; nothing short of the lives of the chief offenders would satisfy the nation. Empson made a strong and eloquent defence. Accordingly an absurd charge was brought forward against them, of having conspired to keep the present king out of his rights, and they were executed for treason against King Henry VIII. The question of restitution was allowed to drop.

Indictment of Empson and Dudley.

At the time of Henry's accession a great and important contest was proceeding on the continent of Europe. Charles VIII. of France and Ferdinand of Aragon each set up a claim to the possession of Naples; and Louis XII., Charles's successor, took possession of the duchy of Milan. The Emperor Maximilian, on the other hand, had certain feudal rights in Italy which he endeavoured to enforce, while the warlike Pope Julius II. was anxious to oust all strangers from Italy, and to humble the pride of the Venetian republic; and thus in the league of Cambraï, the Emperor, the King of France, and Ferdinand of Spain united their arms against Venice. Soon afterwards two of the confederates were at odds with each other. A quarrel arose between the Pope and the King of France, in which Maximilian and Ferdinand took the side of Pope Julius, and the crafty Ferdinand persuaded the young English king to join his arms with theirs. Ferdinand persuaded Henry that it would be advantageous to occupy Guienne. The Marquis of Dorset was accordingly despatched with Lord Howard, the Earl of Surrey, and other brave leaders to the South. Ferdinand played so skilfully upon the fears of the court of Navarre, that after a time the little kingdom submitted, and was annexed to the throne of Spain. The Marquis of Dorset, who had repeatedly and impatiently desired to advance, was now told that the march must be to Béarn, and not to Guienne, upon which he angrily refused to move. A herald was sent to Dorset, enjoining him to be guided by the directions of the Spanish court. But by this time his troops had become mutinous. They insisted on being sent home, and Christmas, 1512, saw them back in England, having effected nothing. Henry had now determined to lead an army into France in person. Sir Edward Howard, the admiral, a man daring to a fault, had made several attacks on the coast of Brittany; and on the 12th of August, 1512, an action had been fought, in which the *Cordelier* and the *Regent*, the largest ships of the French and English fleets respectively, were burnt. In 1513 the command was then taken by Sir Thomas Howard, who cleared the Channel of the enemy.

Foreign Affairs.

The League of Cambraï.

Invasion of France.

Dorset and Alva.

Action of Sir Edward Howard.

Henry brought together an army of 25,000 men in the spring of 1513. In May he sent the advanced division to Calais; he himself followed on the 30th of June, leaving Catherine of Aragon regent in his absence. King Henry lingered at Calais for a week or two. At the end of July he proceeded to Terouenne, which had already been invested by Lord Herbert, and where he was joined by the Emperor Maximilian. Meanwhile, the

Embarkation of the King for France.

PORTRAIT OF HENRY VIII. BY HOLBEIN.

French king was advancing to the relief of Terouenne. On the 16th of August, the main body of the French army advanced to Plagni in two bodies, on the banks of the river Lis. The army of Henry and Maximilian's horsemen went forth to oppose them; and then was fought the singular battle of Guinegate, more generally known as the "Battle of the Spurs," from the sudden panic that seized the French cavalry, and induced them to put their horses to their utmost speed, in flight, when scarcely a blow had

Battle of the Spurs.

been struck. Henry wasted another week before Terouenne, which then capitulated, the garrison being allowed to march out with the honours of war. On the advice of Maximilian, the town was dismantled. Henry now laid siege to Tournay, a French town which, by its position with regard to Flanders, might give Maximilian much annoyance. Here again Henry was playing the game of the Austrian monarch, as he had before played that of Ferdinand of Aragon. But he was at this time already much under the influence of his almoner, Thomas Wolsey, who played so important a part in the politics of his reign; and Maximilian had enlisted Wolsey's co-operation in his schemes by the promise, which he honestly fulfilled, of the rich bishopric of Tournay. Henry entered Tournay in triumph on the 22nd of September, and Henry presently returned to England, after a campaign which had cost enormous sums of money and effected little.

Terouenne and Tournay.

Several causes of quarrel had arisen between Henry and his brother in-law, James IV. of Scotland. Certain jewels left by will to Queen Margaret by Henry VII. had not been delivered up. Robert Ker, warden of the Marches, had been slain by Sir Hugh the Heron, of Ford, nor had the satisfaction been given which the Scottish king somewhat unreasonably demanded for the death of a plundering sea-captain, Sir Andrew Barton. James found his alliance warmly sought by Louis XII., and had accordingly despatched ships and men to co-operate with the French king. When Henry was besieging Terouenne, there came into his camp Scottish heralds, bearing a defiance and a declaration of war. Henry entrusted the conduct of the Scottish war to the Earl of Surrey. On August 22nd James crossed the Tweed into England, with a numerous army. After taking Norham and several other border fortresses, James encamped on Flodden Hill, the last of the Cheviot range, near the valley of the Tweed, and awaited the attack of his enemy in a strong and well-chosen position.

Grievances of James IV.

The Earl of Surrey in the North.

Seeing that James would not abandon his strong position, Surrey moved towards Scotland, the English army marching up the right bank of the river Till, which they crossed at Twisel Bridge early next morning, the 9th of September. The English advanced to give battle, and the Scots marched down from the higher ground to meet them.

At first the Scottish spearmen, under Lord Home, obtained an advantage over the right wing of the English vanguard, but the position was retrieved by the advance of the right wing, the English centre being protected by a valiant charge of Lord Dacre with the English cavalry. The followers of Home and Huntley, who consisted of borderers, fell to plunder, and dispersed themselves over the field; but the Scottish left wing made a long and gallant defence with spears against the furious cavalry charges. Huntley and Home were driven back; but the fortune of the field was for a time retrieved in that quarter by the Earls of Crawford and Montrose, who in turn threw the right wing of the English into confusion. The Earl of Surrey advanced with the whole English centre. King James on his side came forward with the Scottish centre. And when Lord Bothwell brought the Scottish reserve into

Battle of Flodden Field.

action, for a while victory inclined to the ruddy lion of Scotland. But the wild Highlanders of the right wing insisted on quitting their ranks, as if the struggle could be decided by the headlong valour of a fierce charge; and all the efforts of their leaders were powerless to remedy the confusion they caused by utterly breaking the line, and rendering manœuvring impossible. The English stood firm in their ranks, which their wild antagonists endeavoured in vain to break. Lord Stanley now swooped down upon the right flank and centre of the king's host, taking it in the rear; and a combined attack by Surrey in front, and Admiral Howard and Lord Dacre on the left, decided the fortunes of the day. James himself fell, pierced with an arrow, and his head cloven by a battle-axe, within a spear's length of the Earl of Surrey. The battle had begun at four in the afternoon, and was maintained until night closed in upon the corpse-strewn field, and hid the combatants from one another.

The Highlanders.

Defeat of the Scots.

The loss on the Scottish side was tremendous. "Scarce a Scottish family of eminence but has an ancestor killed at Flodden," says Sir Walter Scott. Wild rumours were afterwards rife with regard to the fate of the king, some accounts insisting that he had escaped the carnage of that fatal day, and had been seen alive at Kelso after the fight. But there is no doubt that the body, fully identified in spite of many wounds, and conveyed successively to Berwick, Newcastle, and Sheen, in Surrey, was that of the unfortunate king. In consequence of this victory, the Earl of Surrey was made Duke of Norfolk, Charles Brandon, Lord Lisle, became Earl of Suffolk, and Sir Edward Stanley was raised to the peerage as Lord Mounteagle.

Fate of James IV.

Lord Surrey abstained from following up his victory by an advance into Scotland; he entered Berwick, strengthened the garrisons in that and in other places, and then dismissed the greater part of his army. The widowed Queen Margaret was appointed regent for her infant son, and was left undisturbed by Henry, who, moreover, was fully employed on the Continent at the time. Friendly relations were re-established, and continued to be maintained between the Scottish and English courts.

Margaret of Scotland, Regent.

Louis XII. skilfully contrived to make peace with the German Empire, with the court of Rome, and with Ferdinand of Spain. He proposed a marriage between Charles, the grand-son of Maximilian, and his second daughter, the Princess Renée, to whom he offered to transfer his claims to Milan. When Henry VIII. heard of the proposed union, he was greatly enraged against Maximilian, for Charles had been affianced, by Philip the Handsome, to Mary, Henry's sister. At this time Anne of Brittany, the wife of the French king, died, and Louis, thus left free, though he was fifty-three years of age, and Mary only sixteen, proposed himself as a husband for the beautiful young princess. Henry eagerly listened to the proposal. The marriage was celebrated with much pomp, and the King of France seemed to look with doting fondness on his fair young wife. But in a few weeks afterwards, Louis XII. died, and Mary was left a widow. As she had

Ferdinand.

Louis XII. and the Princess Mary.

contracted her first marriage to please her brother, she seems to have determined that in her second she would please herself, and accordingly informed her admirer, the handsome young Duke of Suffolk, Charles Brandon, who was sent with other lords by Henry, to bring her home to England, that he must wed her at once or never. Brandon accordingly married Mary privately in Paris. Henry, after a decent interval of displeasure, received them both into favour again. It is said they were largely indebted for their reinstatement in the king's good graces to the famous Cardinal Wolsey.

Mary and Charles Brandon.

This eminent Churchman and courtier was the son of a wealthy butcher of Ipswich. He was intended for the Church, and received a good education; he had the good fortune to be introduced to the notice of Bishop Fox. Recommended by Bishop Fox to Henry VII., Wolsey acquitted himself with such diligence and discretion in all matters in which he was employed by the king, that he completely won the astute monarch's confidence. Henry VIII. continued towards the talented Churchman the favour his predecessor had shown. Wolsey was made royal almoner, and showed himself as able to adapt himself to the humours of a gay young king as to the designs of a politic old one. No one surpassed him in ability to arrange a feast or a pageant. This sprightly demeanour highly pleased the king. At the same time the astute Churchman did not neglect business, and soon proved himself a ready and reliable counsellor.

Thomas Wolsey.

Wolsey and the King.

His Character.

Wolsey became successively Dean of York, Bishop of Lincoln, and Archbishop of York, in 1514. In the next year a cardinal's hat was sent to him by the pope, and three years afterwards he was made papal legate. His revenues were enormous, and were derived alike from ecclesiastical and mundane sources. He rode out with a train worthy of a sovereign prince. His retinue, consisting of eight hundred persons, appeared, like himself, in unusual splendour. Wolsey certainly did not hoard his wealth. His benefactions to the poor were princely in their number and amount. "They that lived in that age," writes a chronicler, "would not stick to say that this country never flourished more than when Wolsey did; to whose wisdom they attributed the wealth and safety they enjoyed, and the due administration of justice to all without exception." But in his dealing with foreign courts Wolsey appears to have been actuated by his desire to wear the papal crown.

Rapid Preferment of Wolsey.

Magnificence of the Cardinal.

King Louis XII., of France, was succeeded, on his death, by his cousin, Francis I. The new king made himself master of the Milanese territory; and when, in 1519, the Emperor Maximilian died, Francis became a candidate for the imperial throne. The choice of the elector princes, in fact, lay between him and the young Charles, the grandson of Maximilian. Each of them was anxious to secure the suffrage and assistance of the King of England. It was in 1520 that Francis summoned Henry, in pursuance of an article in their late treaty, to that conference known as

Candidates for the Imperial Throne.

the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." The place chosen for the meeting was between Guisnes and Ardres, not far from Calais, and within the pale of the English territories. On the 21st of May, Henry set out for the Continent, with his retinue; but at Canterbury he received the news that the Emperor Charles V., being on his way from Spain to Flanders, had put into Hythe with his fleet, intending to pay his respects, in passing, to Queen Catherine of Aragon, his aunt, and to the King of England. He was received with all honour; and when Charles departed, and the English court resumed its journey to the Continent, the wily and politic emperor, by attaching Wolsey to his own interests, had counteracted in advance any profit that the French monarch might obtain.

Rivalry for Henry's Favour.

The Field of the Cloth of Gold is celebrated as an instance of the magnificent folly of two prodigal kings. At Guisnes a great temporary palace of wood had been erected, and gaily and lavishly decorated with tapestries and silken hangings, in a style of fantastic magnificence. Great fountains ran with red and white wines, and claret. Cloth of gold and velvet and silken ropes were lavishly used in the adornment of this pavilion, and in the corresponding building erected at Ardres for the use of the French king. The serious business of the meeting began with a treaty for the marriage of the Dauphin with Mary the daughter of Henry, and a large yearly sum was agreed upon, to be paid on the completion of the marriage. The two kings then appeared arm-in-arm, with ostentatious demonstrations of confidence and friendship; and after a few days the joustings and tournaments began. Henry himself, with Charles Brandon and other courtiers, appeared as champions for England, while King Francis and his nobles entered the lists to maintain the honour of France. Each side tried to outdo the other in expense and magnificence; and many nobles half ruined themselves by the cost of their equipment and the gorgeousness of their trains.

Meeting between Guisnes and Ardres.

Pageants and Tournaments.

All this expense and magnificence produced no lasting effect, so far as the two nations and their relation towards each other were concerned. After a fortnight of unexampled feastings and expense the meeting broke up; and on his return, Henry and the cardinal visited, at Gravelines, the cautious emperor, who, with his court, had kept aloof from the pageants and revelry of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and by promises and gifts to Wolsey, and by flatteries skilfully administered to Henry, contrived to neutralize the effect the courtesy and magnificence of Francis had for a time produced. Charles escorted the English king back to Calais, and spent three days with him there. Within a short time England and France were again at war.

Diplomacy of the Emperor Charles.

Prominent among the nobility for wealth and magnificence was Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the son of that duke who, to gain the throne, had revolted against Richard III. and perished on the scaffold at Salisbury. Buckingham traced his descent from Edward III., and was also related to John of Gaunt; thus he represented the Plantagenet family, a race always looked on with jealousy by the Tudors. The duke had, it is said,

Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

incurred the enmity of the all-powerful Wolsey by outspoken words of blame on the useless expense of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Bishop Godwin tells us that Buckingham "could by no means bear with the intolerable pride of the cardinal. The duke had certainly aroused Henry's jealousy by the splendour and number of the retinue he maintained, and by appearing too much like a sovereign prince in the eyes of the people at a time when the succession was in anything but an assured state; for the king had only one daughter, the Lady Mary. Suddenly the duke was arrested and conveyed to the Tower on a charge of high treason.

Buckingham and the Cardinal.

The accusations brought against him were vague and incomplete. The duke was declared to be meditating the putting forward of his own son as successor to the throne of England. The accusation set forth that he had hearkened to the prophecies of a Carthusian friar, one Nicholas Hopkins. Buckingham was stated to have uttered threats against the king's life. He defended himself with equal firmness and modesty, alleging that the accusations, even if proved, did not amount to high treason, as no overt act had been committed; but he was found guilty, and sentence of death was pronounced upon him. On the 17th of May, 1521, he was executed on Tower Hill, amid the groans and lamentations of a vast crowd, for the people loved the duke for his princely liberality; and many execrations were uttered against "the butcher's son," to whose rancour and malice the ruin of the duke was attributed.

His Trial and Execution.

The principles of government in England had become more arbitrary. From 1516 to 1523 no parliament was called, the cardinal, acting for his imperious master, representing the government of England. Though Henry began his reign with the great advantage of a treasury filled to overflowing, his sumptuous tastes and love of magnificence had exhausted the fund, and recourse was frequently had to benevolences, forced loans, and other illegal means to supply the coffers of the State.

Period of Royal Wealth and Power.

On the death of the magnificent Medicean pope, Leo X., in 1520, Wolsey had already announced himself as a candidate for the papal throne, and King Henry, with whom he was in the highest favour, seconded his pretensions. But, on the other hand, the French and Italian cardinals, and especially Julius de Medici, looked with jealousy on the efforts of an Englishman to secure the supreme position in the Church; and by the covert influence of Charles, who never was sincere in his attachment to Wolsey's interests, the Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht was chosen. In 1522 Charles visited England, and was received at Dover with great distinction, and with every appearance of friendship, alike by the cardinal and the king. Thus England was committed to the policy of warfare against France, and in the autumn of 1522 the Earl of Surrey invaded France with 16,000 men, reinforced by German and Spanish cavalry. Surrey effected nothing of importance in France. The season was far advanced, the weather tempestuous, and the army not very efficient. After a few weeks the English leader was fain to retire with his troops to Calais.

Wolsey and the Papacy.

Surrey's Invasion of France.

Francis had meanwhile endeavoured, and not without success, to

procure for himself an ally, by rousing up the old feeling of enmity in Scotland against the English; and a large army was raised for the invasion of England. But Scotland was torn by the quarrels of the Queen Margaret with the Duke of Albany, the regent. After numerous fluctuations of fortune, the Earl of Angus, Margaret's second husband, from whom she had become alienated chiefly through her own misconduct, assumed the regency, with the full consent of Henry, with whose plans a Scottish war at that juncture would have ill accorded.

Margaret of Scotland and the Regent Albany.

The next year, 1523, saw a parliament assembled, after an interval of seven years. In this parliament Sir Thomas More was chosen speaker. He had the patriotic courage to stand up for the privileges of parliament, when Wolsey, wishing to frighten the Commons into passing a bill for raising £800,000 by means of a property tax, came down to the House with a great retinue, to argue the matter personally with the House; whereupon More told the cardinal courteously, but firmly, that the members were not bound to answer any questions put by Wolsey, and that he, as speaker, was bound to act only upon instructions received from the House. When the papal throne again became vacant, it was bestowed, not upon Wolsey, but on Julius de Medici, the nephew of Leo X., who was elected with the title of Clement VII. On this occasion Wolsey became convinced that the Emperor Charles was insincere. Accordingly, the policy of the king's government was completely changed; an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between the French and English kings. The intended match between the Princess Mary of England and the Emperor Charles was broken off, and a marriage with Francis, or with the Duke of Orleans, was proposed as a substitute. The two monarchs, however, did nothing to succour Clement VII.; and a short time afterwards the pontiff was prisoner in his own capital, which was sacked by the soldiers of the Emperor.

Henry had treated his consort, Catherine of Arragon, with respect and all outward honour during many years. Wolsey, who was highly exasperated against the emperor, entered into the scheme his master now entertained of procuring a divorce from Catherine. The king was fascinated with the charms of Anne Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, a member of a wealthy London family, and of Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Her beauty attracted the favourable notice of the king, and when Henry, on declaring his passion, found that Anne would be his only on condition that he married her, he eagerly sought to obtain freedom from the bond that united him to Catherine.

It was difficult to procure the divorce that Wolsey was now ordered to obtain. The Pope Clement VII. was a prisoner in the hands of the Emperor Charles V., who looked upon the king's proceedings, in seeking a divorce from Catherine, Charles's aunt, as a deadly insult. Clement accordingly endeavoured to delay giving an answer to the king's application, but was at length induced to send Cardinal Campeggio to England, with a commission to try the king's cause in conjunction with Wolsey. At the end of May a court was opened at the Blackfriars

Catherine of Arragon and the Divorce Suit.

Convent, to try the case. Henry answered in due form when his name was called; but Catherine made an eloquent appeal to the king, and thereupon retired hastily from the court, in which she never again appeared. Campeggio declared that he must consult the pope, and after taking leave of the English king, returned to Italy.

The first result of the king's disappointment was the fall of Wolsey, who, on proceeding to join the court at Grafton, in Northamptonshire, during a progress of the king, was ordered back to London, after being received by his master for the last time. He was accused in the Court of King's Bench of having transgressed the law by acting as the pope's legate in England. A few days later, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk appeared at York Place, with a demand that he should deliver up the great seal. The disgraced courtier was ordered to betake himself to Esher House. Wolsey departed for Esher. He was afterwards allowed to remove from Esher to Richmond, thus coming nearer to the court; but his enemies procured a decree commanding him to proceed to his diocese of York. Thither, most reluctantly, the cardinal took his way. A parliament had been called; and though the House of Lords had declared a charge of forty-four articles proved against him, the Commons, moved by the eloquent appeal of Thomas Cromwell, who had been secretary to Wolsey, threw out the indictment. Henry's conduct towards him was marked by an amount of caprice that shows he must have been influenced by Wolsey's enemies. In the North the cardinal made himself exceedingly popular by his rigid discharge of his duties, and by his courteous and kindly bearing to all who approached him. But the final blow was now to fall upon him. While residing at Cawood, near York, the Earl of Northumberland came to arrest him on a charge of high treason. The fallen minister was carried off in custody, amid the tears and blessings of the peasantry. At Lord Shrewsbury's castle of Sheffield he was compelled to rest for a fortnight. Thence he proceeded to Leicester; but at the abbey he was compelled to alight with the words: "Father Abbot, I am come to leave my bones among you." He took to his bed, from which he never rose again. The words, immortalized by Shakespeare, at this time spoken by him to Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, are infinitely pathetic. "And, Master Kingston, this I will say, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Howbeit, this is my just reward for my pains and diligence, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince." He died on the 29th of November, 1530, in his sixtieth year.

Fall of Wolsey.

Wolsey's Residence in the North.

Death of Wolsey.

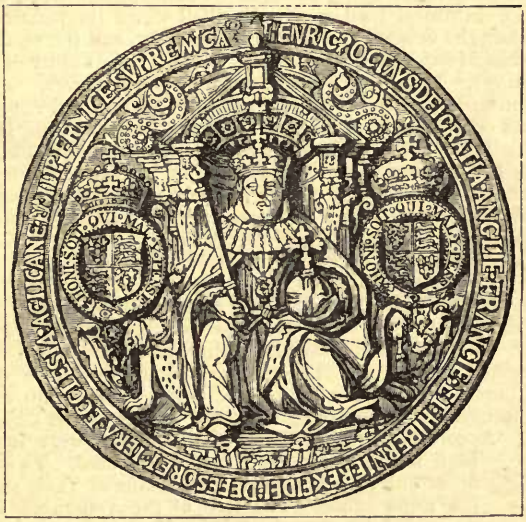
An embassy to the emperor, headed by Anne Boleyn's father, the Earl of Wiltshire, and an appeal to the pope, had failed to advance the matter of the divorce. Cranmer had advised the reference to learned doctors and foreign universities; a bolder man now came forward with the advice that the king should disregard the authority of the pope altogether, and make himself the head of the Church in England. This was Thomas Cromwell, who, after he had served Wolsey with rare fidelity, had been taken into the service of the king. The proposal exactly suited the despotic

Thomas Cromwell.

temper of the king, who resolved to act on Cromwell's advice. Various laws for the abolition of the papal authority in England occupied the attention of parliament from that time. So seriously were the powers of the Church circumscribed by the enactments passed in 1532, that the chancellor, Sir Thomas More, a zealous Catholic, solicited and obtained permission to retire, whereupon the great seal was entrusted to Sir Thomas Audley. But while Henry thus arrogated to himself the power of a pope in England, he was inexorable with regard to any heresy against the doctrines of the Church, and various persons were burnt for heretical opinions.

The Royal Supremacy.

Cranmer was at this time advanced to the dignity of Archbishop of Canterbury, which office, we are told, he accepted most unwillingly,



GREAT SEAL OF HENRY VIII.

foreseeing the troublous times that were in store for the Church in England; but the king's will was not to be disputed. Cranmer had, moreover, adopted the doctrines and practice of the Reformation in Germany, and had even gone so far, during his residence in Germany, as to marry. Meanwhile the Queen Catherine retired to Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, still maintaining her protest against the proceedings of the English court, and persevering in her appeal to the pope. But the king's impatience would brook no further delay. On the 25th of January, 1533, he was secretly married, by one of his chaplains, to Anne, who had been already raised to the dignity of Marchioness of Pembroke. A court, convened at Dunstable, summoned Catherine to appear; on her refusal, the tribunal pronounced the marriage between her and the king null and

Henry's Marriage to Anne Boleyn.

void. Anne had already appeared in public as a queen, and on the 1st of June she was crowned. On the 7th of September she gave birth to a daughter, destined to rule in England as Queen Elizabeth.

During the next year various statutes were passed, all tending to free the Church in England from the papal authority, such as the forbidding of all monetary gifts to Rome; the transfer of the powers of licensing and dispensing from the pope to the Archbishop of Canterbury; the prohibition to publish in England any decree or bull of the pope; and an act which required all persons holding office to take an oath to the king as head of the Church. A law was also passed to regulate the succession, which was fixed in the issue of the king's second marriage, his union with Catherine of Arragon being declared null and void. Soon afterwards two of the worthiest men in England fell under the penalties of this bill—Fisher, the venerable Bishop of Rochester, and the ex-chancellor, Sir Thomas More, who would not acknowledge the nullity of the king's first marriage. They were both committed to the Tower.

Statutes against Rome.

The spirit of persecution was presently awakened and embittered by the events connected with Elizabeth Barton, known as the Holy Maid of Kent. This poor woman suffered from epileptic fits, and this fact was turned to account by a priest named Masters, and his confederates, who put into the mouth of the poor woman words that were afterwards spread abroad as prophecies and revelations. Elizabeth took up her parable strongly against the king's second marriage. She even went so far as to denounce speedy death on Henry in the event of his persisting in his sin. But as the proceedings of the Holy Maid of Kent and her confederates were becoming dangerous, they were arrested and brought before the Star Chamber. The nun and Masters, with four confederates, were soon after executed at Tyburn. Though in general the king's supremacy in the Church was acknowledged, there were some who questioned it; and foremost among these were the monks of the Chartreuse in London. Accordingly, the prior and three monks were indicted for high treason, condemned, and executed. Two priors of other orders, and several Cistercians at York, suffered for the same cause. The fate of the venerable Bishop of Rochester was sealed by an act of Pope Paul III., who sent him a cardinal's hat as a token of honour. The king swore that the pope might send Fisher a hat, but that the bishop should have never a head to wear it on; and gave orders for the immediate trial of the prelate, who died on the scaffold on the 22nd of June, 1535. The trial of More followed on the 1st of July. The accusation against him was that of having "imagined" to deprive the king of his title and dignity. As he was being conveyed back to the Tower, after being sentenced to death, his daughter, Margaret Roper, who had been indefatigable in her affectionate solicitude towards him in his prison, burst through the ranks of the guards, on the Tower Wharf, and embraced him, imploring his blessing with a fervour that affected the bystanders to tears. To the last, More preserved the cheerful confidence of a good and honest man. Even at the scaffold the playful wit for which he had been famous did not

The Holy Maid of Kent.

The Chartreuse Friars.

Death of Bishop Fisher.

desert him. The steps were somewhat unsafe, and he accordingly requested the lieutenant to see him safely up them, adding, that for the coming down he might be left to shift for himself. His judicial murder excited a feeling of detestation against the king and his advisers at every court in Europe. In spite of some faults, the chief of which was the intolerance which caused him to inveigh in extravagant terms against the translators of the Bible and the reformers of religion, More may be accounted as the most honest and virtuous man of that age—a patron of learning, moreover, and one who did honour to the high office he filled. According to the practice of the time, his head was set up on London Bridge; but Margaret Roper contrived to have it taken down, and kept it in her possession during the nine remaining years of her life; and it was buried with her.

Death of Sir T. More.

The execution of Fisher and More was made the occasion for the issue of a threatening bull by the pope Paul. Henry's answer to this was a high-handed and arbitrary exercise of his new authority, in the suppression of the monasteries—beginning with the smaller houses, whose income was under £200 yearly. More than three hundred and fifty of these houses were suppressed, their property being seized by the king. It was valued at £100,000. Early in 1536 the divorced Queen Catherine, who had of late been called the Dowager Princess of Wales, died at Kimbolton Priory. While the king put on mourning for Catherine, Anne arrayed herself in yellow. Her triumph was short; the king had cast his eyes upon Jane Seymour, a maid of honour, whose beauty had caught his fancy; and when Anne was soon afterwards delivered of a still-born son, Henry expressed his disappointment in coarse and brutal words.

The Smaller Convents Suppressed.

Frequent levity of manner, arising from vanity and love of admiration, furnished her enemies with a weapon against her. On May-day, at a tilting at Greenwich Palace, Henry Norris, a groom of the stole, being one of the challengers, and the king and the queen both present, Henry suddenly rose, and departed for Westminster. It is said his anger was excited by the queen's dropping a handkerchief, which Norris picked up. The next day the queen was suddenly arrested and conveyed to the Tower on a charge of treason against the king, the said treason consisting in acts of adultery, alleged to have been committed with Norris, the groom of the stole; William Brereton and Francis Weston, gentlemen of the king's privy chamber; Mark Smeaton, a musician; and with Anne's own brother, Viscount Rochford. All circumstances point to her innocence of the horrible charges brought against her; and it has been rightly observed that such constant and unblushing criminality as that of which she is accused would at once have awakened suspicion in a court where the queen was surrounded with watchful and malignant enemies. Cranmer, a timid and irresolute man, made a feeble effort with the king to save her life; but Henry was too impatient for his freedom to allow even a short respite. On the 19th of May, only four days after her trial in the hall of the Tower, the unhappy queen was brought out and beheaded on Tower Green, in front of St. Peter's Chapel, in which edifice her

Arrest of Anne Boleyn.

Execution of Anne.

JANE SEYMOUR.

ANNE BOLEYN.

remains were afterwards interred, in an old elm chest, without any ceremony. The king married Jane Seymour on the next day, the 20th of May; and on the 29th, Queen Jane Seymour appeared in public.

Various insurrectionary movements, arising out of discontent at the suppression of the monasteries and the turning adrift of many monks and nuns in destitute circumstances, occurred in the northern counties. The first of these, in Lincolnshire, was concluded without bloodshed by the judicious action of the Duke of Suffolk, who, by a timely proclamation of amnesty, induced the rebels to disperse. A far more formidable rising was the popular movement known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. This was an insurrection of the people in the northern counties, for the avowed purpose of expelling "all villain blood and evil councillors from the privy council," and restoring the Church to its old power and supremacy. The figure of the Saviour was displayed on their banners, and the emblem of the five wounds of Christ was worn by the insurgents as a badge on their sleeves. The ostensible leader was one Aske, a lawyer, but the Lords Darcy and Hussey, and various other nobles and high clergy, were among the supporters of the rebellion, which was at length put down with great slaughter. Aske was hanged, and Darcy and Hussey beheaded, the former at York, the latter at Lincoln. Six priors and many inferior persons also suffered death.

Pilgrimage of Grace.

On the 12th of October, 1536, Queen Jane Seymour gave birth to a prince, afterwards Edward VI.; a few days afterwards she died. The infant prince was created Prince of Wales, and his uncle, Sir William Seymour, became Earl of Hertford, while others of his mother's

relatives were also advanced to the peerage. Henry gave his sanction and patronage to that great work the translation of the Bible by Tyndale and Coverdale, and gave licence that each man should read the Scriptures with his family, and modestly and under certain restrictions, expound them to his household. A book was also compiled by the bishops, and published by royal authority, entitled "The Godly and Pious Institute of a Christian Man," and was intended as a general guide for the people. A very high-handed proceeding was the complete suppression of the monasteries. Many of the priors and superiors of convents, bowing to the storm, voluntarily surrendered their abodes and the Church's property into the hands of the king, receiving pensions and compensation for their personal losses in proportion to their position and wealth; others, however, held out, and even suffered death for their opposition. The income derived by the king from houses suppressed within two years amounted to £130,000. The spoliation itself was carried out in the most ruthless fashion. It was also stated that the wealth which would accrue from the confiscation of Church property would enable the king to carry on the government almost without taxation; but this last expectation was soon dissipated by a demand made by the king from parliament for a compensation for the expenses he had incurred in reforming the religion of the State. Among those who were most busy in the work of spoliation, and most eager to secure a share of the proceeds, was Thomas Cromwell. In Rome a bull was issued which put an end to all hope of accommodation between Henry and the Vatican.

Tyndale and Coverdale's Bible.

Second Suppression of Convents.

While the breach between the king and the pope had become permanent, Henry by no means abjured all the doctrines of the Romish Church. Lambert, a London schoolmaster, had adopted some of the views of the German Reformers. The king condescended to come himself to Westminster Hall to the trial of the prisoner, with whom he argued in the presence of Gardiner, Cranmer, Stokesley, Tunstall, and other bishops; and when the unfortunate prisoner threw himself on the king's mercy, Henry sternly replied that he had no mercy for heretics, and ordered Cromwell to pronounce sentence of death. His determination to uphold the old forms was seen still more plainly in the "Act of Six Articles," or "Act for abolishing diversity of opinions," passed by the parliament in 1539. The first of the six articles adjudges the punishment of death by burning as heretics to all who shall deny the presence of the natural body of Christ in the Eucharist. The five other articles declare respectively that communion in both kinds, for laymen, is not necessary; that the marriage of priests is unlawful; that vows of chastity are to be observed; that private masses are right and efficacious; that auricular confession is expedient and necessary. All offences against these articles were punishable as felonies. Numbers of clergymen were imprisoned under these Acts, and the Bishops Latimer and Shaxton, who resigned their sees, were thrown into the Tower. Cranmer, always inclined to bow to the king's will, sent his wife and children to Germany; and the law, severe as it was, made the king once more popular with the numerous adherents of the old

Lambert and the King.

The Six Acts.

faith, who had been angry at the persecution and spoliation recently carried on.

After remaining a widower for two years, Henry married Anne, the sister of the Duke of Cleves, one of the Protestant princes of Germany. It was Thomas Cromwell who negotiated the business; and the king, betrayed by a flattering portrait by Holbein, came to meet her at Rochester, where he took an opportunity of seeing her, while he himself remained hidden. He was greatly disappointed at finding her plain-featured and ungraceful, and angrily commanded Cromwell to break off the match. For this, however, it was too late; and Henry determined to divorce his wife, and to ruin Cromwell. Anne of Cleves was prevailed on to consent to a divorce and a pension of £3,000, with the palace of Richmond for a residence.

Marriage with Anne of Cleves.

The ruin of Cromwell had already taken place, before the divorce was accomplished. He had been recently nominated vicar-general for the King, Earl of Essex, Knight of the Garter, and Lord Great Chamberlain. But he was hateful to the Catholics, and to the Reformers. The nobility hated him as an upstart, like Wolsey; and the common people blamed him for excessive taxation. He was proceeded against by bill of attainder; he was not allowed to speak in his own defence, was found guilty, and beheaded on Tower Hill on the 28th of July. One reason for his swift fall was that the Catholic party was once more in high favour with the king. Henry had become enamoured of the beautiful Catherine Howard, the niece of the Duke of Norfolk, and to the duke the commission was given of arresting Cromwell at the council board. In August the king married Catherine Howard; and for some months the married pair lived together in great apparent affection. But in November an extraordinary report was made to Cranmer, that charged the beautiful Catherine with almost incredible dissoluteness of life before her marriage, and with a renewal of criminality after it. The queen, on being interrogated, after a first vain denial, made a full confession so far as her evil life before marriage was concerned. Bills of attainder were passed against the queen and the other persons implicated; and in February, 1542, Catherine Howard was beheaded on Tower Green, where the head of Anne Boleyn had fallen a few short years before.

Fall of Cromwell.

Catherine Howard's Death.

The suspicion and tyranny of the king increased with his years. Among those who, from their position, excited his profound distrust, was Reginald Pole, a son of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, who was herself the daughter of George, Duke of Clarence. Reginald Pole had entered the Church, and had studied at Padua. In the matter of the king's divorce from Catherine of Arragon he had boldly avowed an opinion adverse to Henry. He also wrote a book against the king, in defence of the unity of the Church. In December, 1537, he was elevated to the rank of a cardinal. From that time the English king looked upon Pole as an enemy. Various members of his family, who fell into the king's hands, were put to death on a charge of conspiring against the crown; and in 1541 Henry caused the cardinal's mother, the venerable Coun-

Reginald Cardinal Pole.

tess of Salisbury, who was more than seventy years old, to be executed for maintaining a correspondence with her son. The persecutions against Catholics who denied the king's supremacy, and against reformers, continued with merciless severity.

The close of Henry's reign was destined to see the renewal of war against France and Scotland, after many years of peace. But in neither case was any great action fought. The Duke of Norfolk led twenty thousand men into Scotland, but retired without effecting anything; and, on the other hand, a Scottish army fled in panic before a few hundred Englishmen. James the Fifth of Scotland died at this juncture, a few days after the birth of an only daughter, afterwards known as the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, and the war came to an end. In matters of religion, the king showed a disposition to tolerate Reformed doctrines. In 1544, Cranmer obtained a considerable mitigation of the law of the Six Articles. The Romanist party detested the Archbishop, who was known to favour the Reformers, and an attempt was made to ruin him. Henry consented that Cranmer should be summoned before the council, and, if necessary, committed; but he privately sent for the Archbishop, warned him of his danger, and gave him his ring as a token that he had permission to appeal to the king. Cranmer acted on the advice of the king, who, after rating Gardiner and his party soundly, effected a temporary reconciliation. But persecution was as rife as before, and in 1546, Anne Askew, the daughter of a Lincolnshire knight, John Lascelles, a gentleman of the king's household, Nicholas Belenian, a clergyman, and John Adams, a tailor, were burnt to death together in Smithfield, for offences against the Six Articles.

War with Scotland and France.

The king was once again married. On the 10th of July, 1543, he had espoused a sixth wife, Catherine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer. The new queen favoured the reformed doctrines, and even presumed to argue with her lord on theological points. Wriothesley, the chancellor, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, obtained instructions from the king, in a fit of spleen, to draw up articles of accusation against the queen for heretical opinions. Fortunately Catherine obtained intelligence of what was going on; and when Henry tried to draw her into theological argument, professed herself willing to be guided only by him, and declared that she had entered into the previous discussions merely to divert his mind from his bodily sufferings. "Is it so, sweetheart?" cried the king, who perhaps already regretted the orders he had given, and was glad to have an opportunity of reversing the effect of his own precipitancy. When Wriothesley came, next day, with an armed guard, to take the queen into custody, the imperious king saluted him with the epithets, "knave, fool, and beast," and commanded him to be gone.

Catherine Parr in danger.

Between the Seymours and the Howards, the heads of the Reformed and of the Catholic party respectively, there was a standing rivalry and feud. The Earl of Surrey, eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk, was the chief man in the Howard faction. Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, the brother of Queen Jane Seymour, and uncle of the young Prince Edward, with his brother, the Admiral Seymour, stood at the head of the Reformed party. The Duke of Norfolk and

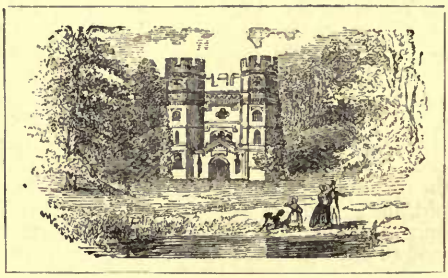
the Earl of Surrey were suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower, on the 12th of December, 1546. Surrey was declared to have assumed the arms of King Edward the Confessor on his shield, and this act was construed into an intention of aiming at the throne. He was said also to have spoken contemptuously of the newly ennobled Seymours, and to have kept spies in his service. On the 19th of January he was executed on Tower Hill. The accusation against his father, the duke, was of the same kind. He had assumed royal quarterings, in right of his wife, who was descended from Edward III. He also had spoken against the new nobility, and against the change in religion. Under a bill of attainder he was condemned to death, and to this bill, as the king was dying, the royal assent was given by commission on the 27th of January 1547. The order for his execution on the following morning was sent to the Tower; but in the night the king died, and the duke was accordingly respited. Henry had indeed been sinking for some days. On being asked to give some token of his trust in the merits of the Saviour, he pressed the primate's hand, and quietly breathed his last. He was fifty-five years old, and had reigned thirty-four years.

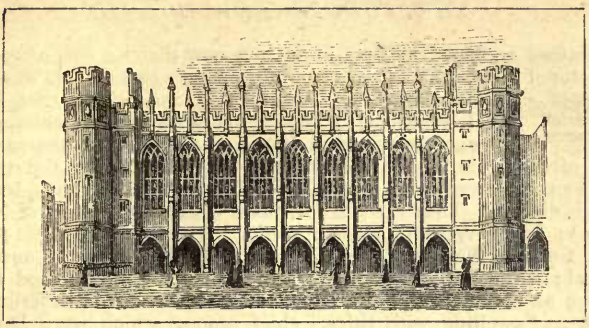
Arrest of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey.

Death of the King.

In spite of the endeavours made in our own time to rehabilitate the character of Henry VIII., his actions, through a series of years, exhibit him as a self-willed and cruel tyrant. In the earlier part of his career, the fortunate circumstances of his life in a great measure concealed the mighty vices that were latent in his nature; for while he was in good humour, he had a frank, jovial way that took mightily with the common people. As Lord Macaulay justly observes, this monarch, while his hands were reeking with the blood of the nobles, could still be the popular king of the cobblers, the "good King Hal" and "bluff King Hal" of the national ballads. Circumstances had developed an imperious will to an extent unusual even among kings; for he had to deal with a subservient parliament, a nobility whose power had perished in the Wars of the Roses, and a Church the thunders of whose excommunications and interdicts had no longer the terrors of former times. On the other hand, he had the merit especially belonging to this house—that of understanding the temper and spirit of the nation he governed, and of keeping touch with his times.

His Character.





CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, FOUNDED BY EDWARD VI.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Tudors.—Edward VI.

A.D. 1547–1553.

The Seymours. The Duke of Somerset, Protector. Wriothesley's Disgrace. Settlement of Religious Affairs. Repeal of the Penal Statutes. Ordinances and Observances. Campaign in Scotland. Defeat of the Scots at Pinkie near Musselburgh. The Protector and Admiral Seymour. Trial and Execution of the Admiral. Execution of Joan Bocher. Discontents. Church Lands and Tenants. Deterioration of Coinage. Enclosure of Commons. Rebellion of Ket. Suppression of the Rising. Intrigues of Dudley. Fall of Protector Somerset. His Arrest and Impeachment. Gardiner and Bonner. Second Arrest of Somerset. His Trial and Execution. Supremacy of Northumberland. Sickness of the King. Intrigues of Northumberland. Succession settled by Testament, on Lady Jane Grey. Death of Edward VI. His Character.

KING Edward the Sixth was in his tenth year at his father's death. On the 31st of January he was carried to London, when he made his public entry, taking up his abode in the Tower, amid great demonstrations of loyalty and welcome. Sixteen persons had been named by the late king as executors. The chief among them were Cranmer, the Archbishop; Wriothesley, the Chancellor; John Dudley; Viscount Lisle, Lord Admiral; Tunstall, Bishop of Durham; and Sir Antony Denny. The Earl

Testament of Henry VIII.

of Hertford managed matters in such a way that he was nominated protector of the realm and governor of the king's person. It was then declared, by Sir William Paget and others, that Henry VIII. mentioned an intent to bestow certain honours upon the executors, and to distribute among them the forfeited lands of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey; and various titles were bestowed, with means, chiefly from Church funds, to keep up their dignity. Thus the Earl of Essex became Marquess of Northampton; Baron Wriothesley was made Earl of Southampton; Lord Lisle, Earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, a baron and lord admiral; while Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield were raised to the peerage as barons. The Earl of Hertford himself is described by Strype as "swelling with titles," chief among which were Duke of Somerset, Governor of his Majesty, Lord Protector of all his realms, Lieutenant-General of all his armies, Lord High Treasurer and Earl Marshal of England, Knight of the Garter.

The Duke of Somerset Protector.

Wriothesley presently gave his enemies an opportunity of attacking him; he put the great seal into commission, giving power to four masters of his court to give judgments in his name. Thereupon his opponents pronounced this action illegal, and the great seal was taken from him, and he was obliged to give surety to pay any fine that should be imposed on him. His fall was a severe blow to the Catholic party, at whose head he stood.

Wriothesley's Disgrace.

The question of the state religion, and of rules for public worship, was quickly forced upon the attention of the government. The task of settling this important affair was undertaken, says Bishop Burnet, by Cranmer and his friends, on the principle "to carry on the Reformation, but by slow and safe degrees, not hazarding too much at once." The young king was an enthusiastic Reformer, the Protector entertained the same views, and the majority of the council were on the Protestant side. Among the bishops, the prelates of York, Lincoln, Ely, and Rochester, were with the Reformers; while, on the other hand, Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, Bonner of London, and Gardiner of Winchester, were bitterly opposed to all innovation. Of the people generally, a great number were still devoutly attached to the old Church, and many were bewildered by the various and contradictory edicts put forth of late years. Under these circumstances the principle wisely and opportunely followed was that of including as many as possible within the scope of the Church of England, to avoid as far as possible offending the feelings and prejudices of the people, and to insist only on such points as should be deemed essential. A number of homilies were composed, chiefly by Cranmer, and these were to be read instead of sermons by the parish priests to their congregations; images were to be allowed in churches, but not as objects of worship or occasions for pilgrimages or the offering of gifts, for if thus abused, they were to be destroyed. The English Bible, and the paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament, were to be placed for the use of the people in every church. The parliament, when it met, shortly afterwards, in November, 1547, passed several acts for further regulating ecclesiastical affairs and practice. The old statutes against the Lollards

The State Religion.

The Visitations.

were repealed, with all the acts, in matters of religion, passed under Henry VIII., except those against papal supremacy. The old law of treason was also freed from the penal additions made to it by Henry VIII. Another Act transferred the chantries and free chapels, on which the spoilers of the last reign had not laid their hands, to the crown. In the next session, soon afterwards, a bill was passed enjoining on all the clergy the use of the Book of Common Prayer, which was compiled chiefly by Cranmer, and which, with certain alterations made in subsequent reigns, still continues in daily use in the Church of England. On the other hand, some stringent laws were made to enforce observances, such as that of fasting during Lent, under penalty of fine or imprisonment; and in the last year of this reign an act was passed, rendering attendance at church compulsory.

Repeal of Penal Statutes.

While these changes were being effected in England, the attention of the Protector was called to the affairs of Scotland and France. King Francis I. died in March, 1547, only two months after the decease of Henry VIII., to whom he had been in general friendly; but his son and successor, Henry II., revived the old policy of alliance with Scotland and enmity to England. Henry VIII. had meditated establishing good relations between England and Scotland by a treaty for a marriage between his son and the infant Queen of Scots; but after his death, hostilities between the two countries were resumed. In August, 1547, the Protector invaded Scotland with an army of over twenty thousand men and a fleet of sixty-five vessels. The invading force proceeded to Dunbar, and rested, on the 6th of September, near Tantallon Castle. They then advanced, and the fleet, which was near Leith, took up its station opposite Musselburgh, near which place the army was encamped. On Saturday, the 10th, long remembered in Scotland as Black Saturday, was fought the battle of Pinkie, or Musselburgh. The fight was obstinately contested, but ended in the complete discomfiture of the Scots. The slaughter was immense, and the defeat the greatest the Scots had sustained since the fatal day of Flodden, in 1413. The name Pinkie was given to the battle from a house not far from Musselburgh.

Battle of Pinkie, or Musselburgh.

Somerset, who was anxious to get back to London, after wantonly setting fire to the town of Leith, and burning the ships in the harbour, broke up the camp and commenced his march southward. He arrived in London, after an absence of only six weeks. A grant of land, nominally made by the king, but really by himself, of the value of £500 yearly, rewarded his prowess.

Disasters of the Scots.

The rapid return of Somerset was partly due to ambitious intrigues on the part of his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudely, the admiral, who was supposed to have designs of superseding his brother the Protector, if indeed his ultimate aim was not higher still. He had been a suitor to Catherine Parr; immediately on the king's decease he had married the dowager queen. Catherine died, however, in September, 1547, with such remarkable suddenness, that there were suspicions of poison. Then the Lord Admiral was said to be raising his eyes to the Princess Elizabeth, the next heir to the throne after the Princess Mary, her elder sister.

The Protector and Admiral Seymour.

Somerset would brook no interference with his authority, and was as ruthless towards his brother as towards the Scots. Suddenly, in February, 1549, a bill of attainder was prepared against Lord Thomas, the Protector Somerset taking a leading part in the proceedings. The accused nobleman was not allowed to appear and speak in his own defence, and no witnesses were examined before the Parliament against him. His request to be confronted with his accusers was disregarded, though the House of Commons hesitated in the matter, and indeed expressed dislike to the course of procedure by attainder generally, asking that the admiral might be brought to the bar and be heard plead for himself. The bill was promptly passed, and received the king's assent on the 14th of March, the last day before the prorogation of parliament. The warrant for Thomas Seymour's death was signed by the council three days afterwards. The unhappy prisoner sent in a request for the delaying of the execution, and prayed that Latimer might be sent to him, and that his infant child by Catherine Parr should be delivered to the care of the Duchess of Suffolk. Two of these requests were granted; but there was to be no respite. On the 20th the admiral was executed on Tower Hill, protesting to the last that he had never meditated treason against the king or the realm. The change in religious worship, and the enforced use of the Book of Common Prayer, had provoked discontent in various quarters, and tolerance was no part of the policy of those days. A commission was issued to Cranmer and others, to seek out heretics, anabaptists, and those who spoke against the Prayer-Book; and various offenders were made to listen to public reproof, and to recant, carrying faggots on their shoulders, as men worthy of being burnt. A transaction that has left a deep stain on the memory of Cranmer is the condemnation and execution of Joan Bocher, of Kent, a woman of good family and education. When at length the young king, under strong pressure, signed the death warrant of Joan, it was with a solemn declaration that the guilt, if any, would be upon the primate's head. Joan Bocher died with the courage of a martyr, bidding Dr. Scory, who preached against her heresy, "Go, search the Scriptures." The burning of Van Parr, a foreigner, for maintaining Arian doctrines, is another proof that the spirit of persecution was not confined to the Romanists.

Execution of Admiral Seymour.

Imprisonment and Execution of Joan Bocher.

The government was presently alarmed by risings among the peasants, more formidable than any movement of the kind since the days of Wat Tyler and those of Jack Cade. The monks had been the best and most indulgent of landlords. With no families to provide for, and no reason to extract all the profit obtainable from their lands, they had been content when their tenants paid a moderate rent, generally in kind; and the produce that came into their barns was mostly distributed in charity among the poor of the neighbourhood. All this was altered when the Church lands came into the hands of nobles and courtiers, who left their tenants to the tender mercies of stewards and collectors, while they spent the revenues in London or abroad. Another cause for discontent was in the depreciation of the coinage, which had, moreover, been debased

Church Lands and Church Tenants.

EDWARD VI.

during the reign of Henry VIII. Many of the people were also angry at the abolition of many of the Church ceremonies, whose magnificence had pleased them; and a crowning grievance was found in the enclosure of various commons and waste lands, by the proprietors of estates, wherein the rights of the peasantry and the lower classes had been disregarded.

The Protector, who seems to have had some sense of the nation's grievances, endeavoured to remedy one abuse, in a somewhat summary and arbitrary manner, by an order that all lands unlawfully enclosed

by landowners should be immediately thrown open again. This encouraged the people in various districts to take the law into their own hands, by tumultuously assembling and throwing down the fences erected by the gentry. Oxfordshire, Norfolk, and especially Devonshire, became the chief seats of disaffection. In the two former counties the rising was soon put down, but in Devonshire, matters presented a more formidable aspect. Here the anger against the new religion was manifested in the demands made by the insurgents to Lord Russell, who endeavoured to negotiate with them. They demanded the restoration of the Mass, and of the statute of the Six Articles; that Bibles should be prohibited, and that Cardinal Pole should be recalled to England. The rebels, who numbered ten thousand, besieged Exeter, but were repulsed by Lord Russell's men. As usual, the leaders were executed, and the vicar of St. Thomas' was hanged in his vestments from the steeple of his own church. The Norfolk rebels were led by one Ket, a wealthy tanner, of Wymondham, who, in July, 1549, encamped with an army nearly 20,000 strong on Mousewold Hill, near Norwich. He assumed something of the state and dignity of a king, and took upon himself to sit in judgment under a great oak tree, which was called the Oak of Reformation. The Marquis of Northampton attempted to take the city by assault, but was repulsed and slain; and the Protector was obliged to summon some troops from Scotland, under the command of one whom he certainly did not wish to bring into prominence and credit—John Dudley, Earl of Warwick. This bold and unscrupulous man was the son of that Dudley who, with Empson, had been the instrument of Henry the Seventh's extortions. Favoured by Henry VIII., he had become a prominent member of the council of regency, and had already been a thorn in the side of Somerset. He now forced his way into Norwich city, and compelled Ket to surrender by stress of famine. The unhappy rebel was crushed, and his chief associates were hanged on the Oak of Reformation, after two thousand of his followers had perished in the combat and in the subsequent pursuit. Ket himself was hanged on Norwich Castle, and his brother on Wymondham steeple.

The Enclosure of Commons.

Ket conquered by John Dudley.

Somerset, though generally popular with the lower classes, had made many and formidable enemies. The Churchmen detested him, and remembered with bitterness how he had pulled down the church of St. Mary le Strand, near the Temple, and three bishops' houses, to procure materials for the great mansion, Somerset House, he was building hard by; and how, after being prevented from similarly destroying St. Margaret's, Westminster, he had plundered other sacred edifices; and even many of the people distrusted him, because he was not of the Catholic religion, and for his harshness towards his brother the admiral. By the nobility he was detested, for it was thought he truckled to the people to gain popularity. A meeting was held at Ely House on the 6th of October, 1549, under the presidency of Warwick, attended by the chief lords of the council. Gradually the malcontent lords made common cause and came to an understanding with the Londoners, by negotiation, and probably by the use of money, they obtained possession of the Tower. Somerset was

High-handed Measures of Somerset.

at length compelled to invite Warwick and his friends to Windsor, that their differences might be amicably settled. They came, but it was to commit Cecil, the duke's secretary, and four other of the Protector's followers, to the Tower, whither Somerset was himself sent the next day, under an escort of 300 men. He was allowed for the time to purchase his life by an abject submission, and by the surrender of all his offices, and of property to the amount of £2,000 annually. The power he had held was speedily seized by Warwick, who became the chief of the government, to the joy of the Catholic party; for they expected that he would do something for their interests, and even hoped for the re-establishment of the old religion. But John Dudley was not the man to imperil his newly gained position by rekindling the fire of religious strife. He assumed the titles of Great Master and Lord High Admiral; and when the Earl of Northumberland died, shortly afterwards, without heir, he procured for himself a large part of the inheritance, with the title of Duke of Northumberland.

Arrest and Impeachment of the Protector.

Meanwhile, the settlement of the state religion was proceeded with; a revised edition of the Book of Common Prayer was published in 1551, and forty-two articles of religion were drawn up, embodying the chief points of faith and practice of the English Church. The bishops now held their sees only during the king's pleasure. Three only made any important resistance; these were Gardiner of Winchester, who lay for two years in the Tower, and on whom sentence of deprivation was passed; Bonner of London, who was deprived of his see; and Tunstall of Durham, who suffered both deprivation of his office and confiscation of his goods.

Gardiner and Bonner.

A semblance of reconciliation took place between Northumberland and the ex-protector Somerset, but each distrusted the other. Northumberland surrounded the ex-protector with spies, who reported every expression of impatience and anger into which the fallen minister was betrayed by the covert insults of his rival. When Northumberland had collected what he deemed sufficient evidence, the Duke of Somerset and his friend Lord Grey were suddenly arrested and committed to the Tower on the 16th of October, 1551. On the following day the duchess and several of her friends were apprehended and sent to the same place. The Earl of Arundel and Lords Paget and Decies were also imprisoned shortly afterwards. On the 1st of December, Somerset was brought to trial in Westminster Hall, before twenty-seven lords sitting as judges. Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, the chief enemies of Somerset, were among them. The charges against Somerset were, firstly, an accusation of treason, in that he had conspired to seize the king with the intention of deposing him; and secondly, one of felony, under the lately passed Riot Act, for having compassed the imprisonment of Northumberland. Somerset positively denied the treason imputed to him. His judges unanimously acquitted him on the charge of treason, but found him guilty with regard to the felony. The duke acknowledged the justice of the verdict, and expressed a hope that his life would be spared. When he left Westminster Hall to be conveyed back to the Tower, the edge of the axe was not turned towards him, as usual in the

Second Arrest of Somerset.

case of men condemned to die. The people on seeing this imagined he had been acquitted, and set up a shout of joy. Northumberland took care that no application for mercy on the prisoner's part should reach the young king. On the 22nd of January, 1552, Somerset was executed on Tower Hill, in the presence of a vast concourse of pitying spectators. His death seemed to revive all the kindly feelings with which he had been regarded; and when his head fell, some handkerchiefs were dipped in his blood, to be preserved as sacred relics.

His Trial and Execution.

Almost alone in his day, he considered the interests and sympathised with the sufferings of the poorest classes among his countrymen. He was merciful and lenient in dealing with offenders, and his zeal for religion was not tinctured with the persecuting spirit. As a statesman he was unequal to the part his ambition tempted him to assume. The greatest stain on his character is the death of his brother, the admiral, the only defence for which is in the fact that Somerset was perhaps convinced that the question lay between the admiral's death and his own.

Character of Somerset.

The health of Edward VI. had never been strong. In his diary he speaks of his sufferings from measles in April, 1553. The attack was followed by smallpox, which threw itself upon the lungs, and reduced him to such a state of weakness that it was unlikely his life would be much prolonged. The question of the succession to the crown accordingly became one of pressing and paramount anxiety. According to the will of Henry VIII., the crown had been left in the first instance to Edward and his descendants; if Edward died without issue, it was to pass to the Princess Mary and her descendants, and to the Princess Elizabeth and hers; the next in succession to these were to be the descendants of the Princess Mary, wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, for the descendants of his sister, Margaret of Scotland, had been excluded by the king. Mary was attached, even to bigotry, to the Roman religion, and possessed the strong will of her father, Henry VIII., with the melancholy temperament of her mother, Catherine of Arragon. If she succeeded to the throne, she would indubitably undo all that had been effected in the direction of change, and the reformed faith in England would perish.

Succession as settled by Henry VIII.

Northumberland proceeded to unfold to the king the plan by which these dangers were to be obviated. The Lady Mary could be excluded by means of the Act of Parliament, still in force, that pronounced her illegitimate; but this act would have the same effect on the claims of the next in succession, the Lady Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and therefore, though she was a Protestant, it would be necessary that she also should be excluded. Margaret of Scotland had been excluded by Henry's will, and therefore the true heir to the crown of England was, according to Northumberland's declaration, to be sought in the progeny of Mary, the younger sister of Henry VIII. The only surviving children of the Princess Mary and Charles Brandon were two daughters. The eldest of these daughters, therefore, who had married Lord Grey, since raised to the dignity of Duke of Suffolk, had declared herself willing, said

Northumberland's Scheme.

Northumberland, to transfer her right to the eldest of her two daughters, the Lady Jane Grey. This Lady Jane Grey, Edward's cousin, known to be wise, learned, amiable, and a sound Protestant, was obviously the person best fitted to wear the crown; and it was suggested to Edward that he might alter his father's testamentary dispositions in the way the necessities of the case demanded. The king lis-

PRINTING THE BIBLE IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

tened with approval to these suggestions. Northumberland, however, proposed to get the crown matrimonial into his own house, and to this end had caused three marriages to be celebrated, the first between his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane Grey; the second between Lady Catherine Grey, Lady Jane's younger sister, and the Earl of Pembroke; and the third between his daughter, Lady Catherine Dudley, and Lord Hastings. On the 11th of June, the king summoned to his palace at Greenwich, Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, with two other judges, and the attorney and solicitor general, and ordered them to put into the form of letters patent a draft he had drawn up, and signed in various places, for the settlement of the crown upon the Lady Jane. The deed was drawn up, and signed by fifteen lords of the council. Cranmer objected at first, as he had already sworn to the succession

Lady Jane Grey appointed Successor.

of the Lady Mary, but was induced to yield to the remonstrances of the king, and affixed his name.

After this the young king sank rapidly. He was taken out of the hands of his physicians for a time, and entrusted to a woman who pretended to have a cure for the disease under which he was suffering. But he was in reality in the last stage of consumption, and no human skill could avail him. On the day before his death, Northumberland and the council endeavoured to get the Princess Mary into their hands, by a command, purporting to come from her brother, that she should repair to London. But she received a private warning from Lord Arundel, and retired into Norfolk. The young king died at Greenwich towards night on the 6th of July, 1553. He was not quite sixteen years of age, and had reigned six years and five months. How his character would have developed it is impossible to say; but it gave promise, in its gentleness and mildness, of virtues that had not graced the English throne for more than a century.

Death of Edward VI.

THE BIBLE OPENED TO THE PEOPLE.

THE ROYAL PALACE AT GREENWICH.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Tudors.—Mary I.

A.D. 1553–1558.

Precautionary Measures of Northumberland. The Crown offered to Lady Jane Grey. Her Proclamation. Ridley's Sermon. Departure of Northumberland from London. Mary Proclaimed Queen. Suffolk's Submission. Entry of Mary and Elizabeth into London. Mary's Coronation. Trial and Execution of Northumberland. Restoration of Roman Catholic Worship. The Mass. Intolerance of the Queen. Imprisonment of Cranmer and other Bishops. Project of Marriage with Philip II. of Spain. Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt. His Defeat and Capture. Execution of Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane Grey. Execution of Suffolk. Arrest and Imprisonment of the Princess Elizabeth. Arrival of Philip II. His Marriage with the Queen. Persecution of the Protestants. Reconciliation with Rome, and Revival of Penal Statutes. Martyrdom of Rogers and Hooper. Cruelty of Bishop Bonner. Execution of Ridley and Latimer. Cranmer's Arrest and Imprisonment. His Recantation. His Execution. Cruelty and Intolerance of the Government. Visit of Philip II. to England. His War with France. English Auxiliary Troops. Circumstances of the Loss of Calais. End of English Dominion in France. The Queen's Sickness and Death. Her Character.

THE death of Edward VI., though long expected, appeared to take Northumberland by surprise, and he endeavoured to keep that event secret for a time, until he had taken his measures. He had summoned the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to attend their dying brother; but Mary, receiving timely intelligence, took up her position at Framlingham, in Suffolk, near the sea, that in case of necessity she might escape to Flanders and put herself under the protection of her

cousin the Emperor. The Princess Elizabeth also remained quietly in Hertfordshire, where she was out of Northumberland's reach.

It was not until the 9th of July, three days after the king's decease, that Northumberland, with the Duke of Suffolk, waited on the Lady Jane Grey, and, kneeling before her, announced to her the startling news that her half-brother was dead and had bequeathed to her the crown of England. She fainted on hearing it, and on recovering her senses, earnestly expressed her reluctance to accept the dangerous honour. Indeed, the character of Lady Jane Grey appears to have been singularly free from ambition. She was of a quiet and studious disposition. The Lady Jane was conveyed by water to the Tower, the usual residence of the monarchs of England between their accession and coronation; and then she was publicly proclaimed queen in London, amid a great concourse of people, who for the most part gazed in bewildered silence.

The Crown offered to Lady Jane Grey.

Mary, meanwhile, issued a proclamation in which she asserted her claims to the throne, and wrote peremptorily to the council in London, demanding her right. The mayor and aldermen of Norwich hesitated to make her proclamation public, not being sure, they said, of the death of King Edward; but presently some of the most important among the nobles and gentry began to rally round her. On the 13th of July she was proclaimed at Norwich; and the people of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, who had suffered much at Northumberland's hands, especially after Ket's rebellion, and who detested the duke's proceedings, were ready to support the legitimate right of Mary. Ridley preached strongly in favour of Jane at St. Paul's Cross, and others of the clergy did likewise; but they made little or no impression on their hearers, who were in favour of hereditary right. Northumberland was already staggered at the doubtful aspect of things, when he received intelligence that the Lady Mary was advancing towards London with thirty thousand men.

Proceedings of Mary.

The council thereupon directed the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk to march at the head of their troops, and stop Mary's progress. But Lady Jane begged with tears that her father might remain with her. The incapacity of the Duke of Suffolk was also generally known; therefore it was decided that only Northumberland should march with the army. As he left the city with his six thousand men, he remarked with dismay the cold looks with which the citizens gazed on him and his men, and how no voice was raised to bid him God-speed. As soon as his back was turned, a general defection of his followers began. On the 18th of July, the Earls of Sussex, Oxford, and Bath withdrew from the council. Presently the council itself went over to the side of Mary, and desired the city authorities to proclaim the Lady Mary Queen. This time the citizens, whose sympathies were in favour of hereditary right, responded with shouts and acclamations. Lord Pembroke led some companies of soldiers to besiege the Tower. Suffolk at once surrendered the fortress, announced to his daughter, who received the news with joy, that she had ceased to reign, and proceeding without delay to Baynard's Castle, put

Northumberland's Departure from London.

Submission of Suffolk.

his signature to the instruments that were being issued in Mary's name. The Lady Jane, after a nominal reign of ten days, retired to Sion House, near Kew. The French ambassador, De Noailles, writes of her as the "reine de la fève"—queen of the bean, or "Twelfth-night queen."

Meanwhile the Duke of Northumberland had the conviction forced upon him that his great scheme had failed. On all sides he heard that the voice of the people was in favour of Mary. A fleet sent out to intercept her, declared on her side. He had ten thousand men with him when, on the 17th of July, he advanced from Cambridge towards Framlingham; but the news of the defection of the fleet, and other similar intelligence, induced him to fall back upon Cambridge, where he himself went forth into the market-place, and threw up his cap for "Queen Mary!" hoping thus to save his neck. Immediately afterwards, Northumberland was arrested, carried to London, and lodged in the Tower, a prisoner for high treason. Suffolk and twenty-five more of the faction were shortly afterwards apprehended. Mary, now triumphant over all enemies, rode towards London, and was joined on the way by her sister Elizabeth, who strove to disarm suspicion by openly riding forth, with a gallant following of knights and courtiers, to meet Mary with congratulations and homage, and then entering London in her train. The old Duke of Norfolk came forth with Edward Courtenay, son of the Marquess of Exeter, Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, and Anne, Duchess of Somerset, all prisoners, and on their knees gave a rejoicing welcome to the queen, who had come to put an end to their captivity. Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, and Bonner of London, were presently released from the Marshalsea and the king's bench prisons, and restored to their sees, as were also Bishops Day and Heath. Gardiner was soon afterwards made Chancellor.

Discomfiture of the Duke of Northumberland.

Prudence of the Princess Elizabeth.

On the 30th of September the queen was crowned. As usual on such occasions, a general pardon was proclaimed, from which, however, some sixty persons were excluded by name. The trial of Northumberland, his son, the Earl of Warwick, the Marquess of Northampton, Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer had been fixed for the 18th of August. Northumberland and the two other peers pleaded guilty. Northumberland had offended too far for the granting of pardon or reprieve. On the 22nd of August he was brought out, with Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer, to be executed on Tower Hill. On the scaffold he acknowledged his guilt, but endeavoured to cast the blame on others. His body was buried in the Chapel of St. Peter's-on-the-Green, within the precincts of the Tower. The other prisoners condemned with him were reprieved, and afterwards pardoned and liberated.

Coronation of the Queen.

Northumberland's Trial and Execution.

From this time began that open restoration of the Roman Catholic form of worship, soon to be followed by the persecution that has made Mary's reign infamous in the annals of England. It is characteristic of the blindness attendant on religious fanaticism, that Mary, who had bitterly complained of the want of toleration shown towards herself

in the last reign, with regard to her private religious worship, should have shown at least an equal disregard towards her sister Elizabeth, who was constrained, for her safety's sake, to affect not only a liking but a zeal for the Mass, and for the ceremonies and observances of the Roman Church.

Intolerance of the Queen.

The persecution against the reforming bishops now began. Ridley was already in prison, and Cranmer was soon afterwards, on the 14th of September, committed to the Tower on a charge of treason, for having published a paper condemning the Mass, which had been publicly celebrated, without his sanction, in Canterbury Cathedral. The parliament, which met soon afterwards, opened with a solemn Mass, celebrated in Latin before both Houses; and the Bishop of Lincoln, who refused to kneel at the elevation of the host, was thrust out of the assembly. By this parliament all the statutes passed concerning religion in the reign of Edward VI. were repealed. The divorce pronounced by Cranmer between Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon was also annulled, and the queen declared legitimate. The convocation was also summoned, and after a glowing eulogy had been pronounced on the queen, proceeded to make changes in the most sweeping manner, declaring the Book of Common Prayer an abomination, calling for the immediate suppression of the English Catechism, for the condign punishment of all married clergymen who refused to put away their wives, or who denied the doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist. Half the English bishops made the required submission. The rest were driven from their offices, and soon afterwards most of them were thrown into prison. Besides Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, Holgate, Archbishop of York; Taylor, Bishop of Lincoln; Hooper, of Worcester and Gloucester; Coverdale, of Exeter; Bird, of Chester; Harley, of Hereford; and Ferrar, of St. David's, were deprived of their sees.

Imprisonment of Cranmer.

Imprisonment of the Bishops.

Lady Jane Grey, Lord Guildford Dudley, her husband, Lord Ambrose Dudley, and Archbishop Cranmer were all brought to trial on the 13th of November, found guilty, and condemned to death; but the three former were respited on account of their youth, while Cranmer was pardoned for his treason, but detained on the charge of heresy. As the depressed Protestant faction looked with hope towards the Princess Elizabeth, as their head, though she had been compelled to conform outwardly to the Roman Catholic Church, the Catholic party were anxious to see the succession to the crown secured by the queen's marriage. Various foreign princes were spoken of, but the Emperor Charles, to whom Mary had applied for advice, recommended for her acceptance his son, Don Philip. The people generally—Catholics as well as Protestants—were bitterly opposed to the match.

Question of Mary's Marriage.

Gardiner, finding her resolution to be fixed in this matter, prudently set himself to the task of surrounding the marriage with as many safeguards as possible, to secure the Government from Spanish interference and dictation. Thus, when, in January, 1554, a splendid embassy arrived from the Emperor with a formal offer of the Prince of Spain's hand, the Chancellor, while accepting the offer in his mistress's

name, had hedged the contract round with such conditions as the exclusion of Spaniards from all offices in England, the concentration of the whole government in the hands of the queen, the prohibition of any alteration in the laws or customs of the kingdom, and the payment of a jointure of £60,000 a year to Mary in the event of her surviving

QUEEN MARY I.

him. But even these brilliant conditions failed to diminish the unpopularity of the Spanish match.

The general discontent led to a formidable rebellion. Conspiracies were formed for risings to break out simultaneously in various parts of the kingdom; and one scheme contemplated placing the Princess Elizabeth, who was to be married to Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, on the throne. In the west, Sir Peter Carew rose in arms, and took the city of Exeter. In Warwickshire, the Duke of Suffolk and his two sons, Lord John and Lord Thomas Grey, armed their followers for rebellion. In Kent, Sir Thomas

Conspiracy for Insurrection.

Wyatt, and Sir James Croft on the borders of Wales, took the field. The plan thus hurried into execution failed. Carew was obliged to flee to France, the Duke of Suffolk was defeated near Coventry by Lord Huntingdon, taken and recommitted to the Tower. Croft was likewise captured.

The most formidable member of the confederacy was Sir Thomas Wyatt, son of the poet and favourite of Henry VIII., and a man of resolution and skill. He raised the standard of insurrection at Maidstone on the 25th of January, 1554, and established his head-quarters at Rochester. The Duke of Norfolk was sent to oppose him; but many of the duke's men, including the London trained bands under Captain Brett, went over to the insurgents' side, and Wyatt soon found himself at the head of 15,000 men, with whom he reached Deptford. In London all was alarm; but Mary showed the true Tudor courage. She proceeded to the Guildhall, and addressed the citizens in a spirited oration. Wyatt meanwhile lost valuable time, the ardour of his followers cooled when they found the Londoners would not open the city gates to them, and Wyatt hesitated to renew the attack after being defeated in an attempt to force London Bridge. He withdrew to Kingston, where he crossed the bridge on the 6th of February, and marched upon the capital from the west. Wyatt forced his way with four hundred of his followers to Fleet Street, and thence to Lud Gate, which he found closed against him. The citizens would not join him, and he turned, and endeavoured to fight his way back to the main body of the insurgents, from whom he with his four hundred had been cut off. But he found himself surrounded on every side, and his men fell fast; at length, after fighting bravely but hopelessly, he surrendered himself to Sir Maurice Berkeley. Of his followers about a hundred were killed and four hundred made prisoners.

Rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt.

Defeat and Capture of Wyatt.

The insurrection of Wyatt sealed the fate of Lady Jane Grey and her husband. On the 8th of February, the day after Wyatt's capture, a warrant was signed for the execution of "Guildford Dudley and his wife," and on the morning of the 12th the unhappy young noble was led forth to die on Tower Hill. Lady Jane, who was to die on the same day, had declined the parting interview he requested, lest it should unnerve them both. From her window she beheld her husband go forth to his death, and afterwards saw his bleeding body brought back in a cart into the fortress, and presently she was led forth to her death by the lieutenant of the Tower. She spoke a few words on the scaffold, acknowledging the justice of her condemnation for allowing herself to be the unwilling instrument of the ambition of others; but declared that she had only consented to what she was forced to do. She died with perfect tranquillity and self-possession, declaring her hope of salvation through the merits of Christ. Her father, the Duke of Suffolk, was executed a few days afterwards. Sir Thomas Wyatt was condemned to death on the 15th of March, but his execution did not take place till the 11th of April. There was a special reason for this unusual delay of nearly a month. It was desired to extract from the prisoner evidence against the Princess Elizabeth.

Execution of Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane Grey.

On the 8th of February, three members of the council were despatched, with a strong body of troops, to Ashridge, to bring the princess to London. They arrived late at night, and the princess was in bed, seriously ill; but the commissioners forced themselves into her presence with scant apology, and, it being certified that she could travel without danger to her life, she was placed next morning in a litter the queen had sent for her accommodation, and conveyed by slow stages to London, which was reached on the fifth day. Elizabeth was committed to the Tower. She strongly protested against entering the fortress through the ill-omened "Traitors' Gate," and haughtily refused the cloak one of the attendant lords offered, to shield her from the rain. She sat down, obstinately, on the steps, and for a time refused to rise, declaring herself to be as true a subject as ever landed at those fatal stairs; and when urged to rise and come in out of the rain, she answered significantly: "Better sit here than in a worse place, for God knoweth whither you bring me." But Gardiner saw plainly that neither Elizabeth nor Courtenay could be executed with any show of justice. Accordingly, after a time, the strictness of the princess's imprisonment was in some degree relaxed, and she was sent from the Tower, first to Richmond and then to Woodstock, in the custody of Sir Henry Bedingfield. Elizabeth afterwards said, jestingly, that if she had any prisoner who required to be "hardly handled and straitly kept," Bedingfield should be his gaoler. Courtenay also was removed from the Tower and sent to Fotheringhay Castle.

Arrest of the Princess Elizabeth.

Elizabeth in the Tower.

On the 19th of July, 1554, Philip, Prince of Spain, arrived in England, but he did not create a favourable impression. He seemed to fear some attempt on his life, and was jealously surrounded by a great number of guards. On the 29th, the marriage was solemnized at Winchester by Gardiner. The haughty reserve with which the new king-consort kept aloof from the community also increased the dissatisfaction at this Spanish marriage; not even the one good deed of Philip during his stay in England—his interference to procure the release of the Princess Elizabeth, Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, and other political prisoners—could do away with the unfavourable impression he had made. From first to last he was unpopular in England.

Arrival of Philip—his Marriage.

It was Mary's great wish to see a complete reconciliation between the country she governed and the Church of Rome. The chief difficulty was the question of the Church lands, confiscated and bestowed on laymen during the reign of Henry VIII. This obstacle was overcome by a bull from the Pope, consenting that the present proprietors should be confirmed in the possession of the abbey lands. On the other hand, Mary gave up the title of supreme head of the Church. Cardinal Pole received the office of legate, and landed in England, in November, armed with all necessary authority to complete the reconciliation of England with the Church of Rome. He was magnificently received, and on his arrival in London, took up his abode at Lambeth Palace. At the same time the old laws against heretics were revived, including that of Henry IV.,

Reconciliation with Rome.

"De Hæretico Comburendo," and it was easy to see that the zeal of the queen and her advisers would not be content with the supremacy of their own religion, but would set themselves to the task of crushing all others.

With the year 1555 began the active persecution of the Protestants. The prisons were crowded with captives for conscience' sake. The revived penal statutes were to take effect from the 20th of January; and after a solemn procession of eight bishops, including Bonner, and a hundred and sixty priests, had been held to give thanks for the renewal of Divine grace in England, a commission was opened in the Church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, for the trial of Protestants. The first men put on their trial were John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, and Hooper, late Bishop of Gloucester. Rogers was condemned to the flames, and with wanton cruelty, Bonner denied him a parting interview with his wife and children before he was led to the stake in Smithfield. He died with heroic courage. Hooper, against whom the charge of denying transubstantiation was brought, and also that of marrying, and of speaking against the Mass, admitted all the charges, and persisted in his opinions. To produce terror in his diocese, he was burnt, not in London, but by a slow fire in front of the cathedral of Gloucester. Dr. Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadleigh, was another of the earliest victims of the persecution. He was burnt at Hadleigh, and went to his death rejoicing. These proceedings were approved by the council, and by the queen herself, who wrote to Bonner, urging him on to even greater activity; but they were disliked by Cardinal Pole, whose gentler character caused him to abhor Bonner's cruelty. The next important victims of the persecution were Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, who had been in prison since March, 1554. They had been brought before Bonner, at Oxford, in April, 1554, and a kind of argument was held with each in turn, in the presence of many of the students; but the disputation was so frequently interrupted by the noise and hootings of the spectators, that the aged Latimer complained pathetically of the "snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like in an audience all my life long." Refusing to recant, they were condemned to death; but their sentence was not carried out until long afterwards, Ridley and Latimer being led out to execution on the 16th of October, 1555, and Cranmer some months later. The place of their martyrdom was opposite Baliol College, Oxford. The two bishops were chained to the same stake, back to back. The aged Latimer uttered those memorable words, which soon after echoed through the length and breadth of the land: "Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day, by God's grace, light a candle in England, such a candle as I trust shall never be put out." The old man's sufferings were soon at an end. With the exclamation, "Father of heaven, receive my soul," he bowed his head and died. But Ridley's agony was long and terrible.

Martyrdom of Rogers and Hooper.

Execution of Ridley and Latimer.

For Cranmer, a more cruel fate was prepared. It was represented to him that the queen was full of mercy towards him, and desired rather his conversion than his death. He was induced by specious promises

to sign various recantations, to the number of six, the pretext each time being that the previous document was not sufficiently explicit; and when he had drunk the cup of humiliation to the dregs, it was announced to him that his offences had been too great for pardon, and that he must burn. Then the deceived and insulted prisoner made all the reparation in his power. He declared that nothing troubled his soul so much as the "setting down of things untrue," in the recantations he had made, and which he now recalled; and he declared that inasmuch as his right hand had offended in signing these, it should first burn. At the stake his firmness did not forsake him; true to the declaration he had made, the old man of sixty-seven, weakened by sorrow and long imprisonment, held forth "the hand that had offended," until it was blackened and shrivelled up in the flame. Like Latimer, he was heard to exclaim, "Lord, receive my spirit!" as he expired. The persecution continued to rage until the end of Mary's reign; and its violence is sufficiently attested by the fact that from the martyrdom of Rogers, in February, 1555, until the death of five persons burned at Canterbury a week before Mary's death, in November, 1558, two hundred and eighty-eight persons, including five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, fifty-five women and four children, were burned alive for heresy; besides hundreds who were ruined by heavy fines, tortured, or left to die of misery and starvation in the prisons. Bishop Gardiner died while the persecution was at its height; and some ambiguous declarations on his death-bed seemed to indicate that he regretted the course of policy pursued during the reign, and the part he had taken in it.

Cranmer's Imprisonment and Recantation.

The last two years of Mary's reign were marked by disaster and discontent, apart from religious questions. Philip had quitted England in anger and disappointment, a few months after his marriage. His attention was diverted from England by the new and onerous duties of government that devolved upon him, when his father, Charles V., abdicated in his favour. Philip had become involved in war with Henry II., King of France, when, in the spring of 1557, he paid a short visit to England, and endeavoured to persuade Mary to declare war against the French king. For the first time in the annals of England, the declaration of war with France was unpopular; for it was manifest that the contest was only undertaken in the interest of the King of Spain. An English army, however, was despatched to join Philip's troops on the Flemish frontier. The command-in-chief was given to Lord Pembroke. On the 10th of August, 1557, the English army took an active part in the celebrated battle of St. Quentin, in which a complete victory was gained by the troops of Philip over the army of the Constable de Montmorency. The French advanced, under the Duke of Guise, to avenge St. Quentin by the capture of Calais. The necessities of the Queen's exchequer had made the garrison to be greatly reduced; it consisted only of eight hundred men, assisted by two hundred townsmen. The outworks had been inadequately guarded. The Duke of Guise, who conducted the siege with the skill and energy of an experienced captain, deceived the garrison by feigning to prepare for an assault, while in reality he intended to capture the castle which

War with France.

commanded the town. Lord Wentworth, the English governor, was obliged to surrender the town, which had been for two centuries in the possession of the English. The French, on this occasion, took a full and complete revenge for the humiliation and plundering to which they had been subjected by the English at St. Quentin. Practically, Calais had cost more to the English than it was worth; but its possession flattered the national pride, and its loss was accordingly looked upon as a humiliation. It broke the queen's heart. "When I am dead and opened," she said to her attendants, "ye shall find Calais lying in my heart." The taking of Calais, on the other hand, added greatly to the reputation of the Duke of Guise. Mary of Guise, the duke's sister, the widow of the late King James V. of Scotland, took the whole power of the government of that country into her own hands as regent, and the bonds between Scotland and France were drawn tighter by the marriage of her daughter, the young and beautiful Mary Queen of Scots, to the dauphin Francis, the son of Henry III. This marriage had very important political consequences.

Loss of Calais.

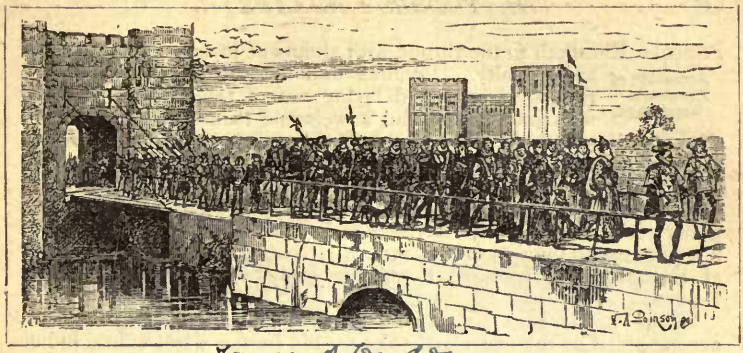
Effect of the Loss of Calais on the Queen.

A general desire to retrieve the disgrace of Calais caused parliament to vote very liberal supplies to the queen, in January, 1558, for a continuance of the war. The English had the satisfaction of contributing very considerably to the victory gained by Philip's general, Count Egmont, over the French at Gravelines. During the year the queen's health failed more and more. She had long been suffering from dropsy. She died on the 17th of November, 1558, in her palace at St. James's. She was forty-two years old, and was in the sixth year of her reign. Her relative and friend, Cardinal Pole, died on the next day.

Death of the Queen.

The name of Mary has been covered with obloquy by reason of the unrelenting persecution of the Protestants in her reign. Yet she had many virtues. She was sincere and constant in friendship, a liberal benefactress to her servants and dependants, free from the profound dissimulation and trickery which formed a part of the system of her sister Elizabeth, anxious for the good of her subjects, charitable to the poor, full of sympathy for the afflicted, and desirous of doing justice to all. But her life and surroundings had been peculiarly unfortunate. Her temper had been soured in youth by the harshness and injustice that insulted the honour of her mother, and the religion to which she was sincerely attached. Her zeal for her faith hardened into fierce bigotry, and by the persecuting spirit this feeling engendered, she unwittingly helped forward the cause of the Reformation in England. Before her death, she acknowledged her half-sister Elizabeth as her successor, and begged that princess to carry out certain charitable bequests she left in her will, which the new queen, however, neglected to do.

Character of Mary.



Tower of London

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Tudors.—Elizabeth.

A.D. 1558–1603.

Accession of Elizabeth. General Rejoicing. Relief of the Nation. Offer of Marriage from Philip II. Ecclesiastical Affairs. The Liturgy Restored. Its Use made Compulsory. Affairs of France and Scotland. Mary, Queen of Scots, and Francis II. Claims of Mary to the English Throne. Death of Mary of Guise. Jealousy between the English and Scottish Queens. Suitors for Elizabeth's Hand. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Mary's Second Marriage. Darnley and Rizzio. Murder of Rizzio. Mary's Reconciliation with Murray. Murder of Darnley. Bothwell's Abduction of the Queen. Mary's Marriage to Bothwell. Affair of Carberry Hill. Mary a Captive at Loch Leven Castle. Her Escape. Langside. Mary in England. Accusations against her. Anxieties of Elizabeth. The Puritans in England. Religious Strife in France. Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The English Sea Captains. French Proposals of Marriage. Charles, Duke of Anjou. Persecution of the Puritans and of the Papists. Spanish Intrigues. Babington's Conspiracy. Trial and Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. Exasperation in Spain. Preparation of the Spanish Armada. Resolution of the Queen. Patriotism in England. Defeat of the Armada. Affairs in Ireland. Tyrone's Rebellion. Essex in Ireland. His Return. His Rebellion, Trial, and Execution. Close of Elizabeth's Reign. Her Last Parliament and the Monopolies. Her Death. Her Character.

WITHIN a few hours of the death of Queen Mary, the fact of the sovereign's demise had been officially made known to both Houses of Parliament, who received notice of the succession of the

Princess Elizabeth to the throne with shouts of joyous congratulation and loyalty. Bonfires and illuminations, with joyous ringing of bells, and laying out of tables in the streets with good cheer and a welcome to all, were the visible signs of the general satisfaction. The intelligence of Mary's death and her own accession was at once conveyed to Elizabeth, at Hatfield. She immediately singled out for especial favour the astute and wary Sir William Cecil, and appointed him secretary of state. She retained in her service most of the advisers of her sister Mary; and when, on her progress to London on the 23rd of November, the bishops met her at Highgate, she received them graciously, with the exception of Bonner.

Accession of Elizabeth.—Rejoicings.

Philip II., to whom the announcement of Elizabeth's accession was accompanied by the queen's thanks for his former good offices in her favour, at once made her an offer of his hand. But Elizabeth, whose proceedings throughout the whole reign showed an extreme solicitude first to gain and then to retain the affections of her people, knew that no proceeding could be more unpopular with the nation than a second Spanish match, especially with a man within the prohibited degrees of affinity. She civilly declined the proposition. On her progress through the City on the day before her coronation, the queen won all hearts by her condescending and cheerful affability. She accepted a Bible, which she pressed to her heart with a promise that she would read it often; admired the pageants which the City had furnished in prodigal and gorgeous style; and told the delighted people to be assured that she would rest their good queen.

Offer of Marriage from Philip II.

When parliament met, that assembly was found to be entirely in favour of the reformed faith. The queen was declared to be the head (a title afterwards altered into "governor") of the Church; the laws of Edward VI. concerning religion were revived; the second English Common Prayer-Book of that king was restored, with certain alterations, and was to be used exclusively in all religious services. This was known as the Act of Uniformity, and heavy penalties were denounced against all clergymen infringing it. The parliament then, in its anxiety for the settlement of the succession, accompanied the grant of a subsidy with a petition that the queen would choose a husband. The queen replied by declaring that she considered herself espoused to her kingdom, and declared that she looked for no higher fame than to be remembered as the virgin queen. The liturgy, when the time came for putting the statute into practice, met with violent opposition from the bishops, who all, with the exception of Kitchen, of Llandaff, refused it, their example being followed by twenty-seven Church dignitaries, fifteen heads of colleges, and eighty rectors of parishes. The bishops, as well as their subordinates in the Church, were deprived of their offices for this refusal, and many were subjected to imprisonment for a time. One only was kept in permanent captivity, namely, Bishop Bonner, who, after being confined in the Marshalsea for more than nine years, died in that prison in 1569. An authorized translation of the Scriptures was also published; it became the basis of the version still in use.

Expulsion for refusal of the Liturgy.

At the time of the death of Mary I., England was at war both with France and Scotland; but in 1559 the treaty of Château Cambrésis brought about a general peace, though at first the restoration of Calais to the English was insisted upon as a condition. One source of jealousy and apprehension still existed between the courts of France and England. The young and beautiful Mary, Queen of Scots, had been married to the weakly and imbecile Dauphin, Francis, afterwards King Francis II.; and after the death of Queen Mary of England, Henry II. had caused his son

Mary, Queen of Scotland, and Francis II.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

and his daughter-in-law to assume the royal arms of England in addition to those of Scotland and France; for the Catholic party regarded Mary of Scotland as the real Queen of England. The death of Henry II. placed the weak Francis II. and his youthful wife on the throne of France. Francis and Mary now called themselves King and Queen of England; and Elizabeth endeavoured to set up a counteracting influence for herself among the Protestant subjects of the

Scottish queen. This it was not difficult to do, as there was strife between the Regent of Scotland, the Catholic queen dowager, Mary of Guise, and the Scottish Protestants. The burning of a priest named Will, for heresy, increased the strife; and riots occurred, with the usual accompaniments of image-breaking and damaging of churches. The regent obtained the assistance of troops from France, where the Guises conceived the idea of making Scotland a dependency of that country, and of putting down the Reformation.

Mary of Guise. Her Death.

A treaty was, however, made, at Edinburgh, on the death of Mary of Guise, which happened on the 11th of June, 1560, by which it was stipulated that Francis and Mary should renounce the title of King and Queen of England. They did not fulfil this stipulation. In December, 1560, the weakly Francis II. died, and Queen Mary of Scotland returned to her own country. For some time, however, the government proceeded prosperously enough, while Mary gave her confidence to her half-brother, the Earl of Murray; but her connection with the French Guises, and her suspected intention of bringing back Scotland to submission to Rome, caused much irritation. Between Mary and Elizabeth, too, there was continual distrust. Elizabeth insisted that Mary should carry out the stipulations of the treaty of Edinburgh by abandoning the title and arms of Queen of England; her jealousy was increased by the fact that, while she herself was unmarried, and consequently without an heir, Mary of Scotland was next in succession to the English crown, after the descendants of Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, and sister of Henry VIII.

Distrust between Mary and Elizabeth.

The question of the marriage of the English queen, as affecting the succession, was therefore one of great importance; and the parliament was anxious that Elizabeth should make her choice among the numerous suitors for her hand, of whom the chief were Charles, Archduke of Austria, Eric, King of Sweden; Adolphus, Duke of Holstein; and, at a later period, the Duke of Anjou, son of Catherine de Medici. Several English nobles likewise aspired to their sovereign's hand; and chief among these was Robert Dudley, created Earl of Leicester in 1564, the son of the late ambitious and unscrupulous Duke of Northumberland. Elizabeth, however, remained single, and kept her power undiminished. But with Mary of Scotland the case was different. Her marriage with a foreign prince might greatly influence the position of Scotland with regard to England, and therefore it was declared that the English government should have a voice in the matter. Leicester himself was at one time spoken of, but both he and Mary disliked the idea; and Elizabeth, also, was reluctant to give up her favourite to another.

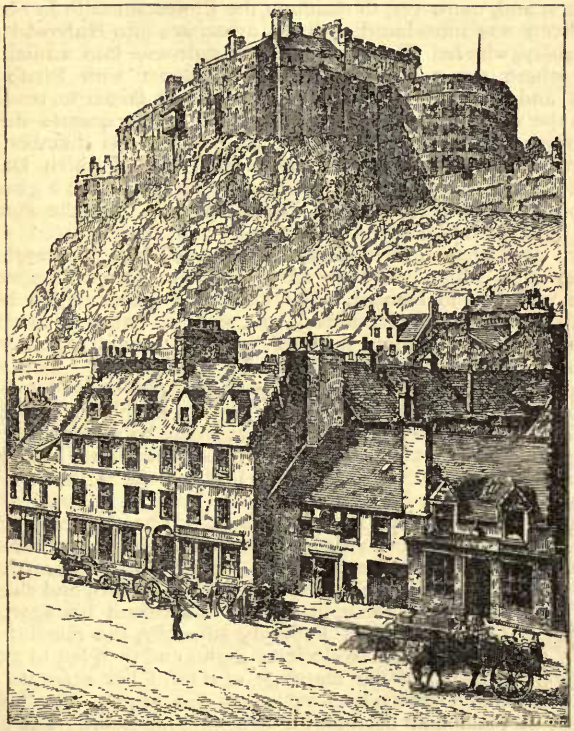
Suitors for Elizabeth. Hand.

Suddenly a suitor appeared, who caught the Scottish queen's fancy. This was Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, the son of the Earl of Lennox, and of his Countess, a daughter of Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. He did not disdain to enlist the services of David Rizzio, an Italian adventurer, who, recommended in the first instance by his skill in music, afterwards became secretary to Mary. In spite of strenuous opposition from the Protestant nobles, from Murray, and from the English council, Mary was

Lord Henry Darnley and David Rizzio.

married in the chapel of Holyrood to Darnley, on the 29th of July, 1565. Murray, who was looked upon as the head of the reformed party, had withdrawn from the court so soon as Mary appeared determined on the match with Darnley. The lords who were partisans of Murray rose in rebellion, and marched to Edinburgh, but were obliged to retire; and when Murray and Hamilton repaired to London, Elizabeth repudiated them and their cause in public, while she secretly supplied them with money, and tried

The Insurgent Lords.



THE CASTLE, EDINBURGH.

to procure their pardon. Mary had also offered her signature to a document pledging herself to take part in a league for the extirpation of heresy and the re-establishment of the Roman Church in every part of Europe. And thus she prepared for war against the Protestant lords.

A tragic event now deprived Mary of the sympathy and loyalty of many of her subjects. Darnley had exhibited himself, since his marriage, as a drunkard and profligate, ungrateful for the advance-

ment he owed to the affection of the queen. Accordingly, he found himself disregarded and slighted, while the queen gave her whole confidence to Rizzio. Darnley's anger, and also his jealousy, were aroused. This led to a conspiracy and a secret treaty between Darnley and the Lords Ruthven, Lindsay, Morton, and Maitland, in which they bound themselves to murder Rizzio, and procure the crown matrimonial for Darnley—he on his side engaging to procure the recall of the banished lords, and a pardon for the conspirators; and, moreover, to maintain the Protestant faith in Scotland.

Murder of Rizzio.

Ruthven was introduced with his associates into Holyrood Palace by Darnley, who led them up a private staircase into a small apartment, where the queen was seated at supper with Rizzio, Lady Argyle, and some other persons. The unhappy favourite, reading his fate in the wild eyes of the intruders, clung to the queen's dress for protection; but he was forcibly dragged into the next chamber, where he was despatched with fifty-five wounds, in one of which Darnley's dagger was left sticking. At the entrance of the palace a guard had been posted, commanded by the Earl of Morton, that the murderers might not be disturbed.

Mary now became reconciled with Murray, and, apparently, with Darnley also, whom she induced to abandon his confederates, and escape with her to Dunbar. She effected a reconciliation between Murray and the Earl of Bothwell, and took no pains to conceal her contempt of her worthless husband. On the 19th of June, 1566, she gave birth to a son, afterwards James VI. of Scotland. Darnley was treated with studied contempt, and on the day of the young prince's baptism, the French ambassador declined to see him. Presently he retired to his father's house at Glasgow, where he was smitten by the small-pox. Mary sent her own physician to attend him. Lord Morton afterwards confessed that at this time Bothwell came to him with a proposal for the murder of Darnley; but Morton refused, except he received a written warrant from the queen. When Darnley began to recover, the queen went to visit him; and under the pretext that Holyrood was too noisy a place of abode, caused him to be carried to a lonely house, the Kirk of Field, outside the city walls, and she sometimes slept there, in a room underneath his apartments. On the night of February 4th, 1567, she remained with him until ten o'clock at night, and then left to attend a feast given in honour of the marriage of one of her servants. Four hours afterwards a tremendous explosion was heard. The house of the Kirk of Field had been blown up with gunpowder. The body of Darnley was found in a field at some distance, with no marks of violence upon it.

Murder of Darnley.

The queen, with an infatuation that appears almost like insanity, redoubled her marks of favour towards Bothwell; but the clamour was so great that it was imperatively necessary to put him on his trial. He came surrounded with a powerful retinue of vassals. He was accordingly acquitted; and when Mary soon afterwards opened parliament, Bothwell had the audacity to invite the nobles to supper, and declare to them his design of marrying the queen. He required the lords to sign a bond recommending the marriage and promising their

support, and his demand was complied with. Three days afterwards Bothwell appeared at the head of 1,000 horse, and stopping the queen and her company on their return from Stirling, led Mary a prisoner, but apparently not an unwilling one, to Dunbar; and on the 15th of May, three months after the murder of Darnley, Mary was married to the man of whose guilt, as the murderer, there is no reasonable doubt.

Bothwell Carries off the Queen.

Bothwell now assumed the whole authority openly to himself. The confederated lords resolved to take the field in open revolt. Their purpose was betrayed by one of their number, and Bothwell and the queen fled from Holyrood to Borthwick Castle. Only a month had elapsed from their ill-omened marriage, when the queen and Bothwell, who had collected a small army, met the insurgents at Carberry Hill near Edinburgh, on the 15th of June. As the queen's troops would not fight, she recommended Bothwell to provide for his own safety, took leave of him, as it turned out for the last time, and surrendered to Lord Kirkcaldy, of Grange. She was sent as a captive to Loch Leven Castle, and Lord Lindsay, being sent to her on the 25th of July, compelled her to sign an act of resignation, and a consent to the coronation of her son and the regency of Murray.

Mary and Bothwell at Carberry Hill.

Loch Leven Castle.

Bothwell meanwhile fled first to Orkney, and then endeavoured to make his way with some hired ships to Denmark. But he was detained, and presently sent to Copenhagen as a prisoner; he was afterwards transferred to the castle of Malmo, where he died insane in 1576. Mary, meanwhile, being imprisoned in the castle of Loch Leven, succeeded, after a first unsuccessful attempt, in effecting her escape on the 2nd of May, 1568, by the help of the young George Douglas and others. At Hamilton she was joined by some nobles of her party and about three thousand men. Soon afterwards, on the 13th of May, in a combat at Langside, the regent Murray obtained an easy victory over the queen's troops. Mary, on seeing the discomfiture of her followers, fled from the field. She determined on escaping to England; and after writing to Lord Lowther, the governor of Carlisle Castle, to ask if she might come there in safety, without waiting for the answer, she embarked with about twenty attendants, and landed at Workington, whence she was conveyed to Carlisle. Mary was placed under guard in Lord Scroop's castle at Bolton, and it was intimated to her that she would be restored, if necessary, by force of arms to her throne, if she would allow her cause to be heard and judged by the English queen. A conference was accordingly opened at York, and afterwards at Hampton Court. Mary declared the letters and other documents in her handwriting to Bothwell, brought as evidence against her, to be forgeries, and by her agents, Lords Herries and Leslie, refused to answer the accusations. After an offer of liberty if she would resign her crown, which Mary promptly refused, she was placed under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury, at Tutbury, in Staffordshire. Soon afterwards a project was entertained by various of the nobility for a marriage between the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk. The scheme reached the ears of Cecil and Eliza-

Loch Leven and Langside.

Accusations against Mary of Scotland.

beth, and the queen took an opportunity of warning Norfolk: soon after he was arrested and conveyed to the Tower. A rising in the North, by the Duke of Northumberland and other nobles, was quickly put down, Leonard Dacres being defeated by the sturdy and valiant Lord Hunsdon, a cousin of the queen. The sudden death of the regent Murray, who was assassinated at Linlithgow by Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, in January, 1570, is said to have stopped a negotiation for the return of Mary to Scotland. In May, 1750, a copy of the bull of Pius V., excommunicating Elizabeth and forbidding her subjects to obey her, was found fastened to the Bishop of London's palace. This incident served to embitter the questions at issue between the two queens. Soon afterwards, Cecil was raised to the peerage as Lord Burleigh.

Dangers and Anxieties of Elizabeth.

In various particulars, the English Church still preserved a likeness to that of Rome in her outward ceremonial and the conduct of her services. There had arisen, however, among the English Protestants, the sect of the Puritans, who insisted on a thorough abjuration of everything that recalled the old worship,—clerical vestments, liturgy, the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in the marriage service, etc. Puritanism was strengthened by the residence abroad of many strict Protestants during the reign of Mary; and early in Elizabeth's reign the number of its professors was greatly increased.

The Puritans in England.

The suspicion of the queen was soon raised against the Catholic party in England. She had been inclined to leniency with regard to the Duke of Norfolk, but he now resumed his intrigues, and negotiated with Mary, Queen of Scots, for a renewal of the project of marriage, and with the Spanish Duke Alva for the landing of foreign troops to enforce Elizabeth's consent. Accordingly he was recommitted to the Tower, tried before the peers in January, 1772, and, after much reluctance and hesitation on the part of Elizabeth, executed on the 2nd of June.

The horrible circumstances that surrounded the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in Paris, and the subsequent massacres in various other French towns, tended to embitter the feeling between the professors of the rival creeds. The number of victims is very variously stated, the account of St. Thuanus, which estimated it at 30,000, being generally considered accurate. The utmost horror of the crime was displayed in England; but the necessities of her position induced Elizabeth to abstain from an open rupture with France. Her plan was, to assist the Protestants secretly with monetary and other help.

Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Very important for the future of England was her progress in maritime enterprise and discovery during this period of Elizabeth's reign. Frobisher, Hawkins, Gilbert, Raleigh, and many illustrious names adorn the naval history of the time; foremost among them all stands that of Sir Francis Drake, whose voyage round the world,—begun in 1577 and completed in three years,—procured for him the honour of knighthood, and the exceptional distinction of receiving his sovereign on board his ship at Deptford.

The English Sea Captains.

As Elizabeth grew older, the question of her marriage, which had derived its chief interest from the state of the succession, became less important. The only suitor who, in her later days, seemed likely to succeed, was Charles, Duke of Anjou. The negotiation went on year after year, and once the queen even gave the duke a ring in the presence of all the court; but her ministers placed before the queen so strongly the dangers that might arise from such a match, that in the end she gave it up, to the duke's great mortification.

French Projects of Marriage.

The laws against the Catholics increased greatly in severity as the public mind became more and more excited by the terrible scenes enacted in Flanders and in France and Spain; and these severer laws were also put in force with augmented rigour. The Jesuits and Seminarist priests were in especial the objects of the queen's wrath. Many priests and laymen suffered for their faith,—two priests, named Maule and Nelson, and Parsons and Campian, two Jesuits, being among the first.

Religious Persecutions.

In Scotland the regent Morton for some time carried on the government in the name of the young king; but when James came under the influence of Stuart of Aubigny, whom he created Duke of Lennox, the nominee of the Guises and of Stuart of Ochiltree, Earl of Arran, Morton was degraded, brought to trial, and executed for his share in the murder of Darnley.

A conspiracy was begun, with the object of setting Mary free, and associating her with James on the Scottish throne; but the so-called Raid of Ruthven, a plot successfully carried out by the Earl of Gowrie and other leading Protestant lords, caused it to fail. Gowrie got possession of James, who was compelled to dimiss Lennox and Arran; and the Protestant party was again in the ascendency, chiefly through the sagacity and statesmanship of Walsingham, though Arran returned to power for a short time; and an abortive plan for the invasion of England and the dethronement of Elizabeth was organized by the Guises in France. Indeed, during this period, the air was thick with plots, which were frustrated by the vigilance of Cecil and Walsingham. Thus, two gentlemen, named Throgmorton, being arrested for conspiracy, one of them confessed on the rack to a plot for a rebellion to be carried out with the assistance of Spain. Leicester was sent with an army into Flanders in 1586, to assist the United Provinces in their struggle against Spain; he was accompanied by his nephew, the gallant and accomplished Sir Philip Sydney, who was mortally wounded before Zutphen. Leicester effected little in the Netherlands, but Drake gained great successes over the Spaniards in the West Indies.

Spanish Intrigues.

A conspiracy, whose object was the assassination of Elizabeth, and to bring about a general rising of the Catholics in England, was discovered in the summer of 1586. The chief agents were a priest named Ballard and Antony Babington, a gentleman of Derbyshire. The plot coming to the knowledge of Walsingham, the chief conspirators were arrested and brought to trial. Before the execution they made ample confessions, and the Queen of Scots, who had been, during the last year, in the

Babington's Conspiracy.

custody of various gentlemen, was sent to Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire, in September. Commissioners were sent to try the Queen of Scots for complicity in Babington's conspiracy. Mary denied the competency of the court to try her, repudiated all knowledge of Babington, and defended herself with consummate ability, but was found guilty. Elizabeth, after wavering for some time, at length, on the 1st of February, 1587, signed the warrant for Mary's execution, and directed Davison, her secretary, to have it sealed, and to transmit it at once to the council. Davison delivered the warrant to Burleigh, and the necessary letters for carrying it out were at once despatched to the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury. Elizabeth threw the blame of her own action on Davison, censured him for precipitancy in parting with the warrant, and fined him heavily.

Mary's Execution.

On the 7th of February, the two earls appeared before the Queen of Scots at Fotheringay, to inform her that she was to die next morning. Mary received the intelligence with dignity. On the fatal morning she entered the great hall of the castle where the scaffold had been erected, clad in her richest apparel, and carrying a crucifix and a prayer-book. She bade her steward, Melvill, to rejoice rather than weep, that the end of all Mary Stuart's troubles had come. Two of her women had, at her earnest request, been allowed to accompany her to the scaffold. She blessed her servants, and bade them farewell; then laid her head on the block, and it was severed with two blows of the axe. She was in her forty-sixth year.

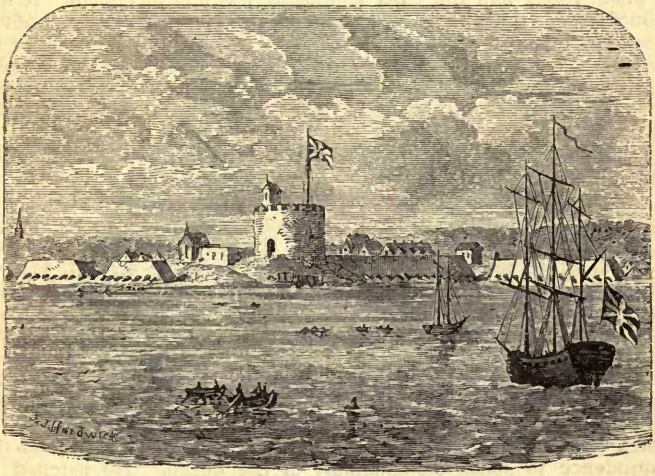
Philip II. and the Armada.

Great indignation was expressed in Scotland, France, and Spain, at the execution of Mary Stuart. Philip II. of Spain set about preparing a great fleet for the invasion and conquest of England. In 1588 the "Invincible Armada" assembled in the Tagus. It comprised a hundred and thirty-five ships of war, many of them of large size. The greatness of the danger called forth all the spirit of the nation. Differences of creed and political quarrels were laid aside. Private ships were fitted out and equipped, until the available vessels numbered close upon two hundred. Lord Howard of Effingham had the chief command, and Hawkins, Drake, Frobisher, and many doughty sea-captains served under him. An army under Leicester was posted at Tilbury Fort to protect London, another under the queen's cousin, Lord Hunsdon, was appointed to guard her majesty. The queen, at this great crisis, set a noble example. She appeared in the camp at Tilbury Fort, opposite Gravesend—where an army of thirty thousand men had been assembled—mounted on a war horse, and wearing armour. In a spirited speech she declared her perfect trust in the loyalty of her faithful people, and her determination to live and die among them.

Patriotism of the English.

The nation showed itself worthy of its queen. The action of the city of London, which voluntarily equipped twice the number of ships and men it had been called on to furnish, is only a sample of the general feeling throughout the country. Various causes delayed the sailing of the Armada, until it was believed in England that the attempt would not be made until the next year. It was on the 19th of July that the Armada was descried

off the Lizard, in Cornwall, and the news was at once carried to Howard and his captains, who lost no time in putting to sea. The Armada came up the Channel in the form of a crescent, of which the horns were seven miles apart. It was the Spanish admiral's intention to make for Calais without fighting a battle, and to take on board the army of the Prince of Parma. But during its progress the great fleet was unmercifully harassed by the English ships, that were light and manœuvred easily, being admirably handled by the famous sailors in command. The Spanish fleet reached Calais sorely mauled, and with the loss of some ships; but when Parma was requested by Sidonia to embark his troops in all haste, he was unable to do so. The English fleet had followed the enemy up the Channel, and now created a panic among the Spaniards by sending eight fire-ships into the Spanish fleet. A council was held on the admiral's ship, at which it was ac-



TILBURY FORT IN QUEEN ELIZABETH'S TIME.

knowledged, not only that the enterprise must be abandoned, but that the return to Spain must be effected through the North Sea, along the eastern coast of England and Scotland, and so round Ireland into the Atlantic. Pursued by the English as far as Flamborough Head, and with further disasters on the Irish coast, the Spaniards at last effected their retreat, after more than thirty large ships and ten thousand men had been lost.

Retreat of the Armada.

The queen proceeded in state to St. Paul's to give thanks for the great deliverance. Howard of Effingham was created Earl of Nottingham. In the next year the English had their revenge upon the Spaniards, Drake and Norris sailing to Spain, with a number of gentlemen adventurers, among whom was the young Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, stepson to the late

Maritime Warlike Enterprises.

Earl of Leicester, whom he succeeded in the favour and affection of the queen. The revenge was dearly purchased; for though the expedition burned a suburb of Corunna and the town of Vigo, the greater part of the gentlemen and a large number of troops perished from disease. The war against Spain was maintained, and various enterprises against the Spaniards in the West Indies turned out more fortunately than that of Drake to the Peninsula. That famous sea captain, with Hawkins and Baskerville, sailed once more for the West Indies, and both he and Hawkins died in their vocation. Raleigh also made a voyage to South America, and proceeded some hundreds of miles up the great river Orinoco. The most successful expedition of the close of Elizabeth's reign was that of the year 1596, under Lord Admiral Howard, in which Essex, Raleigh, and Carew led a fleet and an army against Cadiz, which they took. A second expedition in the following year, in which Essex had the chief command, was less successful. It was soon after this that the famous scene occurred in which Essex received a box on the ear for turning his back in a contemptuous manner on the queen, his temper being roused by Elizabeth's refusal to appoint his friend Sir George Carew deputy of Ireland. The queen at this time lost the most faithful and astute of her counsellors, Cecil Lord Burleigh.

Tyrone's Rebellion—Essex in Ireland.

Ireland had been frequently a source of trouble and danger to the government; and in 1598, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, rose in rebellion. Essex was despatched in 1599 to Ireland, with the newly created office of Lord Lieutenant, and with eighteen thousand men. He wasted his time, lost many soldiers, wrote for reinforcements, and when these arrived, entered into negotiations with O'Neill; then, becoming alarmed for his own position in the queen's favour, he suddenly quitted Ireland without permission, and appeared in disordered apparel in the presence of the queen. Elizabeth felt highly indignant at his disobedience. Essex was suspended from his offices, and ordered to keep his house. The queen, however, was relenting towards him, though she refused to restore to him, at his solicitation, the monopoly of sweet wines, of which he had been deprived. This provoked Essex, who had the imprudence to speak disparagingly of the queen. He listened to treasonous suggestions, and entered into correspondence with the King of Scotland with a view of taking the queen out of the hands of the Cecil faction, his enemies.

Execution of Essex.

On the 7th of February, 1601, Essex was summoned before the council. He excused himself on the ground of illness; next day the Lord Keeper came to Essex House, probably to arrest the earl. Essex thereupon issued forth with a train of gentlemen and partisans, and endeavoured to excite a tumult in the city. The appeal met with no response, and the earl returned discomfited to Essex House, where he was presently arrested. He was tried, with Lord Southampton, on the 19th of the same month. There was no question of his guilt or of that of Lord Southampton. Both were condemned to death, and Essex was executed on the 25th of February. He made an ample confession, and died with great firmness and resignation. Lord Southampton was reprieved.

The well-known romantic story of a ring given to Essex by the queen in the days of his court favour, and sent by him to the queen, but intercepted by the Countess of Nottingham, rests on no authentic foundation, and is generally regarded as a fiction. Raleigh rendered himself exceedingly unpopular by the ungrateful rancour with which he pursued the unfortunate earl, who had been his generous benefactor. The queen herself was blamed for not exercising the royal prerogative of mercy. When she appeared in public, the wonted acclamations were no longer heard, and her ministers were looked on with bitter hatred, and hooted in the streets.

Decline of the Queen's Popularity.

ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

She still, however, in the last parliament she summoned, in 1601, met the representatives of the people in her usual gorgeous array, and showed all her former shrewdness in dealing with public affairs. The Commons were urgent in demanding redress in the matter of the monopolies. Not only did she promise an immediate and entire repeal of these monopolies, she even thanked her faithful Commons for calling her attention to the abuse. The final surrender of Tyrone to Mountjoy towards the end of 1602 brought the last danger of her reign to a happy close.

Her old age was lonely and sad; she was conscious that the thoughts and wishes of men were already turned upon her successor. In March, 1603, her health gave way entirely. She would listen to no physicians, and refused to take to her bed. At last she gave up the struggle, and was partly per-

Death of Elizabeth.

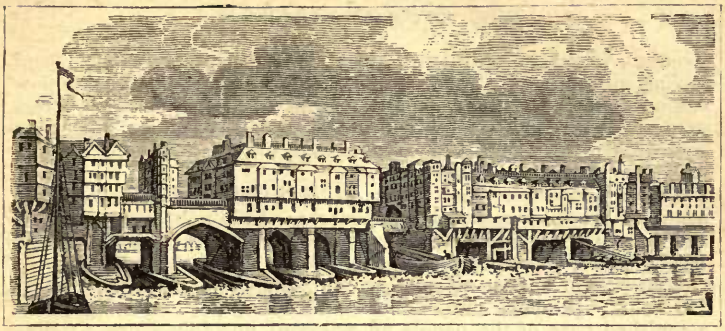
suaded, partly forced, to the couch from which she never rose again. Secretary Cecil, and several of the lords, ventured to approach her with the question who was to be her successor? With a last flashing up of her old pride she declared that her successor should be a king; and whom should she mean but her relative the King of Scots? At three in the morning of the 24th of March, 1603, she died. She was nearly seventy years old.

She stands forth in history, in spite of the attacks that have been made on her character by eminent historical writers, as a grand and most remarkable woman and ruler. She understood the people she governed, and was, above all things, anxious to stand well with the nation. She had the haughty and ambitious nature of the Tudors, their impatience of control, and tendency to assert the prerogative of the royal name and office. She was by no means free from the persecuting spirit. She never hesitated to use the profoundest dissimulation in matters of State, or to throw upon others the blame due to actions she considered necessary for her own safety. Even the most ardent of her panegyrists have failed to make out a justification of her conduct with regard to her unfortunate rival, the Queen of Scots.

Her Character.

Never, until her time, had there been a period when the throne of England was surrounded with such a phalanx of great characters. It was a time of mighty enterprise, energy, and intellect. The names of Shakespeare, Spenser, and a number of lesser luminaries in literature cast a halo of glory on the reign of Elizabeth.

ALDGATE.



CHAPTER XXVII.

The Stuarts.—James I.

A.D. 1603–1625.

Progress of James I. through England. His Appearance and Manners. His Pedantic Learning. The Doctrine of Divine Right. The Bye Plot and the Main Plot. Fate of the Conspirators: Cobham, Grey, Raleigh, etc. Question of the National Religion. James's Decision for Prelacy. The Gunpowder Plot. Measures of the Conspirators. Warning to Lord Monteagle: Arrest of the Conspirators. Their Fate. Timid and Ignoble Rule of the King. Traffic in Titles: Baronetcies. Death of Henry Prince of Wales. Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth. Fate of Arabella Stuart. The King's Favourite, Robert Carr. His Connection with the Countess of Essex. Their Marriage with the King's sanction. Carr created Earl of Somerset. Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower. Suspicion thrown on the Earl and Countess of Somerset. Their Trial. Abject Fears of the King. Reprieve and Pardon of the Earl and Countess. Favour of George Villiers at Court. His rapid Promotion. Raleigh's Expedition to the Orinoco. His Return, Trial, and Execution. Foreign Policy of James. His Relations with Spain. Quarrels with the Parliament. Remonstrance of the Commons. Expedition of Prince Charles and Buckingham to Spain. A Spanish Match and a Spanish War. Impeachment of the Earl of Middlesex. Betrothal of the Prince to Henrietta Maria of France. Death of James I. His Character. Rise of the Puritans in his Reign.

THE accession of James VI. of Scotland to the throne of England, under the title of James I., made a great and important change in the fortunes of that prince. No wonder he spoke of England to his courtiers as the Land of Promise; for with its wealth and ample

revenues, it was, in comparison with his northern kingdom, a land flowing with milk and honey. Accordingly, he hastened to take possession of his new throne, departing from Edinburgh on his progress southwards within a fortnight of the queen's death. No opposition was made to the new king, who, indeed, was at first cordially welcomed on his journey southwards.

But this popularity soon began to be dispelled. James was in appearance the most unkingly of monarchs. Elizabeth, always fond of magnificent array, had been accustomed to attire herself gorgeously on her progresses. James, on the other hand, appeared in almost mean attire, shrinking from the crowd, whose presence alarmed his timid nature, and exhibiting to the astonished gaze of the people an awkward, ungainly figure, a rolling eye, a slobbering mouth, and a demeanour in ludicrous contrast with every notion of kingly presence. At Newark, he caused a cutpurse, taken in the act of theft, to be hanged without trial. His waning popularity was not greatly helped by the honours he began to shower with lavish hand upon the leading men of his party in England, for similar honours were bestowed upon his Scottish followers, and no less than seven hundred persons were made knights within three months.

Appearance and Manners of James I.

The impression made by the new king on foreign ambassadors was equally unfavourable. Rosny, Duke of Sully, the friend and adviser of Henry IV. of France, was amazed to find the new king bent on reversing the policy of Elizabeth, and cultivating the good graces of Spain. James was a pedant, and had written various books, such as "A Treatise on Demonology," and "Counterblaste to Tobacco," by which he scarcely improved his position as a ruler. He had very high notions of his own authority, and declared that a king's "Divine right" was not to be questioned under any circumstances by subjects, for that kings were responsible to Heaven alone for their actions, and accordingly "passive obedience" and "non-resistance" were the duty of all over whom they were placed in authority.

James's Pedantic learning. "Divine Right."

Soon after James's accession two plots were formed against his authority. They are known as the "bye" or "surprise" plot, and the "main" plot. The first of these conspiracies was contrived by two Romish priests, with whom were associated George Brooke, a brother of Lord Cobham, Lord Grey, and Sir Griffin Markham. The name of the plot was given from the design of the conspirators to surprise the king, and, after securing his person, to compel him to grant toleration to the Catholics, and to change his ministers. The conspirators were arrested. The Main or Spanish plot was declared to have for its object the placing on the throne of the Lady Arabella Stuart, a relative of James. Raleigh was charged with being a principal in this conspiracy, the chiefs of which were Lord Cobham and George Brooke. The evidence against Raleigh was of the most meagre kind. Sir Edward Coke, the attorney-general, worked the case against the prisoner in the most virulent manner; and he was found guilty of high treason by a packed jury, and sentenced to death. Cobham and Grey were next tried by their peers,

The Bye Plot and the Main Plot.

and convicted. Both were immediately sentenced to death. Brooke was beheaded shortly after. Cobham, Grey, and Markham were reprieved at the last moment, when they had actually appeared on the scaffold. Raleigh also was reprieved, but he and Grey remained close prisoners in the Tower, where Grey died ten years afterwards, in 1614. Cobham was deprived of his estates. Markham was banished.

Question of the National Religion.

Great anxiety was naturally felt by the various religious parties as to the course the king would take in ecclesiastical affairs. A conference was appointed by the king, to be held at Hampton Court. It commenced on the 14th of January, in the presence of the king himself; Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bancroft, Bishop of London, being the chief representatives of the Church of England party; and Dr. Reynolds, chosen by the king himself, the chief spokesman among the Puritans. To the great joy of the Episcopal party, James declared himself unequivocally on their side; he had had experience of Scots' presbyteries, where, as he expressed it, "beardless boys would brave him to his face." The bishops would uphold his supremacy, and he considered that with "no bishops" there would be "no king." Accordingly he pronounced his decision in favour of prelacy. The Puritans pleaded for time, but none was granted them. Strict conformity was required, three hundred clergymen who demurred being punished by deprivation or suspension.

The Gunpowder Plot.

Equally with the Puritans, the Catholics in England were bitterly disappointed at the conduct of the king. When new severities were enacted against the Catholics, and heavy fines were levied, a bitter and vindictive feeling was aroused; and a few desperate men contrived the treason known as the Gunpowder Plot. The chief author of this conspiracy was Robert Catesby, a gentleman of Warwickshire. Catesby, after conforming for a time to the Protestant faith, had returned, with fanaticism, to his old religion. Having formed the design of blowing up the parliament house and those assembled in it with gunpowder, he took into his counsels two Catholic gentlemen, John Wright and Thomas Winter, the latter of whom procured a recruit in the person of Guy Fawkes, a member of a Yorkshire family. Thomas Percy was next enlisted in the design. The conspirators hired a house next to the parliament building, and put Fawkes in charge, digging a mine under the walls of the parliament house. They had already taken a house in Lambeth, in which they stored up a number of barrels of gunpowder.

Measures of the Conspirators.

Other Catholics were induced to join in the venture, Sir Everard Digby, Francis Tresham, and Ambrose Rookwood; and when it became known that parliament was to meet on the 5th of November, 1605, the conspirators arranged that the work should be carried out on that day. It was purposed that Winter should endeavour to secure one of the princes to be proclaimed king. The Lords Stourton and Monteagle were brothers-in-law of Tresham, who was anxious to save them; a letter was received by Lord Monteagle warning him in a mysterious manner to stay away from the parliament, for that God and man had combined to punish the wickedness of the times. Lord Monteagle at once carried the letter to the

Earl of Salisbury; and it was determined that a search should be made in the cellars beneath the House of Parliament. Twenty-six barrels of gunpowder were found concealed, and Fawkes was arrested as he was stepping out of the door of the cellar. On being brought before the council he refused to name his accomplices; but afterwards, having undergone the torture of the rack, he made a full confession.

Fate of the Conspirators.

Catesby and Percy, being attacked in a house at Holbeach, in which they had taken refuge, died fighting desperately; and at the same time Rookwood and the other chiefs were made prisoners. Tresham was committed to the Tower, where he died. Digby, Grant, Bates, and Robert Winter were executed in St. Paul's Churchyard on January 30th, 1606, and Rookwood, Fawkes, Thomas Winter, and Keyes opposite the parliament house on the 31st. The Jesuits Oldcome and Garnet also suffered death for the same cause.

The course of the reign of James for the next few years was peaceable, but ignoble. The worst abuses in former times, in the way of

Timid and Ignoble Rule of the King.

monopolies and feudal restrictions, were meanwhile revived. Titles were made a matter of traffic and of monetary payment, the sum of a thousand pounds being fixed as the price of a baronetcy. Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, a man of ability, but without the genius and statesmanship of his father, the great Burleigh, kept the finances in order until his death, in May, 1612,

Death of Prince Henry. Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth.

which year was signalized by the decease of the king's eldest son, Henry. He appears to have had a profound contempt for the slothful, timid king, and said, with regard to Sir Walter Raleigh, that James was the only king who would keep such a bird in a cage. James showed great indifference on the occasion. He would have no mourning worn at court, held the Christmas revel as usual, and only two months afterwards, the nuptials of his daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, with Frederick Palsgrave of the Rhine, were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence.

The Lady Arabella Stuart, in whose name the Bye plot had been begun, incurred the displeasure of James by a clandestine marriage with Sir William Seymour, a descendant of the Princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII. For this marriage both the Lady Arabella and Seymour were imprisoned. He contrived to escape abroad, but his wife was committed to the Tower. The poor lady's mind gave way under the rigours of her imprisonment.

One of the most ignoble traits in the king's character was his weakness for unworthy favourites. Foremost among these was a Scottish youth named Robert Carr. James took a liking to this youth, which

The King's Favourite, Robert Carr.

soon increased to a doting and unreasoning fondness. Carr was created Earl of Rochester, and after the death of the Earl of Salisbury, was entrusted with the management of important affairs, for which he was qualified neither by years nor by talents. James enriched him with lands and manors. At length the prosperity of the favourite was terminated by a dark tragedy. At the court of James was a talented but unscrupulous man, Sir Thomas Overbury, whom Carr had selected as his councillor and

friend. It happened that the young Earl of Essex had, at the suggestion of the Earl of Salisbury, been married, at the early age of fourteen, to Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, who herself was a year younger. Immediately after the ceremony the youthful bridegroom was sent to the university, and the girl-bride returned to her mother. The young Earl of Essex returned after four years to claim his bride; but the countess was enamoured of Carr, who returned her passion; and she determined to sue for a divorce from her husband, that she might become Rochester's wife. Sir Thomas Overbury was seriously alarmed when he found that the design of the lovers was marriage. He most earnestly dissuaded the earl from his plan. Rochester repeated to Lady Essex all that Overbury had said; and the revengeful countess determined on the destruction of the man who had come between her and her wishes. Overbury was appointed to undertake an embassy to Russia. Rochester first persuaded Overbury to refuse the appointment, and then induced the king to send him to the Tower for disobedience. Six months afterwards he died in the prison. Meanwhile the Countess of Essex had procured a divorce from her husband, the king himself assisting in the disgraceful business; soon afterwards she was married with great magnificence and rejoicing to Carr, who had been created Earl of Somerset.

Rochester and the Countess of Essex.

But soon afterwards the favour of the Earl of Somerset began rapidly to decline. There had come to court a handsome, well-dressed youth of fascinating manners, one George Villiers, and Robert Carr's supremacy was over. The court was soon divided in partizanship of the old and the new favourite respectively. After a time such rumours arose respecting the mysterious death of Overbury in the Tower, that the king was compelled to cause inquiry to be made into the affair. It soon appeared that poison had been the means of Overbury's death. A Mrs. Turner, the wife of a physician, one Doctor Forman, and a servant named Weston, had been employed to execute the Countess of Somerset's scheme of vengeance on the prisoner, by means of repeated doses of poison. But it appeared that these people were mere subordinates and tools, carrying out the behests of the Earl and Countess of Somerset; and the guilty pair were accordingly arrested by order of the king, who directed Coke, the chief justice, to issue a warrant against them. The greatest efforts were made to induce the criminals to plead guilty, and throw themselves upon the king's mercy. The Countess pleaded guilty, but Somerset defended himself with an ability and persistency which astonished his hearers. Even after his condemnation, Somerset boldly declared that James dared not bring him to the scaffold, and his confidence proved to be well grounded. The king granted a reprieve to the guilty pair; afterwards a pardon was extended to them, and the large sum of £4,000 a year was granted to Somerset, for his maintenance, from the revenue of his estates. There is no doubt that Somerset possessed some terrible secret, the disclosure of which would have ruined the king.

A New Favourite—George Villiers.

Investigation into Overbury's Death.

This reign is ignobly famous as the last during which the statute *De Hæretico Comburendo* was put into action, and persons were sent to

the stake for their religious opinions. One of the most atrocious acts of the government was the vindictive prosecution f r treason of an aged clergyman named Peacham, against whom was brought as evidence a manuscript sermon written many years before, and never published or preached. Peacham was cruelly racked to extort a confession, and died in prison from the severities he endured. A still more indelible stain is left on the character of James by his treatment of Sir Walter Raleigh. After an imprisonment of thirteen years, the illustrious captive issued forth from the Tower, an impoverished man. He proposed to lead an expedition to the great river Orinoco, in search of treasure. James was not unwilling to participate in any profit that might arise; but Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, remonstrated, and James assured him that Raleigh, who had not received a pardon, should be put to death, or delivered up to Spain, if he attempted anything against the Spanish settlements in America. After almost a year's delay, the expedition sailed in 1617. The whole enterprise proved a failure; and on Raleigh's return the King of Spain demanded, through his ambassador, that he should be put to death. James basely yielded to Gondomar's demand, and ordered that the sentence, so many years in abeyance, should be carried out. On the 29th of October, 1618, being then in his sixty-sixth year, Raleigh was led forth to die in Old Palace Yard, Westminster. He died with all the composure of a philosopher and a hero. With him perished the last of the great men who had given a lustre to the court of Elizabeth.

Persecution of Peacham and others.

Raleigh's Expedition to the Orinoco.

Death of Raleigh.

Towards the close of his reign, James, who had never been on cordial terms with his parliaments, became involved in serious disputes with the Commons. In 1621, the king was obliged to summon a parliament, which showed a serious determination to proceed to the redress of grievances. Accordingly, Sir Giles Mompesson was impeached with his agent, Sir Francis Mitchell, for practising fraud and tyranny, and both were condemned to fine and imprisonment. Mompesson escaped to the Continent. At the same time proceedings were taken against the chancellor, Sir Francis Bacon, who was sentenced to be deprived of his offices, to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and to pay a fine of £40,000. The king, however, granted him his liberty; and the remaining five years of the chancellor's life were passed in retirement and philosophic studies.

Corruption and Fraud. Mompesson, Bacon, etc.

Before the session came to an end, James and his parliament were at open feud. The king insisted upon looking at that assembly as a council whose duty it was to assist him by money and advice, but to remain wholly subordinate to his will; while the Commons claimed to be legislators, and not merely advisers. This James denied, and when the Commons entered upon the journals of the House a solemn protest, James in high wrath sent for the journal, and with his own hand tore out the leaves containing the obnoxious entry. He then dissolved the parliament abruptly, and committed to prison those among the members whom he considered most contumacious.

High-handed Proceedings against the Parliament.

The king had long negotiated with Philip III. of Spain, respecting the marriage of his son Prince Charles with a daughter of Spain. King James undertook that the persecution of Popish recusants should cease, so long as they only celebrated their service in their own houses; and a number of Catholic prisoners were released. Lord Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol, was despatched as ambassador to Madrid, for the furtherance of business. Villiers, who had been made Marquess of Buckingham, had contrived to obtain a paramount influence over Prince Charles. Buckingham now suggested to the Prince of Wales, that they should together undertake a journey to Spain to urge Charles's suit in person to the infanta. The prince was greatly pleased with the idea, and James gave his consent reluctantly; but the next day he declared, with many tears and protestations, that Steenie, as he called Buckingham, was robbing him of his baby Charles. All he could obtain was that Sir Francis Cottington and Sir Endymion Porter, two gentlemen of the court, who knew Spain well, should accompany them.

Negotiations with Spain.

JAMES I.

In February, 1623, Prince Charles and Buckingham accordingly set out in disguise. They travelled to Paris under the names of Jack and Tom Smith, and after a glimpse of the royal family, proceeded to Madrid. The prince was received with all honour, and the marriage negotiations were being satisfactorily proceeded with, when Buckingham determined that the match should come to nothing. Accordingly he procured from his king an order recalling the Prince of Wales to England. Presently a procuration was given to the Earl of Bristol. The infanta was to be married by proxy, at Madrid, to the Prince of Wales. Meanwhile Charles arrived in England, and shortly afterwards Lord Bristol received orders from England to declare to King Philip that James would not allow the marriage to

Journey of Prince Charles and Buckingham.

Misconduct of Buckingham.

proceed unless the Spanish king pledged himself to assist in procuring the restoration of James's son, the Elector Palatine, to his dominions. Thus the long negotiations led at last to a Spanish war.

There was now no money to be expected from Spain, and James was accordingly obliged to summon a parliament. His necessities obliged him to make a kind of apology for the relaxation in the penal laws against the Catholics; for in this parliament the Puritan element strongly prevailed. Buckingham presently addressed the Houses, in explanation of the breaking down of the marriage treaty with Spain; the representatives of the nation voted an address and a supply of £300,000 for carrying on the war, which James reluctantly consented to declare. Buckingham now enjoyed a popularity he had never before attained. The prospect of a Spanish war was celebrated with rejoicings throughout the city. In the same session occurred the impeachment of Cranbourne, Earl of Middlesex, for various misdemeanours, at the instigation of Buckingham. King James told "Steenie" that he was a fool for promoting this impeachment, for that he was "preparing a rod for his own breech."

James's Last Parliament.

War with Spain.

A negotiation was now set on foot for a marriage between Prince Charles and the Princess Henrietta Maria, of France. The king did not live to see the wedding of his son. The end came somewhat suddenly, after a few days' illness; so suddenly, indeed, that poison was hinted at, and the suspicion was coupled with the name of Buckingham, though there was amply sufficient in the condition of the king to account for his death in a natural way. He was in his fifty-ninth year.

Death of James I.

The character of this king has been compared, not unaptly, by a recent historian, with that of the Roman emperor, Claudius Cæsar. Of all the monarchs of England, James was the most unkingly; his thick speech, his shambling gait, his habit of kissing and slobbering his favourites, his abject tears and protestations when terrified or disconcerted, contrasted oddly with his high notions of prerogative, and of the divinity that doth hedge a king. Some writers have attributed to him the darkest of guilt and the most loathsome crimes; and the terror with which he yielded to the covert menaces of Somerset seems to point to some hidden guilt that has escaped the censure of history; but the worst deeds that are positively known of him appear to have arisen from his constitutional cowardice. He quite misunderstood the spirit of his time, and alternated persecution with a kind of shuffling compromise, which only embittered the dispute.

His Character.

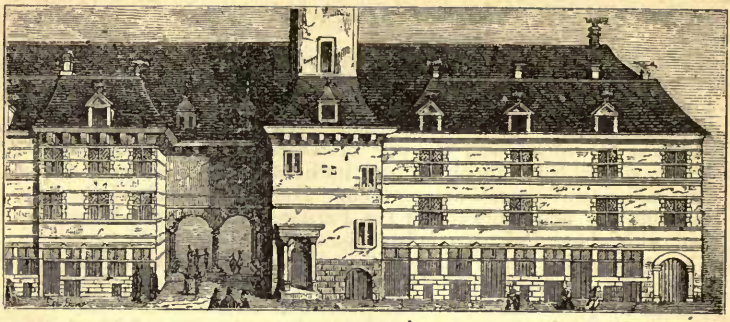
The Puritans increased greatly in number and in influence during his reign, and an important epoch is marked by the departure of the "Pilgrim Fathers" in the *Mayflower* for America, in 1620, to seek beyond the Atlantic the freedom of worship denied to them in their own country. It is a lamentable proof of the intolerant and narrow-minded tendencies of the age, that the New England Puritans soon distinguished themselves by persecuting, in a most cruel manner, the harmless members of the Society of Friends, or as they were popularly denominated, the

Intolerance of the Age.

Quakers. James, who looked upon Episcopacy as necessary to the maintenance of his authority, and held the doctrine of "no bishop, no king," had laboured with some success to introduce a kind of modified prelatic system into Scotland. The spirit of that nation remained opposed to Episcopacy, in spite of reluctant concessions; and the Calvinistic school of theology, with its hard doctrine of absolute predestination, was general among them. During the whole of the reign the numbers and influence of the Puritans were steadily increasing, and with them the antagonism against the Episcopal Church, a feeling which the injudicious measures of the king were thoroughly calculated to increase. It was natural that men whose opinions pointed to strictness in the maintenance of decorum, and the observance of a Sabbath, like that ordained in the Jewish dispensation, should be scandalized by the shameless profligacy, drunkenness, and general license of James's court, and led, by dislike of the abuses they deplored, to look upon recreation and amusement of every kind as sinful. The king and the High Church party advocated the opinion of the old days, in which the afternoon of Sunday was kept as a holiday, with athletic games, archery, and the like, upon the village greens; and by the royal authority a Book of Sports was published, setting forth what pastimes were lawful on such occasions, while a proclamation forbade the restraining of the people from these amusements. This interference only confirmed the Puritans in their views, and widened the breach between them and the rest of the community.

James's Preference for Episcopal Government.

PRINCE HENRY, ELDEST SON OF JAMES I.



SIR THOMAS GRESHAM'S EXCHANGE.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Stuarts.—Charles I.

A.D. 1625–1649.

Difficulties of the King's Position. His Principles. Marriage with Henrietta Maria. First and Second Parliaments. Taxation. War with France. Buckingham's Expedition. Third Parliament. Petition of Right. Murder of Buckingham. Dissolution. Period of Absolute Rule. Wentworth and the "Thorough." Persecution of Puritans. Prynne, Leighton, Lilburne, etc. John Hampden and Ship-money. Emigration. Disturbances in Scotland. The Liturgy. The Episcopal War. Pacification of Dunse. The Short Parliament. The Long Parliament. Impeachment of Strafford and Laud. Death of Strafford. Montrose and the "Incident." Rebellion in Ireland. Attempted Arrest of the Five Members. The Civil War. Charles I. and his Prospects. Edgehill. Brentford. Chalgrove. Death of Hampden. Marston Moor. Execution of Laud. Self-denying Ordinance. Naseby. The King's Cabinet. Montrose in Scotland. The King in the Scottish Camp. A Prisoner of the Parliament. At Holmby. Mutiny of the Army. Charles's Escape. Royalist Risings. The Large Remonstrance. Pride's Purge. Trial of the King. His Condemnation. His Last Days. His Execution and Burial. His Character.

Difficulties and Dangers at Charles's Accession.

THE new king succeeded to the throne with an unquestioned title, but under unfavourable auspices. The Plague was raging in London. The impending marriage with a French Catholic princess was unpopular; the king's favourite, Buckingham, whom his late master's infatuation had gorged with wealth and loaded with honours and offices, was hated by the nation. The exchequer, moreover, was empty; large debts had

been incurred, and the kingcraft of James had left to the nation the legacy of a costly war.

Charles was deeply impressed with the notion of the Divine right of kings, and considered that a monarch was not accountable to his people for the exercise of his authority; he held, moreover, that concessions made by kings to their people were revocable at the sole pleasure of the monarchs themselves, as proceeding entirely from the favour and bounty of the ruler. He was determined to uphold the Episcopal Church, and looked upon the Puritans as natural opponents to his authority, temporal and spiritual.

The first important event of his reign was his marriage to the Princess Henrietta Maria. The king met his bride at Dover, and they were married immediately afterwards. Charles became sincerely attached to her, and in later times she exerted a great and far from salutary influence over him and his affairs.

Charles's first Parliament.

The king's necessities compelled him speedily to summon a parliament, which met at Westminster on the 18th of June. The king was anxious for a supply of money; the parliament, in which the Puritans were strong alike in numbers and ability, insisted on the redress of grievances. The idea of the Spanish war, too, was unpopular with the Houses, as they considered the contest to have been brought on unnecessarily by the insolence of Buckingham. The Commons accordingly voted two subsidies only, amounting to about £140,000, and granted the duties of tonnage and poundage to the king only for a year, instead of for life, as had been the custom. The exasperation of the Commons against Buckingham, and their evident intention of impeaching him, caused the king abruptly to dissolve his first parliament.

Wimbledon's Expedition.

The war with Spain meanwhile was prosecuted, a fleet of ninety sail, with 10,000 soldiers, being sent in October, 1625, against Cadiz, under the command of Cecil Lord Wimbledon; in December, he returned to Plymouth, having lost many men, and effected nothing.

Second Parliament.

The king was greatly disappointed. He found himself compelled to summon his second parliament, which met on the 6th of February, 1626. This parliament immediately betook itself to the consideration of evils and grievances, while the king was impatiently urging it, not without covert threats, to hasten the supplies. Lord Bristol, the late ambassador in Spain, charged Buckingham with crimes amounting to treason; the House of Commons sent up an impeachment against the Duke to the Lords. The king committed two of the managers of the impeachment, Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges, to the Tower. The Commons insisted on their release. The king, in anger, dissolved this second parliament, after a session of four months.

Arbitrary Taxation.

The king now resolved to procure money by arbitrary taxation. A loan of £200,000, with commissioners to collect it stringently, the levying of tonnage and poundage that had not been granted by parliament, the exaction of fines from recusants, were among the means employed to supply the exchequer. Refusal was met by impressment in the army or navy in the case of the lower classes, and with imprisonment for the gentry; and when

certain imprisoned gentlemen applied for the writ of Habeas Corpus, their liberty was refused them on the ground that the king can do no wrong.

It was again Buckingham, the evil genius of Charles, who involved him in danger and difficulty. He induced his master to declare war with France, under the pretext of assisting the Huguenots; and an expedition was despatched, under the command of Buckingham himself, to the relief of Rochelle, then besieged by Richelieu. He committed one fault after another, until, on the 29th of October, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise. The French attacked him while he was retreating, and he lost two thousand men.

War with France. Buckingham at Rochelle.

Charles was obliged to summon a third parliament, and it assembled on the 17th of March, 1628. During the first session, the parliament was able to take a most important step towards the establishment of English liberty. The celebrated Petition of Right was presented. It set forth that certain things were "contrary to the right and liberties of the subject, and the laws and statutes of the nation;" and by affixing his signature to the measure, the king promised that they should cease. These abuses were: The raising of taxes without the consent of parliament, the arrest and detention of prisoners by other than legal process, the billeting of soldiers in private houses, and the trial of offenders by martial law, instead of by the ordinary tribunals. The king was ultimately induced to affix his signature in the usual way. Thereupon the subsidies demanded were granted, and the parliament was prorogued on the 26th of June, 1628.

Petition of Right.

Buckingham was again to take the command of a fleet and army for France; but he met his death at Portsmouth at the hand of Felton, a lieutenant, who, on being arrested close by, confessed his crime, and declared he was doing his country a service by removing Buckingham. He perished on the gibbet at Portsmouth. Buckingham was only thirty-six years old when his profligate career of ambition came to an end. The king paid his debts, amounting to more than sixty thousand pounds, and had him buried in Westminster Abbey.

Murder of Buckingham.

Between the prorogation of this parliament and its reassembling in January, 1629, the king had raised tonnage and poundage in his own right, and troops had again been billeted on the people. The Commons accordingly, immediately on assembling, proceeded to take the late innovations into consideration. The goods of some London merchants had been seized for non-payment of tonnage and poundage; the sheriff and the customs officers were summoned to the bar to answer for their proceedings. On the 2nd of March, 1629, Eliot proposed a resolution declaring every person to be an enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth who should introduce Popish innovations in religion, assist in levying tonnage and poundage levied without consent of parliament, or should pay the same. The Speaker declared he had been forbidden by the king to put the resolution to the vote. He was forcibly held down in the chair he attempted to vacate by Hollis and Valentine, while the

Strong Resolutions of the Commons.

resolution was read amid the approving shouts of the members. The king sent down first the serjeant, to take away the mace, who was detained, and then the usher of the black rod, who was refused admittance, the door having been locked. After passing the resolutions with acclamation, the members issued forth in a body, and the House adjourned. The king sent down to the House of Lords and dissolved the parliament. Sir John Eliot, Valentine and Holles, and various other members, were committed to the Tower. Heavy fines were imposed, and Holles and Valentine were kept in imprisonment for eighteen months. Eliot, less fortunate, died in the Tower. Such was the end of the third and last parliament of the earlier portion of this reign.

Sir John Eliot.

A period now began during which, for eleven years, no parliament was summoned, and England was governed despotically. The edicts of the king had the force of laws. The Star Chamber Court and the Court of High Commission overruled the judgments of the ordinary tribunals, imposing cruel and vindictive sentences, against which there was no appeal, and especially displaying their rancour in the persecution of the Puritans. The king levied taxes on his own authority, exacted large sums from the people, and sold patents of monopoly. Several able men had been won over by the king: most important of all was Thomas Wentworth, who ultimately became Earl of Strafford. It was with him that the scheme of government originated, aptly called by the name of "Thorough." The king was to raise a sufficient revenue by taxing the people in his own right; with part of this revenue he was to maintain a standing army in his pay; with this standing army he was to put down any resistance against his authority.

The Star Chamber and its Tyranny.

Wentworth and the "Thorough."

William Laud, Bishop of London, succeeded to the primacy on the death of Archbishop Abbot, in 1632. Thoroughly sincere in his belief in the efficacy of absolute government, Laud was a man who attached an extravagant value to Church ceremonial, vestments, and outward observances.

Archbishop Laud.

Among the records of persecution in that evil time, the names of Prynne, Bastwick, Lilburne, and Leighton stand pre-eminent. William Prynne was a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and a fanatical Puritan, cherishing all the prejudices of his class against singing and dancing, amusements and the arts that beautify life, and upholding to an exaggerated extent the doctrines of the sect to which he belonged. He produced a strange, coarse, and intolerant work, entitled "Histriomastyx; or, the Player's Scourge," and was sentenced to be fined £1,000, to stand twice in the pillory, and have an ear cut off each time, to have his books burnt by the hangman, and to perpetual imprisonment. Leighton, a Scotch divine, drew upon himself the vengeance of Laud by a book entitled "Zion's Plea against Prelacy." The Star Chamber sentence on Leighton was a fine of £10,000, imprisonment in the Fleet for life, to stand twice in a pillory, to be publicly whipped, and to have one ear cut off and one nostril slit on each occasion, besides being branded on both cheeks with the letters S. S., meaning

Prynne and the Histriomastyx.

Sentence on Leighton.

Sower of Sedition. Bastwick wrote a book in confutation of a Papist. A fine of £1,000, prohibition to practise his profession, and imprisonment, was the sentence upon him. John Lilburne was condemned to be whipped through the streets and pilloried, for distributing pamphlets hostile to episcopal government.

John Lilburne.

The first formal protest against the arbitrary method of taxation adopted by the king is found in the well-known ship-money case of John Hampden, the Buckinghamshire esquire. In 1634, London and other ports were made to pay a tax for the augmentation of the navy. It was afterwards determined to make ship-money a regular source of revenue. Buckinghamshire was required to furnish the price of a ship of war. Hampden refused to pay his assessment, and fought the matter out in the exchequer chamber. Five out of the twelve judges pronounced in Hampden's favour; and this result, Clarendon observes, was looked upon, under the circumstances, as a triumph for Hampden and his party. Ship-money was paid with the greatest reluctance, and proved a failure as a source of revenue.

John Hampden and Ship-money.

The unchecked despotism of the government in England caused many of the Puritans to turn their eyes to the New World as a place of refuge. In 1629, Massachusetts had obtained a charter of incorporation, and during the next ten years a number of emigrants went forth to increase the Puritan communities in the New England settlements.

While England was filled with discontent and apprehension at the arbitrary principles and practices of the government, an attempt was made to establish a similar state of things in Scotland. In 1637 it was determined to introduce into the Scottish Church a liturgy, or read service, similar to that used in England; and an order was issued that on a certain Sunday morning this service was to be read in all the Scottish churches. Clarendon has left a graphic account of the manner in which, in Edinburgh, "a shower of sticks, and stones, and cudgels was flung at the dean's head." In the Greyfriars' Church the service was received with groans and lamentations; the Scots saw in it the mass in disguise; and on the 31st of March, 1638, the old covenant or agreement, first adopted many years before, was brought forward again, and subscribed by many thousands. The king was resolved to enforce submission; and thus began that Scottish rebellion which was the preliminary to the Civil War in England.

Religion in Scotland.

Reception of the Liturgy in Edinburgh.

An army was raised to serve the king. The Covenanters judiciously offered the command of their army to Alexander Lesley, and crowds of volunteers flocked to the standard. The king's coffers were empty, and his men were disaffected, while the Scots were in a state of fierce religious excitement. At Kelso, where Lord Holland, in command of the royal cavalry, came in sight of the enemy, his men retreated without striking a blow or firing a shot. Charles now perceived that to invade Scotland would be both dangerous and unpopular; commissioners were appointed, and all questions of Church and State were to be left to a general assembly, and a parliament to be summoned immediately.

The "Episcopal War" with the Covenanters.

Pacification of Dunse.

The meeting of the Scottish parliament was not satisfactory to the king, the Covenanters were watchful and suspicious. The king resolved to reduce Scotland to submission by war. He summoned Wentworth from Ireland, and it was decided that a parliament should be summoned for the next year. Meanwhile the lords put down their names for various sums, to relieve the immediate wants of the king. Wentworth subscribed £20,000, and returned to Ireland, with the office of lord lieutenant. It was at this time he was raised to the rank of Earl of Strafford.

Renewal of the Scottish War.

The new parliament, the first that the king had summoned for eleven years, met in April, 1640. The new House of Commons was far more conciliatory than any of its predecessors in Charles's reign had been. Pym, Hampden, Oliver St. John, and other well-known patriots, were the leaders of the Puritan party in this assembly. The king was urgent for an immediate supply of money. The Commons were disposed to grant the twelve subsidies he demanded. But a question arose as to the manner in which the grant should be made; and suddenly this assembly, appropriately known as the "Short" Parliament, was dissolved at a moment's notice by the king, after a session of only three weeks. He marched northwards once more to encounter the Scots. At Newburn on the Tyne they defeated the troops of Lord Conway. Charles, who had advanced as far as York, was obliged, for the second time, to come to an accommodation with his revolted subjects. The northern counties were to pay the Scots £5,600 a week, until the conclusion of a treaty to be settled by a parliament.

The Short Parliament.

Second Campaign in the North. Defeat of Charles.

The famous Long Parliament met on the 3rd of November, 1640. Falkland, Hyde, Nathaniel Fiennes, Oliver St. John, Denzil Holles, Digby, and Harry Vane, were among the representatives of the Commons, while Pym and Hampden were the acknowledged leaders of the popular party. Strafford, who had come to London on a solemn assurance from the king that the parliament should not touch a hair of his head, was suddenly impeached, and committed to the Tower for high treason. A similar course was adopted towards Archbishop Laud, and the Lord Keeper Finch and Secretary Windebank secured their safety by flight. The victims of the episcopal persecution of the last years—Prynne, Bastwick, Leighton, and others—were now released from imprisonment, and in some cases were awarded damages for the wrong they had endured. Soon afterwards Strafford was brought to trial. The most important charges against him were those of having billeted soldiers on the people in Ireland, to force them to accede to his illegal demands; raising an army in Ireland, and advising the king to use it for putting down discontent in England; and taxing the people of Yorkshire for the payment of his trained bands. Strafford defended himself with a talent and eloquence that impressed the whole audience and won many hearts. A bill of attainder was then brought on by Pym. Charles entreated the Houses to find some way of doing justice without the sacrifice of Strafford's life; he is even said to have listened to some wild projects for the

Meeting of the Long Parliament.

Impeachment and Trial of Strafford.

escape of the prisoner. Strafford wrote to the king, absolving him from his promise to hold him harmless. Charles took immediate and disgraceful advantage of this offer of Strafford's, and at once signed the bill of attainder. The next day the king sent a letter to the Lords, weakly suggesting that if Strafford must die, it would be "charity to reprieve him till Saturday." On the morrow, the 12th of May, the great earl was brought out to die on Tower Hill.

Execution of Strafford.

The king had been obliged to give his consent to another bill, setting forth that the present parliament could not be prorogued or dissolved without its own consent. The court now opened negotiations with the leaders of the opposition for a reconciliation. It was designed to entrust Hampden with the education of the Prince of Wales, and an administration was to be formed with offices for Pym and Holles, while St. John was actually made solicitor-general. The death of the Duke of Bedford prevented the carrying out of the scheme.

Attempt at Reconciliation.

The king proceeded to Scotland, and showed himself so gracious to the old General Lesley and to the Covenanters, that considerable suspicion was aroused; and the suspicion was increased by the mysterious transaction generally known as the "Incident."

Montrose had written to the king offering his services. This letter had fallen into the hands of the Covenanters, as had also a counter-covenant prepared by Montrose. Montrose was arrested; a charge of conspiracy to depose the king was at the same time brought against the Marquess of Hamilton, his brother Lanerick, and the Marquess of Argyle. Suddenly, Charles summoned the two Hamiltons and Argyle to attend his court. Instead of coming, they retired from Edinburgh with their armed followers. It was said that Montrose, while in prison, had proposed to the king a plan for the assassination of the three noblemen, the seizure of Edinburgh, and the crushing of the Covenant. Charles indignantly demanded an investigation to clear his honour, and a secret committee pronounced that the three nobles had good reason for what they did, but exonerated the king in the matter.

Montrose and the "Incident."

Just at this time occurred the insurrection in Ireland. Sir Phelim O'Neil appeared with other chiefs at the head of a disorderly rabble. He professed to have a commission from the king dated from Edinburgh, and proceeded, at the head of his Catholic followers, to perpetrate all the atrocities of a cruel massacre on the English Protestant settlers, of whom thousands perished. Ultimately he was defeated, and executed as a traitor. Many professed to doubt whether the commission and seal displayed by O'Neil were really forgeries, or whether the atrocious rebellion had not really been encouraged by the king.

The Insurrection of O'Neil.

Thus, when the parliament reassembled in November, 1641, the assembly, so unanimous in its first session, was divided into two parties, one of which considered that the king should be restored to his former position, while the other declared that the king must be narrowly watched. In the Grand Remonstrance were set forth the chief grievances from the commencement of Charles's reign; it was

presented to the House of Commons on the 22nd of November. Falkland, Hyde, and Culpepper were at the head of the party in favour of the king, and wished the postponement or abandonment of the Grand Remonstrance, which, after a long and stormy debate, was only passed by a majority of nine votes in a division of three hundred. Soon afterwards the king arrived from Scotland. The demonstrations of loyalty with which his return was greeted by the Londoners, and the manifest strength of his supporters in parliament, fatally deceived him as to his true position. He bestowed his especial favour on Falkland and Culpepper, whom he attached to his immediate service. He refused a petition that prayed him to remove the bishops from the House of Peers. On the 3rd of January, 1642, Herbert, the attorney-general, brought down to the House of Commons articles of impeachment for treason against the leaders of the Puritan party in the Commons, and against the Earl of Kimbolton in the Lords. This entirely illegal act Charles followed up by going in person to Westminster, accompanied by a large armed guard of halberdiers and court gentlemen, whom he left in Westminster Hall while he himself entered the House of Commons. The accused members had received notice of the king's intention, and had withdrawn. Charles, who perceived, to use his own expression, that "the birds were flown," uttered a few uneasy sentences and retired, followed by angry cries of "Privilege! Privilege!" It is said that he had been urged on to this incredible piece of folly by the queen.

The Grand Remonstrance.

Improvement in the King's Prospects.

Attempted Arrest of the Five Members.

The five members had betaken themselves to the city, where they were received with enthusiasm by the civic authorities; a committee meeting in the city pronounced the conduct of the king a high breach of privilege, and grossly illegal. It was determined to bring the members back in triumph to Westminster on the 11th of the month; on the 10th the king quitted Whitehall, and retired with his family to Hampton Court. The members warmly thanked the citizens for their kindness and zeal, and a guard selected from the trained bands of the city, and commanded by one Skippon, was appointed to watch over the safety of parliament. Four thousand freeholders rode to London from Buckinghamshire to assure the parliament they would defend its privileges. The king, meanwhile, after proceeding as far as Dover with his young daughter, who was at this time betrothed to the Prince of Orange, and was accompanied to Holland by the queen, retired to York on the 19th of March.

The Queen and her Daughter.

Both sides were now actively preparing for war. The Commons demanded that the army and navy should be placed under officers nominated by the parliament; the king replied that the command of the militia should not be entrusted to the parliament for an hour.

Charles set up his standard at Nottingham on the 22nd of August, 1642, and proclaimed that the rebellion of Lord Essex was to be put down by war.

The king had lately received a considerable accession to the number of his adherents, thirty-six peers having rallied round him at York,

besides his chief advisers, Hyde, Culpepper, and Falkland. Littleton, the Lord Keeper, presently joined them, and delivered the great seal into Charles's hands. The parliamentary army under Essex numbered among its colonels many men of mark. There were twenty regiments of infantry, amounting to 18,000 men, and from 4,000 to 5,000 cavalry. Hampden and his cousin, Oliver Cromwell, whose talents and value he had already detected, Holles, Kimbolton, William Waller, Quentin, were among the commanders. London was ready to practically second the parliamentary efforts; loans were obtained, and the parliament had the means of drawing a regular supply by taxation. Thus Essex advanced to meet the king with an army well provided for the time; and the feeling of the commercial and trading communities, and the Nonconformists, were on the side of the parliament.

Charles and his Adherents.

The Parliament and its Prospects.

The first battle was fought at Edgehill in Warwickshire. The king's army was under the command of Lord Lindsay; that of the parliament was headed by Essex. The left wing of the Parliamentarians was furiously charged by the king's nephew, Prince Rupert of the Rhine, who, after putting his opponents to flight, fell to plundering the baggage. On the other hand, the right wing and centre of the parliamentary forces stood firm; and presently, charging in their turn, took some of the king's guns. Night put an end to what must be pronounced a drawn battle, in which each side claimed the victory. An accommodation between the two sides was proposed, and the king advanced his forces nearer to London, under pretext of negotiating with the parliament. But suddenly Rupert, who had been sent forward with the cavalry, attacked Holles's regiment at Brentford, and would have destroyed it but for the arrival of Hampden and Lord Brook to the rescue, who beat back Rupert. This affair was unfortunate for the king, who was accused of treachery in the matter; and though negotiations were resumed, and continued at Oxford till the middle of April, 1643, they led to nothing.

Battle of Edgehill.

Prince Rupert at Brentford.

The earlier part of 1643 saw each of the parties victorious in turn. Cromwell had increased his regiment to 1,000 men, the famous "Ironsides," who afterwards did such signal service. Sir William Waller, after taking several towns for the parliament, was worsted at Lansdowne on the fifth of July by Sir Ralph Hopton and Prince Maurice, the younger brother of Rupert; Exeter and Bristol were also lost to the parliament at this time, while the return of Queen Henrietta Maria to England with money and reinforcements improved the position of the king. A heavy loss was sustained by the Parliamentarian party in the death of the patriot Hampden, the most pure-minded and disinterested, as well as the most talented, man of his time, who was mortally wounded in a petty skirmish with Rupert's cavalry at Chalgrove Field, in Oxfordshire. He survived his hurt only six days; his last hours were spent in solicitude for his country.

Chalgrove Field.—Death of Hampden.

The parliament now resolved to call in the aid of the Scots, whom they had hesitated to associate with themselves on account of the in-

tolerance of the Presbyterians, who were detested by the Independents, the powerful sect who were fighting manfully to uphold their cause. A compact was signed with the Scots, to whom a sum of £100,000 was sent, and heavy taxes were imposed for the maintenance of the war. The cause of the king was successful in the West, where Bristol and various other towns fell into his hands. It was deemed necessary to fortify London by an entrenchment twelve miles in circuit. On the 19th of September a battle was fought at Newbury, in which Lord Falkland, the leader of the king's forces, was slain.

Progress of the War.

The Scots had now crossed the Tweed, under Leslie, to the number of 12,000; Essex and Waller made a combined movement upon the position of Charles at Oxford. Charles escaped by a skilful manœuvre from Oxford, and defeated Waller at Copredy Bridge. He was now advised to advance towards London and negotiate in person with the parliament, but he rejected the timely counsel. Fairfax, meanwhile, invested York with the Scots. On Marston Moor the opposing armies, each about 25,000 strong, confronted each other on the 2nd of July, 1644. Newcastle, Rupert, Goring, Lucas, and Portner, commanded for the king; while Fairfax, Manchester, Lesley, now Earl of Leven, and Oliver Cromwell, led the parliamentary forces. The armies stood confronting each other for two hours, from five to seven in the evening. Then Rupert made a furious charge with his cavalry upon the right wing of the Parliamentarians, which he routed; but Cromwell made an equally successful attack, with his heavy cavalry, the admirably disciplined "Ironsides," on the left. Then he and Fairfax fell upon the troops of Rupert and Goring, who already believed they had gained the victory, and were in disorder, routed them with great slaughter, and drove them from the field, taking fifteen hundred prisoners. Four thousand men were slain, the great majority being Royalists, who lost all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. This victory produced a great moral effect on raising the spirits of the Parliamentarians. Newcastle and Rupert each cast upon the others the blame of the defeat. An indecisive action at Newbury, on October 27th, terminated the campaign. The year was signalized by a cruel and unjust action in the execution of Archbishop Laud, who had been kept in prison since 1640, and had entirely lost all power of inflicting injury on the opposite side.

Battle of Marston Moor.

Trial and Execution of Laud.

Very arbitrary measures were at this time taken by an assembly of divines summoned by the parliament to settle the question of public worship and Church discipline. The use of the Common Prayer-Book was prohibited under penalties, and nearly two thousand clergymen were turned out of their livings on charges of irregularity of life or doctrine. The chief divisions at that time were the Presbyterians, the Independents, and the Episcopalians.

At the end of January, 1645, a conference of sixteen Royalists and twelve Parliamentarians was held at Uxbridge, for the negotiation of a peace. The king professed himself ready to agree to a compromise, but in his private letters to the queen, it is abundantly shown that he was only temporizing. As

Attempt at Accommodation.

was afterwards said of him with truth, he "negotiated with all parties and would settle with none." Another reason for Charles's holding out was in the fact that Montrose had been gaining such successes in Scotland, for the king's cause, that he confidently expected the Scottish army under Leslie would soon be obliged to quit England and march northward to oppose him.

Two important measures ushered in the year 1645. The Self-denying Ordinance declared that no member of either House should, during the war, enjoy or execute any office or command, civil or military. It was suggested by the strong sense of Cromwell. The second measure was the "New Model," a reconstituting of the army, uniting the three divisions into one, with Sir Thomas Fairfax as general-in-chief, and Skippon as major-general. Cromwell remained a member of parliament, and consequently served in the army with no commission beyond special orders from Fairfax. Early in May, Charles left Oxford at the head of 10,000 men. He soon afterwards took Leicester. Fairfax thereupon advanced to encounter him, and was joined by Ireton and Cromwell. On June 14th, the armies joined battle at Naseby, near Harborough. Prince Rupert, who commanded the king's cavalry on the right wing, charged Ireton, on the Parliamentarians' left, with such fury, that he routed them, and pursued them to Naseby. Meanwhile, Cromwell with his Ironsides had obtained a similar advantage over Sir Marmaduke Langdale on the opposite wing; and attacked the centre of the king's army. Charles himself fought with great courage. "One more charge," he cried, "and we recover the day." But the main body lost heart when attacked at once in front and rear. Rupert returned to support the king, but he came too late. A general rout of the Royalists ensued, and the king was obliged to fly, with his shattered forces, to the border of Wales.

Self-denying Ordinance.

Battle of Naseby.

The most important piece of spoil that fell into the hands of the Parliamentarian chiefs at Naseby was the private cabinet of the king, containing copies of Charles's confidential letters to the queen. These contained abundant proof of his duplicity. Some of the most incriminating pieces were at once published. "The Parliamentarians appealed to the glaring evidence of his perfidy; the Royalists were disgusted with his ingratitude; the moderate and neutral lost their respect for his character. His only hope was now in Montrose, who carried on an astonishingly successful predatory warfare in Scotland. Charles confidently expected Montrose would lead his victorious troops into England; but suddenly came the disaster of Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, when Montrose was obliged to retreat to the inaccessible regions of the Highlands. Rupert yielded up Bristol to the troops of Fairfax. Charles was obliged to retire with only five hundred horse to Oxford.

The King's Private Cabinet.

Montrose in Scotland.

The early part of 1646 saw the complete ruin of the king's cause. Fairfax completely vanquished Lord Hopton in the West, pursuing him into Cornwall. The Prince of Wales fled to Jersey, Exeter yielded; Chester also surrendered, and Sir Jacob Astley was defeated and made prisoner at Stow-on-the-Wold. "You have done your

CHARLES I. AT NASEBY.

work, my masters," said the sturdy Cavalier to his captors, "and may go play, unless you choose to fall out among yourselves."

Charles could not remain at Oxford. The question was, whether he should negotiate with the parliament, or put himself into the hands of the Scots, whose army, under Lesley, Earl of Leven, was at Newark, in Nottinghamshire. He chose the latter course. He escaped from Oxford in disguise. Leven showed every respect to Charles, but objected to the king's giving the word to the guard, observing that he himself was the older soldier. The Scots commenced their march northward, taking the king with them. Soon after, Charles, writing to the queen, complained bitterly that he was held as a prisoner. Meanwhile, the Scots made every effort to induce the king to sign the covenant; but to his great honour, he refused, though compliance would have benefited his own interests.

The Scots negotiate with the King.

Commissioners were sent to negotiate with the Scottish army at Newcastle. The Scots declared that they would be ready to return home when their arrears were paid to them. £400,000 were voted, and the balance was to remain as a debt due to the Scots. On the 30th of January the Scots delivered the king into the hands of the commissioners of the parliament, and after evacuating the northern fortresses, returned home.

The king was conveyed by the commissioners to Holmby, or Holdenby House, near Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, one of his own mansions. On his way he was treated with respect and reverence by the people; and from this time the dignity and gentleness of his demeanour in affliction began to work that reaction in his favour which culminated when his grey head fell on the scaffold at Whitehall.

The King at Holmby.

A quarrel between the parliament and the army now arose, and soon assumed formidable dimensions. The Presbyterians were most numerous in the parliament. The Independents, on the other hand, were strongest in the army. The parliament endeavoured to reduce the number of these formidable opponents. But the pay of the army was in arrear, and the troops confronted the parliament with demands from which they showed no disposition to swerve.

The Parliament and the Army.

Irritated by the determined stand made by the soldiers, the parliament sent orders to the general to disband his army. But a convention of the officers had been held, and they appealed to Fairfax. Then suddenly, on the 2nd of June, a strange officer, in the uniform of Fairfax's regiment, was observed at Holmby. This was Cornet Joyce, who the next day appeared before the gates with four hundred men, who were received as friends by the guards. He had an interview in private with the king, and demanded that the person of Charles should be delivered up to him. The commissioners were powerless, and, at the king's request, Newmarket was chosen for his residence.

Cornet Joyce at Holmby.

The quarrel between the parliament and the army was coming to a crisis. From Newmarket a solemn engagement and declaration, in which the army pledged itself not to disband without previous redress of grievances, was despatched, and followed

Mutiny of the Army.

up by the advance of the army itself on London. The parliament forbade Fairfax to advance. He replied by marching with the army to Hounslow Heath, and presently entered London, which received him with honour.

The disdain with which the king rejected the moderate proposals of the army chiefs moved them to abandon him to his fate. Charles at the same time entered into secret negotiations with the Scots. After remaining some time at Hampton Court, he suddenly escaped to Titchfield House, in Sussex, and from thence to the Isle of Wight, where he put himself into the hands of Colonel Hammond, the governor, by whom he was lodged in Carisbrooke Castle. Presently, in March, 1647, an attempt was made on the borders of Wales, and also in Kent, to renew the civil war; but Fairfax gained a victory at Maidstone, and Lord Goring, who had advanced as far as Blackheath, was obliged to retire to Colchester. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in the North, collected 4,000 Royalists; but they were both beaten by Cromwell and Lambert, and fell into the hands of the parliament. At Colchester the Royalists were obliged to surrender; and two of their chiefs were shot by Fairfax's orders. Petitions came pouring in upon the House of Commons, one from "thousands of well-affected persons in and near London," another from Ireton's regiment, and then the "Large Remonstrance of the Army," demanding that the king should be brought to trial. The king was again sent to Carisbrooke Castle, and from thence removed to Hurst Castle, a solitary place on the Hampshire coast, standing on a rock surrounded by the sea.

Escape of the King.

Royalist Risings.

"Large Remonstrance of the Army."

The chiefs published a declaration, and marched up to London, taking up their quarters in Whitehall, St. James's, York House, and other places. The monarchical party declared, in a hot debate, that the king had made concessions sufficient to warrant peace. Thereupon Colonel Pride, with his regiment, arrested a number of members as they were entering the House, and sent them away as prisoners; by this summary process, which was afterwards known as "Pride's Purge," the parliament was reduced to a residue of about fifty members, designated "the Rump."

Pride's Purge.

On the 1st of January, 1649, the Commons voted for the trial of the king. It was sent to the Upper House, and the Lords, mustering to the number of sixteen, rejected it unanimously. The Commons then passed the ordinance for the king's trial, without the assent of the peers. Charles had been removed to Windsor by Colonel Harrison.

Charles at Windsor.

On the 19th of January, Charles was conducted from Windsor to St. James's, and on the 20th the trial began. It was held in Westminster Hall. The galleries and the lower end of the hall were crowded with spectators. The court sat on scarlet-covered benches on each side of their president, Bradshaw, opposite to whom a crimson velvet chair had been placed for the king. He looked sternly round the court, and at his judges, and sat down.

Trial of the King.

The indictment charged the king with high treason and various misdemeanours, in levying war upon his people, and ruling them

tyrannously. On being called upon to plead to the indictment, he refused, utterly denying the competency or authority of the court. When the names of the commissioners were called over, commencing with that of Fairfax, a voice cried from one of the galleries : "He has more wit than to be here!" It was Lady Fairfax. On the 22nd and the following days, when the court sat again, the king persisted in his perfectly reasonable denial of its authority. The proceedings closed on the 27th. Charles desired leave to speak before the Lords and Commons in the painted chamber, but this was refused. He was sentenced to die. On his retirement from the court, he is said to have been assailed with insult and outrage. He made two requests—that he might see his children, and that Juxon, his favourite chaplain, should attend him. Both were granted. He spent his time chiefly in devotional exercises with Juxon. On the 30th January, three days after the sentence, the execution took place, in the presence of an immense crowd of spectators, on a scaffold erected outside a window of the palace of Whitehall. The conduct of the king exhibited a rare mingling of gentleness, dignity, and resignation. He walked with a quick step among the guards, across the park from St. James's to Whitehall, amid the tears and prayers of the people ; and even the soldiery seemed downcast and dejected. He declared that he died a Christian, according to the communion of the Church of England. Finally he gave his George to Juxon, with the one impressive word, "Remember,"—and laid his grey head on the block. It was struck off at a blow by one of two masked executioners ; and the other, holding it up in sight of the crowd, made the usual proclamation : "This is the head of a traitor!" A groan of mingled horror and grief burst from the crowd ; and from that day all anger against the king vanished from many an English heart. The corpse was embalmed, and deposited in a vault of St. George's Chapel. In the reign of George the Fourth the coffin was accidentally discovered, and on its being opened, the grave, sad features of the murdered king were found still perfectly recognisable.

The King condemned.

Last Days of Charles I.

The character of Charles I. has been distorted alike by the adulation of friends and by the rancour of enemies. His morals were far purer than those of his age ; and, cold and sombre as he generally appeared, his domestic affections were warm and constant. That he had a strong feeling of religion is also certain. His talents, though not brilliant, were respectable, and his taste in art far beyond that of his time. But he had acquired the idea that a king, deriving his power from Heaven, is responsible to no mortal man for the use he makes of it, and must, under all circumstances, be obeyed without hesitation or demur—a fatal error, to which the greater number of his misfortunes may be traced. Hence also arose that fatal tendency to deceit, which proved his ruin. Duplicity with him became a recognised part of his system ; and though not bloodthirsty, he was, by nature and education, a tyrant, and all who opposed him incurred his hatred.

Character of the King.

THE STAR CHAMBER COURT.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Commonwealth.—Oliver Cromwell.

A.D. 1649–1660.

England under the Republican Government. Proceedings of the Council. Rule in the Church. State of Parties. Insurrection in Ireland. Cromwell's Expedition. Severities at Drogheda, Wexford, and elsewhere. The General's Apology. Difficulties of the Government. Montrose's last Attempt and Fate. The War in Scotland. Cromwell's Victory at Dunbar. Charles II. in Scotland. His Descent upon England. Battle of Worcester. Escape of Charles II. to the Continent. Pacification of Scotland and Ireland. Quarrel with the Dutch. Blake, Van Tromp, and De Ruyter. Acts of Oblivion and of Limitation. Expulsion of the Long Parliament. The Little Parliament. Conflicting Sects. Royalist Conspiracies. Blake's Victories. Measures against the Cavaliers. Cromwell's Vigorous Government. His Last Parliament and Death. Richard Cromwell. Negotiations for a Restoration. Proceedings of Monk. Landing of Charles II.

IMMEDIATELY upon the execution of Charles I., the group of Independents who now formed the English parliament declared any man guilty of high treason who should, without consent of parliament, proclaim the Prince of Wales or any other as king in England or Ireland. The House of Commons voted "that the House of Peers in parliament is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished," which was accordingly done.

Proceedings of the Council.

The committee of government was changed into the executive council of state, of thirty-eight members, including Lords Pembroke, Salisbury, and Lisle, Whitelock, St. John, Sir Arthur Haselnig, Skippon, Sir Harry Vane, Sir Henry Marten, Bradshaw, Ludlow, Fairfax, and Cromwell. Milton, the poet, was Latin secretary to the government, and Bradshaw, president of the council.

In the Church, toleration was extended to a degree not known for almost a century, to the Catholics; and while the outer form of Presbyterianism was maintained, no special power was given to that sect. The Royalists and Presbyterians, though equally exasperated against the triumphant Independents, made no effort against the republic in its first days; the earliest attempt came from discontented spirits in the army. Some disturbances raised by the Levellers, a mad-brained fraternity bent on abolishing all distinctions of rank, were speedily quelled, and the leaders shut up in prisons.

State of Parties.

The first work to which the new government addressed itself was the subjugation of Ireland. Cromwell and his son-in-law Ireton were despatched to Ireland, and landed near Dublin with 6,000 foot and 3,000 cavalry, including the famous Ironsides, on the 15th of August. Cromwell adopted the plan of summoning the towns to open their gates, with a promise of safety and protection. Those towns that resisted were made terrible examples to the rest, no quarter being given. Thus, on the 11th of September, Drogheda was stormed, and the garrison put to the sword; and Wexford underwent the same fate shortly afterwards. "Truly," wrote Cromwell, in reference to his severities in Ireland, "I think this bitterness will prevent much effusion of blood." In May, 1650, leaving Ireton to complete the work by the reduction of Limerick, Waterford, and a few smaller places, Cromwell returned to London to receive the thanks of the parliament.

Cromwell's Campaigns in Ireland.

On the Continent much hostility was shown against the new republic. France fitted out ships to attack the English vessels; Portugal protected the fleet that Prince Rupert had collected; the Marquess of Montrose landed in the Orkney Islands with a few hundred men, for the purpose of seizing the country for Charles II. But he met with determined resistance from the Covenanters. On the confines of Ross, Montrose encountered Strachan, the general of the Committee of Estates. He fought with his old gallantry, but his men did not back him with zeal, and he was compelled to fly. Betrayed into the hands of his enemies, he was carried to Edinburgh, bound with ropes like a felon, condemned to death under an old act of attainder, passed in 1644, and publicly hanged on a gallows at Edinburgh, on the 31st of May, 1650. He was in his thirty-eighth year.

Montrose's Attempt and Fate.

Meanwhile the kirk party had made their bargain with Charles. An army was collected for him, and both sides prepared for the contest. The command of the army was bestowed upon Cromwell, who commenced his march northward through a bare country to Dunbar. He advanced to Haddington, and thence to Edinburgh itself; but the Scots would not risk an en-

Cromwell in Scotland.

gagement. The veteran Lesley was posted between Leith and Edinburgh; and the urgent need of supplies obliged Cromwell to draw off his troops to Dunbar. Lesley followed, and blockaded the passes towards England. But the zealous Presbyterian ministers who were with Lesley's army induced him to abandon his advantage, and move down into the plain; which when Cromwell saw, he exclaimed gleefully: "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands!" On the 3rd of September was fought the famous battle of Dunbar, in which Cromwell gained a complete victory. Between three and four thousand of the Presbyterian army were slain, and ten thousand taken prisoners. Edinburgh opened its gates to the victorious general, and soon afterwards Glasgow and the whole of southern Scotland submitted to him. Charles, the young king, was in the hands of Argyle and the Covenanters. On January 1st, 1651, he was solemnly crowned at Scone.

Battle of Dunbar.

Cromwell passed the winter and the first half of the ensuing year in Scotland, where he suffered severely from the ague. In April a new army was brought together for the king, and Charles himself took the command. He resolved upon invading England, and reached Worcester with 16,000 men. Cromwell, having been joined by Fleetwood, Robert Lilburne and others, met him there, with an army far superior in numbers. On the 3rd of September, 1651, the anniversary of Dunbar, was fought the battle of Worcester, which Cromwell was afterwards accustomed to designate as his "crowning mercy." The defeat of the Royalists was complete. After a fight of five hours, their army was utterly scattered. Three thousand of their men were slain, and ten thousand taken prisoners. King Charles, when all was lost, was successfully concealed in the woods around Boscobel. It was on the 6th of September that the incident of his concealment in the boughs of an oak tree occurred. Charles made his way to Brighthelmstone, the present Brighton, then he embarked in a collier for France, landing safely at Fécamp, in Normandy.

Battle of Worcester, the "Crowning Mercy."

Cromwell, on his return to London, was received with high honour by the parliament and the city. Lambert, Monk, and other leaders were also rewarded with estates. Monk soon completed the pacification of Scotland, and Ireton soon afterwards reduced Ireland to submission. He died in the course of the year. Lambert, and General Fleetwood were in turn appointed to succeed him.

Pacification of Scotland and Ireland.

Holland had greatly improved her maritime position; and the government of the United Provinces showed an inclination to oppose the parliament. In retaliation, the parliament passed the celebrated Navigation Act, which declared that goods brought into England from beyond Europe must be carried by vessels belonging to England or her colonies; while all European productions brought to England must be either in English or in native ships. War was accordingly inevitable. On the 19th of May, 1652, Admiral Blake, sailing in the Channel, met the Dutch admiral, Van Tromp, and after a brisk fight Van Tromp sheered off with the loss of two of his ships. Blake maintained the honour of

Quarrel with the Dutch Republic.

the English flag against Van Tromp, De Ruyter, and De Witt, off the Kentish coast, and in the Downs. Van Tromp, who gained some advantage, carried a broom at his mast-head in token of his intention to sweep the English fleet from the seas; but Blake, on the 18th of February, 1653, off Cape La Hogue, inflicted a loss of nine warships and twenty-four merchantmen on the Dutch, while he himself lost only one.

The career of the Long Parliament was now drawing to a close. Cromwell, by strong pressure, had enforced the passing of two measures: the first, an Act of Oblivion; the second, an Act by which the parliament was to come to an end on the 4th of November, 1654. In a memorable conversation between Cromwell and Whitelock, who then held the great seal, the lord general plainly spoke of the necessity of some personal supreme authority, to which Whitelock plainly answered, that in his opinion the remedy would be worse than the disease. Cromwell now determined to bring about an immediate dissolution of the Long Parliament. On the 19th of April, 1653, he went down to Westminster with a number of soldiers; he suddenly rose up and proceeded to address the House, reproaching the members with their injustice, and other short-comings. "The Lord has done with you," he cried, "and has chosen other instruments for carrying on His work that are more worthy." Cromwell stamped his foot, and a party of soldiers entered. Sir Harry Vane cried out that this was not honest. "The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane," retorted Cromwell; "he might have prevented this." Then he ordered his guards to clear the House. Pointing to the mace, he ordered that "this bauble" should be carried away, and had the doors locked.

Expulsion of the Long Parliament.

Some ten weeks afterwards, an assembly consisting of 156 members was summoned to meet at Whitehall. This assembly, which was presently transferred to Westminster, is known as the "Little Parliament," and also from a corruption of the name of one of its members, the leather-seller Barbon, as Barebone's Parliament. After an existence of five months, this parliament was unceremoniously dismissed on the 12th of December, 1653. Lambert and the council of officers now prepared a new form of constitution, which made Oliver Cromwell a king in everything but in name. On the 16th of December, the lord general proceeded in great state to Westminster, with the lord mayor and aldermen, and the councils of state. He accepted the request that he should take upon himself the office of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. A parliament was to be summoned every three years, the qualification for members being the possession of an estate of £200. Religious toleration was also to be a part of the new scheme.

The Protectorate Inaugurated.

Certain Anabaptists, who in their meetings had denounced the Protector in unmeasured terms, were punished by imprisonment; but in general the Protector treated hard words and vituperation with magnanimous disdain,—Levellers, Fifth-Monarchy men, or Millenarians, Anabaptists, Muggletonians, Diggers, and all the various fanatics, being left unmolested so long as they refrained from openly disturbing the public peace.

A formidable plot for the assassination of the Protector on his way to Hampton Court came to light in May, 1654. Two of the conspirators —Sir John Gerrard, a Royalist, and Vowel, a schoolmaster—suffered death. At the same time an event occurred that showed how little the Protector allowed prescription and privilege to interfere with the course of justice. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, after killing an Englishman, took refuge in the house of the embassy, and endeavoured to plead sanctuary; but Cromwell caused him to be promptly dragged forth, with his accomplices, and committed to Newgate; and in due course Don Pantaleon was tried, convicted, and put to death.

Royalist Conspiracies.

The Dutch continued the war with ability and vigour. Early in June, 1653, a great battle was fought in the Downs between Monk, Dean, Penn, and others, who were presently joined by Blake on the one side, and De Ruyter, Van Tromp, De Witt, and Eventson on the other, in which the English gained a glorious victory. On July the 31st another battle was fought, in which Van Tromp was slain; and in April, 1654, a treaty, advantageous to England, terminated the contest.

Blake's Victory over Van Tromp.

A far more formidable rising of the Royalists in England was planned for March, 1655. In the west, Colonel Penruddock and others, acting under the orders of Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, and Sir Joseph Wagstaff, seized Salisbury. Penruddock and his companions were attacked and compelled to surrender, and some of them paid with their lives for their rash attempt. Some harsh measures against the Royalists were the not unnatural consequences of the renewed disturbances; a "decimation" or income-tax of one-tenth of their property was now laid upon them; and England was divided into districts, with a major-general in command over each.

In the war then in progress between France and Spain, the Protector had demanded from Spain that the trade of South America should be thrown open to England, and that no Englishmen should be subject abroad to the jurisdiction of the Spanish Inquisition—two demands which the Spanish ambassador declared equivalent to asking for the "two eyes" of Spain. A fleet despatched to the West Indies under the Admirals Venables and Penn, took Jamaica. Blake, sailing into the Mediterranean, inflicted signal vengeance upon various States, for injuries done to English maritime commerce. He compelled the Bey of Algiers to give up the English ships and men taken by the pirates, his followers. At Tunis and Tripoli similar punishment was inflicted and reparation exacted. The Vaudois, a Protestant population inhabiting the valley of Piedmont, had been cruelly persecuted by their ruler, the Duke of Savoy. Cromwell took such prompt measures, that the duke was obliged at once to guarantee toleration to the Vaudois, whose distresses were relieved by a grant of money from the Protector himself. The return of the Jews to England was another measure that increased the reputation of the Protector. A plot to murder him concocted by two former army officers, Myles Syndercombe and Edward Sexby, was betrayed

Jamaica Captured.—Blake in the Mediterranean.

Cromwell and the Vaudois.

by a subordinate agent; and Syndercombe, being condemned to death for high treason, was found dead in his prison. This gave occasion for bringing forward the Humble Petition and Advice,—impressing upon the chief of the State the necessity of his adopting the royal title. Cromwell, who certainly could afford to dispense with titles, declined that of king; but it was enacted that the Protector should have the power of naming his successor.

Question of the Kingly Title.

Blake and Montague, in 1656, sailed from Portsmouth for the South. They obliged the King of Portugal to pay a sum of £50,000; attacked a fleet from the Havannah, and made prize of two millions worth of silver. The next year Blake sailed to Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, where he gained a complete victory against tremendous odds. The heroic commander died, on his return to England, just as his ship was entering Portsmouth harbour.

Blake's Last Achievements.

The beginning of the year 1658 saw the Protector at the height of his power and glory. He had concluded an advantageous alliance with Louis XIV., whom he was to assist with troops, receiving the towns of Dunkirk and Mardyke as his reward. He had raised the power and reputation of England in a manner that recalled the glorious days of Elizabeth. But his health was undermined by care and anxiety. He was harassed by continual plots, and the publication of the tract entitled, "Killing no Murder," in which his assassination was openly recommended, greatly disturbed him. He wore armour under his clothes, frequently changed his lodging, and travelled in a coach closely surrounded with armed guards. Domestic sorrows were soon added to State cares. His favourite daughter, Elizabeth Claypole, fell dangerously ill. The news of his daughter's death, which he received while he was himself lying sick, moved him greatly. His illness developed into a tertian ague. He was removed to Whitehall, and after his arrival there he rapidly sank. On the 3rd of September, 1658, the anniversary of his great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, he died. He was in the 60th year of his age.

Grandeur of England. Dunkirk.

Troubles of the Protector.

Cromwell's Death.

His character has been very differently represented by various writers at different periods. The first accounts of his life and actions, written under the Restoration, exhaust all the epithets of vituperation on his memory. In the following century it had become the fashion to credit him with some virtue and ability, though the estimate was oddly mingled with the old prejudices. Thus Smollett speaks of his character as exhibiting the most marvellous conjunction of baseness and magnanimity, absurdity and good sense, recorded in the annals of mankind. In our own century, the great Protector has been shown to the world as he really was, a man of wonderful ability as a statesman and soldier; an enthusiast in religion, and a man of strong feelings, affections, and passions; not without personal ambition, and betrayed at times into the commission of faults and crimes that caused him sleepless nights, regret, and even remorse; but with a lofty sense of responsibility, and a true desire in his every

His Character.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

action to advance the honour and safety of his country. In many points his conduct stands forth in honourable contrast to the illiberal and narrow prejudices of the various sects; and, if circumstances had permitted such a course, he would have gladly given the fullest freedom of opinion and worship in religious matters. But this could not be, for each sect wished not for toleration, but supremacy; and until men's minds had become more settled, stringent exercise of authority was the only method of preserving order. But the kind of rule Cromwell established could not be permanent in England, where despotism was against the general feeling of the people.

Richard Cromwell, Protector.

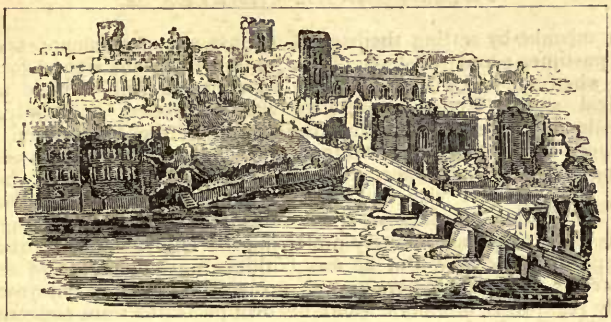
Richard Cromwell was proclaimed Lord Protector of the Commonwealth; an amiable, but unenergetic and unambitious man. A parliament met at the end of January, 1659, made up of Protectorists to about one-half of its number, with some fifty Republicans under Lambert, Bradshaw, Scot, Ludlow, and Vane; and the rest neutrals, many of them being secretly Royalists. But the proceedings of this parliament soon alarmed the army and the officers, and they induced the new Protector to dissolve it; the Rump Parliament, or what remained of it, was reinstated,

forty-two members meeting in the painted chamber, with Lenthall for their Speaker; and a committee of safety, and a council of thirty-one members, civil and military, were presently chosen. The officers who followed General Fleetwood effected an arrangement by which the feeble Richard Cromwell was permitted to retire on a pension of £10,000 a year, whereupon he retired willingly enough into private life. Soon afterwards a vote was passed declaring that the present parliament should not last longer than May 7th, 1660. And now the Royalists saw their opportunity. A plot for a rising, in which the Earl of Derby, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and others, took part, was indeed defeated by Lambert and his troops; but he was violently opposed by the adverse faction, and presently there was a collision, in Westminster itself, between the men under Lambert and those of the Rump Parliament under Haselrig. Bloodshed was, however, avoided, by an accommodation. General Monk, who was in command of the army in Scotland, declared himself to be acting in the interests of the Commonwealth, while he was secretly working for the restoration of the exiled king. He remodelled his army. He amused Lambert with negotiations, and at length marched his army to London. In the city, public opinion was strongly in favour of a restoration. Monk had been in active communication with the exiled king and court at Breda and now there came to him Sir Ralph Greenville, with important royal despatches. After a show of reluctance, Monk read the various letters to the Commons, the city, the army and the navy. The "Declaration of Breda," in the letter to the Commons, promised liberty of conscience in religious matters, and pardon for past offences, except in a few instances. An answer full of loyalty and gratitude was sent by both Houses to the king, with a supply of £50,000 for present necessities, besides £10,000 to the Duke of York, and £5,000 to the Duke of Gloucester. The whole nation seemed intoxicated with joy at the prospect of a restoration. The royal arms were put up in public places, and those of the Commonwealth disappeared. On the 8th of May, King Charles II. was solemnly proclaimed at Westminster. A fleet under General Montague brought him over to England, and on the 25th of May he landed with his brothers at Dover, where he was met by General Monk and a gallant company of nobles and gentlemen. His entry into the city and march to Whitehall was hailed with such demonstrations of welcome, that the king himself observed that surely his long absence from England must have been his own fault, for every one seemed glad to see him. And thus the 29th of May was consecrated to the memory of the restoration of royalty in England.

Revival of the Long Parliament.

Monk's Negotiation with the King at Breda.

Charles II. Proclaimed in London.



CHAPTER XXX.

The Restored Stuart Kings.—Charles II.

A.D. 1660–1685.

Reaction against Puritan Rule. Profligacy. Conduct of the King. Rewards to Monk, Hyde, Ashley Cooper, etc. The "Convention Parliament." Act of Indemnity. The Regicides. Punishments. Sequestrated Estates. The "Loyal Parliament." Disbanding of the Army. Act of Uniformity. Conventicle Act. Five-Mile Act. Fate of Vane and Lambert. The "Drunken Parliament" in Scotland. Profligacy of Charles II. His Mistresses. Marriage with Catherine of Braganza. Sale of Dunkirk and Mardyke to France. War with the Dutch. Battle off Lowestoft. The Plague of 1665. Terror and Fanaticism. The Fire of London, 1666. Successes against De Ruyter and Van Tromp. Mismanagement. The Dutch in the Medway. Fall of Clarendon. The Cabal Ministry. Sir W. Temple and the Triple Alliance. Treaty of Dover. Charles a Pensioner of France. Outburst of Rage against the Catholics. Outrages on Coventry and Ormond. Blood's Attempt to Steal the Crown. Shutting up of the Exchequer. New Dutch War. Battle of Southwold Bay. Louis XIV. invades Holland. Spirited Resistance of William of Orange. Declaration of Indulgence. The Test Act. Fall of the Cabal Ministry. Peace with Holland. Marriage of William of Orange with the Princess Mary. Treaty of Nimeguen. Titus Oates. Murder of Godfrey Coleman. Anti-Romanist Frenzy. Persecution of the Scottish Covenanters. Shaftesbury. Execution of Stafford. Arbitrary Proceedings in Scotland. Rye-House Plot and Whig Plot. Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney. Monmouth and the Duke of York. Death of the King. His Character. Habeas Corpus Act. Features of the Period.

IT is not difficult to account for the general outburst of satisfaction on the bringing home of the king. The Puritans had made a

great mistake by setting themselves against all amusements, sports, and pastimes; and the bulk of the nation had long sighed for the time when the old customs should be restored, with the old monarchical state. Undue repression was succeeded, unhappily, by unpardonable license, and thus the period of the Restoration was disgraced by a profligacy of manners, speech, and action never known in England before or since. Foremost among the offenders in this respect was the king himself. He had considerable talents, and was quite shrewd enough to avoid "going on his travels again," infinitely preferring the enjoyments of a throne to impecunious exile. But he was faithless, unprincipled, and ready to sacrifice the national honour and prosperity to his own enjoyment; utterly regardless of others where his own pleasures were concerned; and a libertine in the worst sense of the term.

The New King.

The most active among the men who had brought about the Restoration were brilliantly rewarded. Monk was created Duke of Albemarle, and Montague became Earl of Sandwich, Edward Hyde was made Lord Chancellor, and Ormond Steward of the Household. Wallis and Ashley Cooper were also raised to the peerage, and the Earl of Southampton became Lord High Treasurer. The "Convention Parliament" settled a large income of £1,200,000 upon the king, granting him excise duties and tonnage and poundage for life. An act of pardon for past offences was also carried; but from this act the regicides, and twenty other persons who had been prominent in the late rebellion, were excluded. Those of the regicides who surrendered themselves and pleaded guilty were promised their lives; and accordingly many of them, like Colonel Hutchinson and Henry Martin, ended their career in prison. Ten persons, including six of the king's judges, and the preacher, Hugh Peters, perished on the scaffold. At the same time, by order of the government, the corpses of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton were disinterred, and exposed on a gallows at Tyburn; and even the heroic Blake's remains were not suffered to rest in peace.

Rewards.

Punishments.

An attempt was made to relieve those Royalists who had become impoverished by the sequestration of their estates, by fines, or by voluntary sacrifices. But much dissatisfaction was caused by the impossibility of disturbing the owners in possession. The Convention Parliament was succeeded in 1661 by another, which distinguished itself by a disposition to grant every possible demand of the king. The question of the disbanding of the army was one of great importance. On receiving their arrears of pay, the men who had been Oliver's old troopers quietly accepted their dismissal, and were merged into the mass of the population. The new parliament, soon subservient to the king, and zealous for the Church of England, proceeded at once to pass the Corporation Act, by which every person holding office in a corporation was compelled to declare his belief in the unlawfulness of resistance to the king, and to abjure the covenant. The Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662, obliged every clergyman to publicly record his assent to all that was contained in the Book of Common Prayer. This arbitrary and unjust measure was afterwards

The Army Disbanded.

Act of Uniformity and Conventicle Act.

followed by the Conventicle Act, by which any assembly of five or more persons not belonging to one household, for worship not conducted according to the forms of the Church of England, was declared unlawful. The year afterwards, 1665, the cruelty towards the ministers was completed by the Five-Mile Act, which prohibited every non-conforming clergyman from coming within five miles of a corporate town where he had preached or taught, except when travelling, and also from fulfilling any scholastic duties.

Vane and Lambert.

There were two men whose fate had not yet been determined—Lambert and Vane. The former was exiled to the island of Guernsey. Vane perished on the scaffold, upholding with his dying breath the justice of the cause for which he suffered.

In Scotland, the chief victim was the Marquess of Argyle, who, in spite of a spirited defence, was condemned for high treason, and executed. A parliament known as the "Drunken Parliament," restored the prerogative of the king in its fullest extent. Sharp, a renegade Presbyterian, was consecrated Archbishop of St. Andrew's. In Ireland, the settlement of affairs involved the transfer of a large amount of land from the Catholics to Protestant soldiers and adventurers.

Profligacy of Charles II.

In his private life, Charles already displayed the shameless profligacy for which he was notorious to the end of his reign. Soon after his arrival in England, he was captivated by the charms of Barbara Palmer, a beautiful but shameless woman, who was made successively Countess of Castlemain and Duchess of Cleveland. From the theatre he afterwards selected Moll Davies and the vivacious Nell Gwynn; but the chief influence over him was held by a clever and unscrupulous Frenchwoman,—Louise de Querouaille, created Duchess of Portsmouth. The ministers were anxious that the king should marry; and King Louis XIV. of France induced him to choose for his bride Catherine of Braganza, the sister of the King of Portugal, who brought him a dowry of £500,000, besides the towns of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in India. Another marriage, which excited some surprise and no little scandal, was that of Anne Hyde, daughter of the Lord Chancellor, to James Duke of York. The extravagance of the English king, and his unscrupulousness, were soon afterwards proved in the sale of Dunkirk and Mardyke, for five millions of livres, to Louis.

Marriage with Catherine of Braganza.

Quarrels with the Dutch.

The commercial jealousies between the English and the Dutch led to a declaration of war in 1665. On the 3rd of June, 1665, the Duke of York, with Prince Rupert and Lord Sandwich, defeated the Dutch fleet off Lowestoft. The Dutch lost eighteen ships, four admirals, and seven thousand men. This was the greatest naval victory the English had yet gained.

At this time London was visited by a heavy calamity in the shape of the pestilence known emphatically as "the Great Plague." The court and many of the wealthier citizens fled to Oxford. The doors of houses whose inmates were sick of the plague were marked with a red cross, surrounded by the legend, "Lord, have mercy upon us!" and watchmen were posted to prevent all ingress or egress. The dead-carts went about the city at night, with the lugubrious bell and

the solemn cry, "Bring out your dead!" Great pits were dug to receive the bodies of the victims, that they might be buried out of sight with all speed. The sick were plundered, and, in some instances, even murdered, by the wretches hired to attend on them.

In September, ten thousand deaths per week were recorded; but the scourge had ceased by the time the winter had fairly set in. The number of victims amounted to 100,000.

The next year was signalized by the Great Fire of London. The conflagration broke out on the 2nd of September, near London Bridge. Fanned by a powerful breeze, and fed by the timber-built houses in the narrow streets and lanes, it spread northward and westward until the whole area from the Tower of London to the Temple, and northward to Smithfield and Cripplegate, was a mass of smoking ruins. The unhappy inhabitants, flying from the burning houses with what they could save from the wreck of their property encamped in the fields towards the north. Eighty-nine churches, including St. Paul's Cathedral, the City Gates, the Royal Exchange, the Guildhall, and many other public buildings, 13,200 houses and 400 streets were destroyed in the great fire, and 200,000 people were rendered houseless.

The Fire of London, 1666.

Meanwhile, the Dutch war was continued. Louis XIV. had taken the side of the United Provinces in the contest, as they were the enemies of Spain; and he declared war against England at the beginning of 1666. A series of engagements, lasting from the 1st to the 4th of June, occurred between the fleets of England under Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and that of the Dutch under the younger Van Tromp and De Ruyter. The English lost nine, and the Dutch fifteen ships, during the series of battles. On the 25th and 26th of July, a battle was fought which resulted in a glorious success for the English, at the mouth of the Thames. Twenty-four vessels, a number of distinguished officers and 4,000 seamen, were lost by the Dutch on this occasion. Louis XIV. gave but little help to his allies. An advantage was given to the Dutch by the shameful mismanagement of affairs in England. Money had been lavishly voted for the prosecution of the war, but it had been spent in shameful extravagance and profligacy. The wages of the seamen remained unpaid, and the brave men who had fought for England's honour were left to starve in the streets. In June, 1667, De Ruyter made a dash up the Thames with his fleet, burned Sheerness, and penetrated to Gravesend and Chatham, where he did much mischief, before returning in triumph to the Texel. At Breda a treaty was hastily concluded, on very different terms from those that England had been accustomed to exact. The only advantage obtained was the cession of New York.

Naval Battles and Successes.

The Chancellor, Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, was made to bear the blame of all the mismanagement and corruption. Courtiers, mistresses, and rivals united against him, and Charles ignobly sacrificed him. The king would have had him resign the seals, and retire voluntarily; but Clarendon refused, declaring that such a course would be a confession of guilt. Finally, he was peremptorily ordered by his master to quit the kingdom.

Fall of Clarendon, the Chancellor.

He retired to France. The last years of his life were devoted to the completion of his "History of the Great Rebellion."

The ministry now formed was known by the name of the Cabal, from the initials of its five chief members—Clifford, Ashley Cooper,

THE BURNING OF LONDON BRIDGE.

Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. It has left a reputation for duplicity and profligacy. The beginning of this administration, nevertheless, witnessed an act of far-seeing statesmanship, the famous Triple Alliance.

The Cabal Ministry.

Sir William Temple, the English ambassador at Brussels, entered into negotiations with John de Witt, the grand pensionary of Holland, for an alliance, offensive and defensive, between England, Holland, and Sweden, to oblige Spain and France to make peace. On the 13th of January, 1668, this treaty was signed; and Louis, consenting to negotiate, despatched plenipotentiaries, who signed a peace between France and Spain at Aix-la-Chapelle.

But Louis XIV. had schemes in view with which a treaty of this kind was incompatible. He accordingly set to work to undermine it. The Triple Alliance he found was quickly superseded by the Treaty of Dover, signed in May, 1670, with the cognisance and approval of Clifford and Arlington. By

Treaty of Dover.

this treaty it was stipulated that Louis should have the co-operation of the English king with respect to Holland and Spain. Charles was to declare himself a Roman Catholic when a fitting opportunity should come; and he was to receive an annual pension of £200,000, and the aid of 6,000 French troops in case of any disturbance in England.

Outrages on Coventry and Ormond.

Sir John Coventry, a member of parliament, gave offence to the court. By the instigation of the Duke of Monmouth, he was set upon at night, in the Haymarket, and his nose slit with a penknife; whereupon the Commons passed the measure known as "Coventry's Act," by which such maiming or disfiguring of the person is made a felony. An attempt was made to carry off the Duke of Ormond, who was dragged from his coach in St. James's Street at night, bound, and set on horseback behind a man who rode off towards Hyde Park. Colonel Blood, an Irishman, with some accomplices, made a determined attempt, which had almost succeeded, to carry off part of the regalia, the crown, globe, and sceptre, from the Tower of London. Blood and his companions were apprehended; the king not only pardoned this ruffian, but bestowed an estate upon him, and afterwards gave him promotion at court.

Shutting up of the Exchequer.

In January, 1672, it was suddenly announced that the payment of principal and interest on money borrowed by the government from bankers and merchants was to be suspended for twelve months, the interest calculated at six per cent. to be added to the capital. By this arbitrary proceeding the government obtained the use of more than a million and a quarter of funds; but a number of persons who were kept out of their money were ruined.

Dutch War: Battle of Southwold.

The war against the States-General of Holland began in March, 1672. The combined fleet of France and England was attacked by De Ruyter in Southwold Bay, when a desperate action was fought between the English and Dutch, the French keeping aloof. The Earl of Sandwich's ship, the *Royal James*, was set on fire, and he himself perished in her, with the greater number of his crew; and the Duke of York himself was obliged to shift his flag, first to the *St. Michael*, and then to the *London*. The Dutch were beaten off after an obstinate struggle in which neither side gained any special advantage. Meanwhile, Louis XIV., at the head of 100,000 men, with Condé, Turenne, and Luxemburg, crossed the Rhine and poured his legions upon the plains of Holland. But a defender arose in the person of the young William, Prince of Orange. To him the people turned, in the consternation and anger caused by the sudden invasion. John de Witt and his brother Cornelius were massacred in the streets of the Hague by the furious mob, and William of Orange was elevated to the dignity of Stadtholder. The dykes were cut, and a large part of the open country was laid under water, to prevent its occupation by the enemy. In several combats with the French, William proved himself an able commander.

Louis XIV. invades Holland.

The astute Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, anxious to win

over the Dissenters, advised the king to issue a declaration of indulgence, allowing freedom of conscience to Nonconformists; but this excited violent opposition, and was accordingly rejected, it being declared that the parliament alone had the power to suspend penal statutes, by a solemn act of both Houses. Charles withdrew with a fair grace.

Declaration of Indulgence.

The distrust of the nation with regard to the Catholics and the court found further expression in the Test Act. It provided that every holder of a public office should take the Sacrament according to the form prescribed by the Church of England at least twice annually during his tenure of office. The Duke of York was compelled by this act to resign his office of Lord High Admiral. The war with Holland was continued. The States-General refused the peace which was offered under the mediation of Sweden.

The Test Act.

The Duke of York at this time contracted a second marriage, with Maria d'Este, sister to the Duke of Modena. The king took the great seal from Shaftesbury, who became the most active and formidable member of the Opposition. The Cabal ministers were assailed with great violence. The ministry was quite broken up, and, like Shaftesbury, Buckingham joined the Opposition. Thomas Osborne, Lord Latimer, was invested with the office of Lord Treasurer, and created Earl of Danby. Charles, resolved to accept an offer of peace made by Holland; and a treaty was accordingly signed under the management of Sir William Temple.

Fall of the Cabal.

Louis XIV. purchased the neutrality of Charles by the payment of a large sum of money. Danby, always inclined to promote the wishes of his master, found himself confronted by a strong opposition, with Shaftesbury and Buckingham at its head. Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange earned for himself the reputation of a valiant and able commander. The great Condé himself declared, after the battle of Senef, that the prince had acted in everything like an old captain, except in venturing his life, like a young soldier. It was felt by Danby and Temple that a marriage between the young Stadtholder and Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, would be highly popular; and this marriage was brought about by the exertions of the two statesmen.

William, Prince of Orange.

After the marriage of William of Orange and Mary, the king announced publicly that an alliance offensive and defensive had been concluded with the States-General of Holland. After much negotiation, a general peace was signed at Nimeguen in 1678.

A man named Kirby, who had assisted the king in his chemical experiments, one day in August, 1678, mysteriously warned him there was a design on foot to assassinate him. Kirby named two men, Pickering and Grove, and the queen's physician, Sir George Wakeman, as the conspirators. His informant, it appeared, was Dr. Tonge, rector of St. Michael's, Wood Street, a great alarmist on the subject of Popery; and presently an informer came forward, Titus Oates, a man of infamous character. He had been an Anabaptist, a clergyman, a convert to Romanism, and a

Titus Oates: his History.

pensioner on the Jesuits at St. Omer, and had been repeatedly dismissed with disgrace, besides being indicted for perjury and still more odious offences. He told an astounding tale. The king was to be murdered; Wakeman had undertaken to poison Charles. There was to be a new Fire of London, and a St. Bartholomew massacre. The crown was to be offered to the Duke of York on condition that he carried out this project; if he refused, he, too, was to die. Oates contradicted himself in the grossest manner. But the people were ready to believe anything against the Papists. The general excitement rose to frenzy when Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, a magistrate who had taken Oates's deposition, was found near Primrose Hill, murdered, it was immediately declared by Popish fanatics. His corpse was paraded through the city, and London was in an uproar. Various arrests were made. The most important was that of Coleman, a Catholic convert, whose papers afforded reason for believing that a plot existed for the subversion of the national religion and government. Oates was the hero of the hour. He was lodged in Whitehall, and a pension of £1,200 was awarded to him. Medals were struck in his honour.

Murder of Sir E. Godfrey.

Coleman's Denunciations.

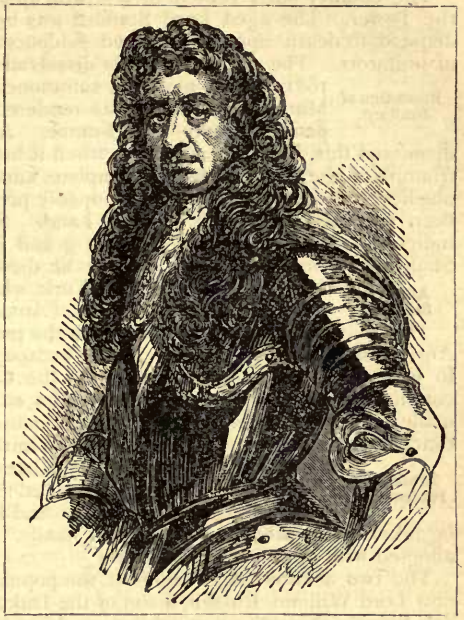
William Bedloe, another man of infamous character, went even beyond Oates himself in effrontery. He tried to implicate the queen in the plot. Oates joined Bedloe in accusing the queen of a design to murder her husband, and a clamour was raised for her impeachment; but this the king would not allow. Coleman, Pickering, Groves, and several of the queen's servants, were brought to trial, convicted, and executed, chiefly on the evidence of Oates and Bedloe. A number of other arrests followed; and the informers were recruited with new auxiliaries, when it was found how ready the juries were to listen to them, and how invariably the chief justice, Scroggs, summed up against the prisoners, and browbeat the accused and their witnesses. The feeling against the Duke of York ran so high that the king requested him to quit the country for a time, and James retired to Brussels. The king had sufficient shrewdness to see that this fanatical outbreak would be succeeded by a period of apathy and indifference, which he might turn to the advantage of kingly prerogative and absolute rule.

Anti-Romanist Frenzy in England.

In Scotland, religious persecution was rife, and atrocious cruelties were perpetrated. Lauderdale, the successor of Middleton, enforced heavy fines, exactions, and penalties from farmers and gentry by means of the soldiery; and the tortures and cruelties practised throughout the country led to an insurrection. At the Pentland Hills, where the insurgents made a stand in 1666, they were defeated; and terrible cruelties were practised upon the prisoners, many of whom were tortured, especially with a cruel instrument known as the boot, by James Graham, of Claverhouse, afterwards Viscount Dundee, whose name became a terror and a horror throughout the west of Scotland. Not less hated was Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, formerly a Presbyterian, but for years foremost in the persecution of his former companions in faith. In 1679, as he was crossing Magus Muir in a carriage with his daughter,

Persecution of the Covenanters.

he was waylaid and barbarously murdered by a party of fanatical Covenanters, led on by one John Balfour, of Burley. They then excited the people of the West to armed resistance, and defeated a body of horse, under Claverhouse, at Drumclog, near Loudon Hill. Thereupon the Duke of Monmouth was sent into Scotland. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the insurgents at Bothwell Bridge, on the Clyde, where four hundred of them were slain, and twelve hundred taken prisoners.



CHARLES II.

Misunderstandings took place regarding the renewal of the English king's pension, and a meeting with the parliament was unavoidable. As the fury against the Papists had to some extent died out, Shaftesbury, who was at the head of the Opposition, employed every effort to revive it, while the court party sent memorials expressing their abhorrence of the action of those who sought to limit the royal prerogative. Hence the terms "petitioners" and "abhorrers" were applied to the Opposition and the court party respectively.

Shaftesbury and the Opposition.

In October, 1680, the new parliament met, and its temper was immediately displayed by the bringing forward of the Exclusion Bill, to shut out the Duke of York from the succession to the throne. It was thrown out in the Lords. In the meantime the scare against conspirators and assassins was revived; but this time it was a Presbyterian plot, that a man of the worst character, named Dangerfield, pretended to discover. But presently Dangerfield turned round, and declared that he had been employed by the Papists to cast suspicion upon the Presbyterians, and that he had also been bribed to assassinate the king and the Duke of York. He indicated a meal-tub as the place where certain proofs corroborative of his confession would be found. But the juries appointed to try the persons accused by Dangerfield refused to believe in this "meal-tub plot," and acquitted the prisoners.

The Exclusion Bill. Meal-tub Plot.

The country party vented their wrath upon the Romanist lords in the Tower. The aged Lord Stafford was brought to trial, and condemned to death upon the tainted evidence of Oates and his gang of imitators. The parliament was dissolved on the 10th of January, 1681, and a new one summoned to meet at Oxford in March. The king was rendered independent by a new pension treaty with France. Accordingly, he abruptly dismissed this, his last parliament, when it had sat only a week. The triumph of the court party was complete, and the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance were openly preached as they had never been preached since the days of Laud. Shaftesbury himself was indicted for high treason; but the grand jury threw out the bill. Shaftesbury fled to Holland, where he died a few weeks after his arrival. The Duke of York, who had been in Scotland now returned to London. Among his acts of injustice, one of the worst had been the prosecution of the Duke of Argyle for "leasing-making." Argyle escaped to London, and thence to Holland. The persecution against the Covenanters in Scotland, continued with unabated violence. The city of London itself was made to pay for defending the popular cause, and heavy fines were exacted from citizens who had shown a spirit of opposition. A writ known as Quo Warranto was likewise issued, in which the city was alleged to have forfeited its charter, and the judges declared "that the franchise and liberty of London should be taken and seized into the king's hands." The same course was adopted with other corporate towns.

Execution of Stafford.

Affairs in Scotland: Argyle.

Arbitrary Proceedings.

The two acknowledged chiefs of the popular or country party were now Lord William Russell, a son of the Duke of Bedford, and Algernon Sidney, the veteran republican. After Shaftesbury's death, they formed a council of six, namely, Sidney, Russell, Lord Howard of Escrick, Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, and John Hampden, the grandson of the patriot, and entered into correspondence with Argyle in Holland for a rising in Scotland. At the same time a far more desperate design was set on foot by some of the followers of Shaftesbury, at the head of whom was Richard Rumbold, an old soldier of Cromwell's. This Rumbold had a house known as the Rye, near Hoddesdon, in Hertfordshire, and it was proposed that men should be placed in ambush near this house to shoot the king and the Duke of York as they rode by on their return from Newmarket races. This was known as the Rye-House Plot. It was betrayed by one of the conspirators. At the same time the Whig Plot of Russell and Sidney and their confederates was betrayed. Monmouth escaped to the Continent, but the other five members of the council were arrested. Then Lord Howard turned "king's evidence" against his companions, and seconded the endeavour of the court to represent the two conspiracies—namely, the Whig Plot of Russell and the Rye-House Plot of Rumbold—as having been parts of one and the same design.

The Rye-House Plot.

The Whig Plot.

When put upon his trial, Lord William Russell emphatically denied all knowledge of, or participation in, the Rye-House Plot, and any design against the life or safety of the king or the Duke of

York. His admirable wife, Lady Rachel Russell, the daughter of the Earl of Southampton, was allowed by Pemberton to assist her husband by acting as his secretary during the trial; but the jury had been carefully selected, and returned a verdict of guilty. He was sentenced to death. Burnet and Tillotson were in attendance upon him in the last days of his life, and bear testimony to his dignity and resignation. When, after partaking of the Sacrament with his admirable wife, he had parted from her for the last time, he declared that the bitterness of death was past. He was executed in Lincoln's Inn Fields. He died with cheerful firmness. Soon afterwards, Algernon Sidney was put upon his trial. The judge in his case was the infamous Jeffreys, who had been lately elevated to the post of Lord Chief Justice. After his usual fashion he browbeat and insulted the prisoner. The only witness against Sidney was Lord Howard, the informer; the missing testimony was supplied by bringing forward a treatise found in Sidney's desk, and which he was presumed to have written, as evidence against him. This manuscript treatise had never been published; and the putting forward of it was a piece of flagrant injustice. Sidney died on the scaffold on the 7th of December, 1683, on Tower Hill. Lord Howard being found guilty only of misdemeanour, he escaped with a fine of £40,000.

Trial of Lord William Russell.

Trial of Algernon Sidney.

The triumph of the court party was now complete. The Duke of York, in defiance of the Test Act, resumed his office of Lord High Admiral, and had a seat at the council board. Indeed, the king seemed to take less interest than ever in public affairs. Everything seemed to point to a long and quiet tenure of despotic rule. But suddenly the end came. On the morning of Monday the 2nd of February, 1685, the king rose as usual, but was immediately afterwards struck down by a fit of apoplexy. By Wednesday his case was considered hopeless. Several of the bishops, including Ken, of Bath and Wells, were in attendance, and preparations were made to administer the Sacrament to the dying man; but Charles hesitated; then the Duke of York whispered in his ear a proposal that the Sacrament should be administered by a Romish priest. A Father Huddlestone, who had helped to save the king's life after Worcester, was introduced in disguise, and Charles, at the eleventh hour, did the act that marked him as a Roman Catholic. When the queen sent to ask his forgiveness, if she had in any way offended him, he had the grace to say: "She beg my pardon, poor woman? I beg hers with all my heart." He died on Friday the 6th of February. He was persistently selfish, rapacious, entirely a slave to sensuality, and ready to sacrifice his country's honour and his own to the gratification of his love of pleasure and dissipation. In many instances he treated with base ingratitude, and abandoned without a pang, the men who had served him most faithfully. Of his talent and capacity there can be no doubt. He prided himself, and not without reason, on his ability to read the character of every man with whom he was brought into communication. His manners were winning and affable. Of the domestic affections he was certainly capable, but he

The King's sudden Illness.

Death of Charles II.

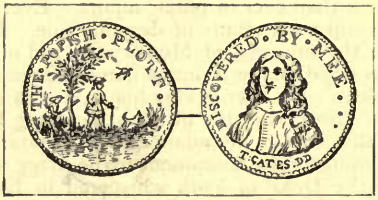
His Character and Abilities.

was too false and fickle to make friends. The one measure of his reign which produced real and lasting benefit was the famous Habeas Corpus Act, passed by the influence of Shaftesbury, in 1679. It gave every prisoner a right to sue out a writ of summons to the person holding him in custody, demanding that he should be brought before a court and confronted with his accuser and the witnesses against him. All magistrates refusing to issue the writ of Habeas Corpus, when applied for in due form, were liable to heavy penalties.

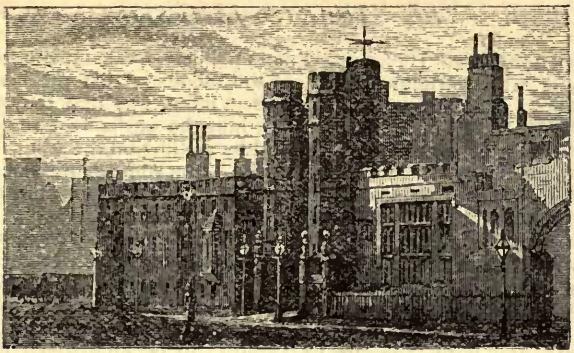
The Habeas Corpus Act.

Dissoluteness and vice, the characteristics of this period, tainted every institution; and literature and art were alike degraded. Never has there been so licentious a school of dramatic writing as that of Farquhar, Congreve, and Wycherley, and even the great John Dryden himself abused his talent by the publication of obscenity and ribaldry. The religious writers, such as John Bunyan, who wrote the immortal "Pilgrim's Progress," and Richard Baxter, the author of the "Saints' Everlasting Rest," who strove to awaken the nation to nobler aspirations, were exposed to ridicule and persecution.

Features of the Period.



MEDAL OF TITUS OATES.



ST. JAMES'S PALACE.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Stuarts.—James II.

A.D. 1685–1688.

The King's First Council. His Promises. Vengeance on Oates and Dangerfield. Landing of Argyle in Scotland. His Capture and Execution. Invasion of England by Monmouth. His Delay and Indecision. Battle of Sedgemoor. Capture of Monmouth. His Execution. His Character. The Western Assize. Cruelties of Judge Jeffreys and of Colonel Kirke. Executions of Lady Lisle, Mrs. Grant, and Alderman Cornish. James's Movement towards Despotic Rule. The Standing Army. The Dispensing Power claimed by the King. Interference with the National Religion. Harsh and Cruel Measures. The Declaration of Freedom of Conscience. The Principal and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford. Proceedings in Scotland and Ireland. Second Declaration of Freedom of Conscience. Remonstrance of the Bishops. Their Arrest. Birth of the Pretender. Trial of the Bishops. Invitation to William of Orange. His Landing in England. Desertion of James's Followers. Flight of the King and Queen. James's Return. His Second Flight. The Convention. The Declaration of Rights. Settlement of the Succession. The Crown Accepted by William and Mary.

James's First Council.

SO soon as Charles II. was dead, the Duke of York, now King James II., met the council, and declared his intention of governing according to the laws, both in Church and State. He retained the late king's ministers; but besides these a secret council was established, Father Petre, a Jesuit, being the king's adviser in matters of religion.

The king displayed his adhesion to the Catholic religion in the

most open manner. He attended mass publicly. When he assembled the parliament, he told the members that the best way to induce him to meet them often, was that they should treat him well; to which hint the parliament responded by a very liberal grant of money, and by settling on the king for life the revenue his predecessor had enjoyed. But some expressions used by the House of Commons aroused the displeasure of James, who manifested an intention to rule without a parliament.

Promise to the Parliament.

Titus Oates and Dangerfield were deserving of condign punishment; but the vengeance taken by James upon these wretched miscreants was such as to excite indignation against the king. The sentence upon Oates, besides a heavy fine, adjudged him to be publicly whipped from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn; to be imprisoned for life, and to be put in the pillory five times every year. He received 1,700 lashes; survived the horrible infliction, and lived to be consoled with a pension, after 1688. Dangerfield was assaulted by the populace, and a barrister named Francis struck him a blow, from which he died.

Vengeance on Oates and Dangerfield.

The Duke of Monmouth was with the exiled Duke of Argyle, at Brussels. On the 2nd of May, Argyle sailed for Scotland with a small party of companions. At the Orkney Isles two of his followers fell into the hands of their enemies, and the whole plan of the rising thus became known to the government. The duke landed at Cantire. His followers were dispersed by the militia, and he himself was captured. He was at once taken to Edinburgh, where he was beheaded on the 30th of May. On the 11th of June, Monmouth, with ninety or a hundred followers, landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire. Immediately on landing he published a proclamation, wherein he called his Uncle James a usurper. At Taunton, a number of young ladies presented him with an embroidered standard and a Bible. At Bridgwater, as at Taunton, he caused himself to be proclaimed king. But the royal forces, under Lord Feversham, were advancing against him; and the gentry and leading families held aloof. But though brave and devoted enough, his men were only half-armed, and they were undisciplined and ignorant. They fell back upon Frome, to wait for reinforcements.

Landing of Monmouth in the West.

The royal forces were at Sedgemoor, not far from Bridgwater; and it was resolved that they should be attacked at night. Lord Grey led the horsemen to the attack at about one in the morning of the 6th of July. He found his progress stopped by a deep ditch or drain. Early next morning Feversham attacked Monmouth's infantry. The peasants had no chance against regular troops. Five hundred of them were slain on the field, and fifteen hundred were captured; the rest broke and fled.

Battle of Sedgemoor.

Monmouth fled while his followers were still fighting. With Lord Grey and a German named Busse, he shaped his course for the New Forest. But on the next morning Grey was taken. After some further search the unfortunate aspirant to the English throne was found hiding in a ditch. He wrote a letter to the king entreating an interview, and promising to give important information. He was, on his arrival in London, led bound

Capture of Monmouth.

into the presence of James. The unhappy prisoner with many tears expressed his contrition. But he had no revelations to make. James eagerly offered the assistance of a priest when Monmouth went so far as to hint that if his life were spared his religious views might undergo a change. But to Monmouth's despairing question, "Is there, then, no hope?" he returned no answer.

His Last Days and Death.

On being conveyed to the Tower, Monmouth, after a violent outburst of agitation, prepared calmly for death. He was visited twice by his duchess, the heiress of Buccleugh. Bishops Ken and Turner came to him in the Tower to prepare him for death, and they were presently joined by Dr. Hooper and Dr. Tenison. They laboured to obtain from the prisoner a declaration of his belief in "passive obedience." On the 15th he was brought out to Tower Hill. Even on the scaffold the divines pressed him to say a few words to the people on the unlawfulness of resistance to royal authority. He turned to the executioner, and warned him to take heed he had not to repeat the blow, as when he beheaded Lord William Russell. The admonition seems to have flurried the man. Again and again he struck unsuccessfully. At last he threw the axe down, declaring that his heart failed him, but at the urgent command of the sheriffs he picked it up, and the duke's head was severed after two more blows had been struck.

The "Bloody Assize" of Jeffreys.

The triumph of the royal troops at Sedgemoor was followed by a savage and merciless punishment of the rebels. With the cruelties practised on this occasion the names of Colonel Kirke and of Judge Jeffreys are associated in a common infamy. Kirke's military executions began immediately after the battle of Sedgemoor. When Jeffreys arrived, to hold the infamous circuit long afterwards remembered as the "bloody assize," the gibbets were loaded with the putrid corpses of rebels. The brutal judge bullied and browbeat the unfortunate criminals from the bench. Three executions stand out from the rest marked by especial infamy: those of Lady Lisle, of Mrs. Grant, and of Alderman Cornish.

Participation of the Court.

Attempts have been made to clear James from the guilt of these proceedings; but Jeffreys, who kept him well informed of all that was being done, received the full approbation of the king, who made him lord chancellor and raised him to the peerage. Jeffreys, moreover, made considerable gain by the sale of pardons, by which traffic others were also enriched. Thus large sums were paid by the relatives of the young girls who had presented the banner to Monmouth.

The Standing Army.

James believed that all malcontents had been struck with terror, and that the road to despotism in Church and State lay fairly open before him. When the parliament met, the king began by declaring the necessity of a standing army for the defence of the country; then he declared that having had the benefit of the services of Catholic officers, he had no intention of dismissing them. The parliament, while voting the £700,000 demanded by the king, suggested that the Romanist officers should be discharged. Irritated at this, the king prorogued the parliament. The retention of Catholic officers was an important part of James's

scheme of government. Accordingly an action was brought against Sir Edward Hales, who, though a Roman Catholic, had been appointed to the command of a regiment. Sir Edward was directed to plead a dispensation under the great seal; and all the judges except one declared that the king had the right to dispense with anything. He now began to make use of his advantage in a way that ultimately cost him his throne. Walker and Sclater, recent converts to Romanism, obtained dispensations permitting them to enjoy the emoluments of their offices. Preachers were prohibited from touching on controversial subjects, and Compton, Bishop of London, was ordered to suspend Dr. Sharp, Dean of Norwich, for disobeying the order. Compton refused; whereupon he himself was summoned before a species of revived Commission Court. This commission suspended Compton from his office.

The Dispensing Power.

As though he were obstinately bent on alienating his best friends, the king now showed an impatient zeal for the re-establishment of Romanism in England. Innocent XI., the reigning Pope, complied with extreme reluctance with his request that a nuncio might be sent from Rome. Convents were established in London, and the streets saw processions of monks and nuns, while Jesuit schools were opened, and the Catholic worship was openly celebrated. When a clergyman named Johnson wrote a pamphlet exhorting the soldiers to be firm to their religion, he was sentenced to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. Gradually Protestants were dismissed from office, and their places were supplied by men of the king's religion.

Romanizing the Religion of England.

The king, early in 1687, published a Declaration of Freedom of Conscience, nominally to give relief to the Dissenters, but in reality to get rid of the penal laws against the Catholics, and of all tests in matters of religion. The University of Oxford had always distinguished itself by zeal for the monarchy. James appointed a recent convert to his Church to the Deanery of Christchurch; and proceeded to a similar action with respect to Cambridge, where he commanded Dr. Pechell, the vice-chancellor, to admit a Benedictine monk named Alban Francis to the degree of master of arts. Presently, on the death of the president of Magdalen College, Oxford, the king sent letters mandatory, recommending Antony Farmer, a dissolute Romanist, for the vacant post. The fellows in vain petitioned the king; and presently they proceeded to elect the learned and virtuous Hough. Thereupon they were directed to choose Parker, Bishop of Oxford; and on their continued refusal, Hough and twenty-five of the fellows were expelled. The king gave still further offence, by appointing Father Petre to the privy council.

The Declaration of Freedom of Conscience.

The Principal and Fellows of Magdalen College.

A declaration of freedom of conscience, similar to the one issued in England, had been published in Scotland. In Ireland, Richard Talbot was made lord deputy in February, 1687, and pursued the scheme of purging the military and civil services of Protestants. The Protestant officers resigned or sold their commissions, and numbers of Protestants emigrated. At the beginning of 1688, James appeared to have completely gained his object; and soon afterwards

he had another cause for congratulation. His queen, Mary of Modena, had hopes of presenting him with an heir to the throne. Now, for the first time, an armed resistance to further encroachment was contemplated, under the protection and with the assistance of William of Orange, the husband of the king's eldest daughter. The infatuated king caused a second declaration of freedom of conscience to be issued in April, 1688; and an order in council was made, that the declaration should be read publicly during the morning service on two successive Sundays. The London clergy almost unanimously refused to read the declaration. They appealed to the bishops; and six of these, with Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, at their head, presented a memorial to the king, declaring that their consciences forbade them to read the declaration from the pulpit. James called this "a standard of rebellion," and the bishops were committed to the Tower till they should find bail for their appearance to answer a charge of publishing a seditious libel. The public feeling was entirely with the prelates, and against the court.

Second Declaration of Freedom of Conscience.

JUDGE JEFFREYS.

On the 10th of June, only two days after the arrest of the bishops, a son was born to James II. On the 29th the trial came on in the court of King's bench at Westminster. The bishops were eloquently defended, especially by Somers. The prisoners' counsel boldly asserted that the bishops were within their right in petitioning the crown, and attacked the dispensing power. The jury were locked up all night, unable to agree; but the next morning they came into the court with a verdict of "Not guilty." The outside crowd set up shout upon shout of triumph. The glad news was carried into the city, and thence eastward to the ships below London Bridge and the Tower. Westward, too, the news was carried, and by the middle of the day reached the camp at Hounslow, where James had been reviewing the troops. He was riding away from the camp, when a shouting was heard. On asking the cause, he was told it was nothing but the soldiers rejoicing that the bishops were acquitted. "Call you that nothing!" he said gravely; but added, "so much the worse for them!"

Trial of the Bishops: their Acquittal.

On the very day of the bishops' acquittal, an invitation to the Prince of Orange to come to the relief of the nation was secretly prepared, and signed in cipher by the Earls Danby, Devonshire, and Shrewsbury, and by Lord

Invitation to William of Orange.

Lumley, Colonel Sidney, Admiral Russell, and the Bishop of London.

The eyes of James, meanwhile, were in some degree opened to his danger; and he began to make concessions. But these concessions came too late. Meanwhile, measures were taken for calling out the militia; and presently Lord Feversham's army amounted to 40,000 men.

The Army of William.

The army brought over by William consisted of about 16,000 men, including some 4,500 cavalry. Louis XIV. had sent intelligence to James of the preparations against him; but the king was sceptical until the last minute, when a letter from his minister at the Hague, announcing an immediate invasion, left no room for doubt. Then over-confidence gave place to despondency and doubt in the mind of the unhappy king. On the 19th of October, the Prince of Orange set sail from Helvoetsluys with his fleet and army, and on the 5th of November anchored at Torbay, in Devonshire. He landed at Brixham and advanced to Exeter.

The Army at Salisbury.

James resolved to place himself at the head of his army, and march against the invaders; and he advanced as far as Salisbury, where he held a review of his troops; and at a council of war, the lieutenant-general, Lord Churchill, differed in opinion with the commander, Feversham. Churchill secretly quitted the camp and went over to the Prince of Orange. At Andover, Prince George of Denmark and the Duke of Ormond, after supping with the king, rode away to join William. James, on his return to London, was informed that his younger daughter, the Princess Anne, was also gone. "God help me!" cried the unhappy king; "my very children are deserting me!" The queen and the infant prince escaped to France. He secretly quitted London on the night of the 10th of December, throwing the great seal into the Thames as he crossed the river, and made his way to Faversham, in Kent, but he was seized and detained. In London riots had broken out. The infamous Jeffreys was recognised, disguised as a sailor, in a public-house at Wapping. Dreading that the mob would tear him to pieces, he begged to be taken for safety to the Tower. A provisional government, with Halifax as president, was installed in the capital. James was brought back to Whitehall by his friends on the 16th of December. But the Prince of Orange was advancing upon London. James retired to Rochester, and embarked on board a small vessel and escaped to France, landing on Christmas Day at Ambleteuse, in Picardy. He was received with kindness by Louis XIV.; and St. Germains was assigned to him as a residence.

The Flight of the King and Queen.

James's Return to London.

His Second Flight.

The Prince of Orange took up his residence at St. James's. He summoned the peers to a conference, and by their advice it was resolved that a convention of the estates should be summoned to take matters in hand forthwith. The convention accordingly met at Whitehall, on the 22nd of January, 1689, and the next three weeks were busily employed in settling the important question of the succession

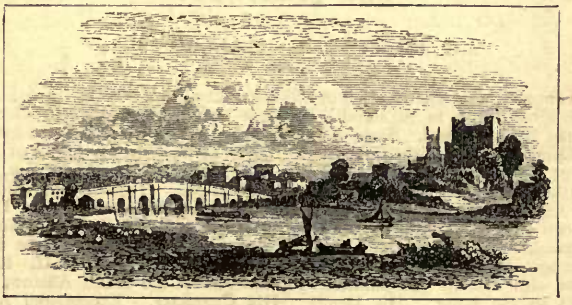
to the crown. It was resolved to offer the throne of England to William and Mary together, the administration of affairs being understood to be the function of the king alone. A Declaration of Rights was drawn up. The document set forth the particulars of the misgovernment of James II., and his forfeiture of the crown. It proceeded to state that the Lords and Commons were resolved to maintain the ancient rights and liberties of the English. The principal points insisted on were: that the king had no dispensing power; that he might not maintain a standing army in time of peace without the consent of the parliament; that cruel and unusual punishments and excessive fines were against the spirit of the constitution; that no money must be levied, except when voted in the regular way by the two houses; that parliaments should be held frequently, and elections should be independent and uncontrolled, and the debates free; that all subjects had the right of petitioning the crown. The succession to the throne, it was decided, should be vested in William and Mary; next in their children, and after these in the Princess Anne and her children; after these in the children of William by any subsequent marriage.

William and Mary. Declaration of Rights.

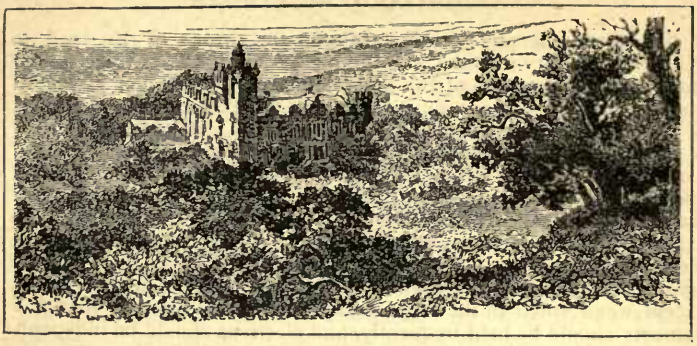
The Succession to the Throne.

The Declaration of Rights was read to and acknowledged by the Prince and Princess of Orange. Thereupon the husband and wife were proclaimed, with the usual ceremonies, king and queen of England, under the titles of William III. and Mary II.

The Crown Offered and Accepted.



ROCHESTER.



CHAPTER XXXII.

Orange-Nassau and Stuart.—William III. and Mary II.

A.D. 1689–1702. A.D. 1689–1694.

New Arrangements. Distribution of Offices. The Revenue. War with France. The Convention in Scotland. Viscount Dundee. Battle of Killiecrankie. James II. in Ireland. Siege of Londonderry. The City Relieved by Kirke. William Undertakes the Campaign. Battle of the Boyne. Death of Schomberg. Ginckel and Marlborough in Ireland. Pacification of Limerick. Naval Battle off Beachy Head. Massacre of Glencoe. Transactions with Marlborough. Battle of Cape La Hogue. Defeat of Rooke at Lagos. Death of Queen Mary. Taking of Namur. Plot of Sir John Friend. Treaty of Ryswick. Tory Ministry. Act of Settlement. Claimants to the Spanish Throne. Partition Treaties. Philip of Anjou. Death of James II. Renewed War with France. Preparations for the War of the Grand Alliance. Accident to the King. His Death. His Character. Exceptional Abilities, Qualities, and Services. Burnet's Account of his Actions.

THE new king chose his advisers from among the Tories and Whigs, Halifax, Danby, Nottingham, and Shrewsbury being all included in the ministry. All Protestants were confirmed in their offices; and the convention was converted into a parliament, by means of a bill to that effect passed through the two houses, and signed by

the king. Some of the Dutch followers of the king, Schomberg, Bentinck, Zuylestein, and Anverquerque received high offices and dignities, Bentinck being made Duke of Portland. Burnet was rewarded with the bishopric of Salisbury, and Somers became solicitor-general. An act of toleration was passed for the relief of Protestant Dissenters. A new oath, as a substitute for that of allegiance and supremacy, was introduced; but Archbishop Sancroft and seven of his suffragan bishops refused to take it, as did also some of the peers, and thus arose the party afterwards known by the name of non-jurors.

Distribution of Offices and Dignities.

A sum of £600,000 was voted to reimburse the States General of Holland. The Commons refused to grant to the king for more than one year the income that had been granted to James II. for life. With regard to his foreign policy, the king wished to pursue the course of steady and persistent opposition to the King of France. War with France was accordingly declared. Several regiments were sent to serve against the French king, under the command of Lord Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough. At this time also the Mutiny Act was passed.

Arrangement of the Revenue.

War with France.

William had summoned a convention to meet in Edinburgh, which declared that James had forfeited the crown, and proceeded to offer allegiance to William and Mary; but the Duke of Gordon still held Edinburgh Castle for the exiled king; and Viscount Dundee, the Claverhouse of the Cameronian persecutions, took up arms for the king, advanced from Lochaber, and after defeating Lord Murray, gave battle in the pass of Killiecrankie to General Mackay on May 26th. The impetuous attack of Dundee's Highlanders procured them the victory; but Dundee himself was mortally wounded in the battle, and died on the following day. Episcopacy was abolished in Scotland, and the Presbyterian form of worship was re-established; and thus ended the religious struggle.

Battle of Killiecrankie.

In Ireland, where the bulk of the inhabitants were Roman Catholics, the general feeling was in favour of the exiled king. James obtained assistance in money, arms, and ammunition from Louis XIV., besides the services of about a hundred French officers, and landed at Kinsale on the 12th of March, 1689. James proceeded to Dublin, taking up his abode in the city as a king. All the country round about declared for him. Two places only held out against him—Enniskillen and Londonderry. The latter place shut its gates against his army. The siege of Londonderry, which lasted a hundred and five days, forms a memorable chapter in the annals of the civil war in Ireland. The besieged held out bravely, in the hope of succour from England. James returned to Dublin, leaving the conduct of the siege in the hands of a French general, Rosen, whose proceedings were marked by ruthless barbarity. At length General Kirk, the coadjutor of Jeffreys in the cruel Western Assize of 1685, appeared in Lough Foyle with two transports and a frigate, bringing a supply of food to the starving garrison. The besiegers had fastened a boom across

Landing of James in Ireland.

Siege of Londonderry.

the river; but the foremost of Kirke's ships, advancing against this obstacle, broke it, though she grounded from the shock; but presently fired a broadside, and was seen to be again afloat, and sailed up to the town with her companions. Rosen raised the siege, and drew off his army. Enniskillen had shown equal bravery in resisting the invaders. Marshal Schomberg landed at Donaghadee with an army and took Carrickfergus, but declined to risk a battle; and James accordingly took up his quarters for the winter in Dublin.

William III. in Ireland.

William himself proceeded to the seat of war early in June, landing at Carrickfergus on the 14th, and soon found himself at the head of an army of 36,000 men. James issued forth with his army from Dublin, and after advancing as far as Dundalk fell back to Oldbridge, near Drogheda, on the right bank of the Boyne, with an army of some 34,000. On the 30th of June the English army, under William, Schomberg, and General Douglas, reached the Boyne, which it was decided to cross in three divisions. Accordingly, on the 1st of July, the right division forded the river, and drove back the troops who barred the passage. The centre was allowed to cross; then the enemy attacked vigorously, but were driven back to Donore, where James had posted himself, and witnessed the discomfiture of his soldiers. William, who had been slightly wounded on the previous day, led his cavalry gallantly across the stream, and discomfited the Irish horse, whose leader, Antony Count Hamilton, was taken prisoner. James fled from the field, and his army retired through the pass of Duleck. They had lost 1,500 men, while their opponents had lost about 400, the veteran Schomberg being among the slain. James, after staying only a day at Dublin, made his way to Duncannon, whence he embarked with all speed for France. William's artillery was partly destroyed on its way to besiege Limerick by Patrick Sarsfield; and on the 5th September he embarked for England, leaving the completion of the war to General Ginckel, Count Solms, and the Earl of Marlborough. Cork and Kinsale were speedily taken. James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick, with Sarsfield, upheld the cause of the exiled king in Ireland; but Ginckel captured Athlone, where he gained a victory, on June 30th, 1691. A few days afterwards, on July 12th, a battle was fought at Aughrim, and the siege of Limerick, the last stronghold that held out, was commenced on the 25th of August. On October 3rd was signed the Pacification of Limerick which put an end to the war, the Irish Catholics being secured in their religion and estates on taking the oath of allegiance.

Battle of the Boyne.

Pacification of Limerick.

William remained constant to his policy of hostility against Louis XIV. The Earl of Torrington encountered the French admiral Tourville off Beachy Head, in Sussex, on June 30th, 1690, and was defeated. He was brought to a court-martial, but acquitted. At home the king encountered much difficulty in dealing with the conflicting parties of Tories and Whigs. The Whigs tried to keep the power in their own hands by restricting the king's revenue, but a compromise was arrived at.

Naval Battle off Beachy Head.

The pacification of Scotland was marred by an atrocious deed—the

massacre of Glencoe. An indemnity had been declared to all who should take the oath of allegiance before the 1st of January, 1692; and of this the Highland chiefs had availed themselves. One of them, however, M'Ian, the chief of the M'Donalds of Glencoe, was delayed on his journey, and did not arrive at Inverary till the 6th, when he obtained his certificate from the Sheriff of Argyle. But a representation was made to William, that the M'Donalds were the only obstacles to peace in the Highlands, and he signed an order for "the extirpation of that nest of thieves." Bands of soldiers were sent up the glen, and took up their abode among the inhabitants. Suddenly, on the night of the 13th of February, they attacked their hosts. M'Donald himself was murdered. His sons contrived to escape; but thirty-eight persons were put to death; and the whole clan would probably have perished but for a blinding snowstorm. Their homes were plundered and their cattle carried off by the soldiery.

Massacre of Glencoe.

William, in 1691, passed over into Holland to prosecute the war against Louis XIV. In March, 1692, he again crossed to the Continent, leaving the queen to manage affairs in his absence. The Jacobites had planned an insurrection for the restoration of James; and in this design the Earl of Marlborough himself was implicated. The English admiral, Russell, Godolphin, and various others, were intriguing with the exiled king at St. Germains. The French king assisted James with 10,000 troops; the Irish brigade, 20,000 strong, was ready for action. James made promises of toleration to Dissenters, and of protection for the Church; though even now he made a long list of exceptions. Queen Mary caused Marlborough and other suspected persons to be arrested; at the same time she sent a letter to the wavering admiral Russell, expressing her full confidence in his fidelity—which letter she ordered to be read to all his officers. The admiral had no choice but to fight. Off Cape Barfleur, on the 19th of May, 1692, was fought an action commonly known as the battle of Cape la Hogue; for at La Hogue, after the chase had been continued for two days, no fewer than eighteen French ships were driven ashore. Admiral Tourville's own ship, the *Soleil Royal*, and two others were burnt by the English near Cherbourg. The expedition to England became impossible after the discomfiture at sea, and James returned to St. Germains. William himself encountered Marshal Luxembourg at Steinkerk. Though the French could claim the victory, the battle was stoutly fought, and increased William's reputation as a brave and capable commander. The next year the French captured part of the valuable Smyrna fleet of merchantmen, under convoy of Sir George Rooke, near Lagos, and burned the rest. Jacobite agents were indefatigably negotiating in England for the return of the exiled king; but James had sufficient penetration to see that Marlborough, Russell, Godolphin, and the rest, would undertake nothing definite. In 1694 died the excellent and large-hearted Archbishop of Canterbury, Tillotson, who had superseded Sancroft, the hero of the famous trial in James's reign. The admirable Queen Mary died of the small-

William and Marlborough.

Naval Battle of Cape la Hogue.

Rooke's Defeat at Lagos.

pox on the 28th of December, 1694, in her thirty-third year. William was devotedly attached to her. After her death, a reconciliation was effected between the king and the Princess Anne, with whom he had been on ill terms. In the parliament the important Triennial Bill was passed, limiting the existence of each parliament to three years from the date of its assembling. The king gained great praise and credit by the taking of Namur, in August, 1695.

Taking of Namur.

In the next year a more extensive plot than any of the preceding ones caused a great excitement throughout the kingdom. William was in the habit of hunting at Richmond, and it was intended to shoot him, as he returned, in the lane leading from Brentford to Turnham Green. It was betrayed to the Duke of Portland. The chief conspirator was a Catholic officer, Sir George Barclay, whom James sent to England with the commission to raise a rebellion. Besides Barclay, Sir John Fenwick, Major Lowick, John Friend, Captain Charnock, Rookwood, Goodman, Cooke, and others were arrested. Friend and Perkins, and afterwards some others, were executed for this plot. On January 28th, 1697, Fenwick was beheaded.

Sir John Friend's Plot.

In 1697, the war with France was concluded by the Treaty of Ryswick, by which Louis XIV. made great concessions, giving up part of the territory he had conquered, and acknowledging William as king of England. William urged upon the parliament the necessity of an adequate standing army; but combined considerations of economy and jealousy of the presence of an armed force induced the Houses to vote that the army for the ensuing year should be 10,000 men. At the same time they granted the king a civil list of £700,000 for life. William was obliged to send away his Dutch guards, which he did with extreme reluctance.

Treaty of Ryswick.

In compliance with general opinion in the Commons, William chose a ministry chiefly from among the Tories, and Robert Harley, a moderate Tory, was elected Speaker. William had no children, and the last of the numerous family of the Princess Anne and Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Gloucester, died in 1700. Next in right came Sophia, Electress-dowager of Hanover, a grand-daughter of James I. Accordingly the Act of Settlement fixed the succession to the crown upon the Electress Sophia and her heirs, provided they were Protestants The same act made some important stipulations, providing that the king should be of the communion of the Church of England; that the nation was not to be involved in war for the defence of foreign nations; that the judges should not be removable at the king's pleasure.

Tory Ministry.

Act of Settlement.

Charles II., the reigning king of Spain, was manifestly sinking into his grave, and had no child to succeed him. The heirs of three reigning houses had claims to the Spanish succession by marriage with infantas—Louis XIV. of France, who had married Maria Theresa, the elder of Charles's two sisters; the Emperor Leopold of Germany, who had married Margaret

Claimants to the Spanish Throne.

LOUIS XIV. AT THE DEATH-BED OF JAMES II.

Theresa, the younger sister of Charles; and Joseph Ferdinand, Electoral Prince of Bavaria, whose father had married a daughter of Maria Theresa. It was thought most feasible to divide the territories of Spain among the claimants; accordingly the "First Partition Treaty" was concluded between Holland, England, and France.

Partition Treaty.

The Electoral Prince of Bavaria was to have Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands; the provinces north of the Pyrenees were to be incorporated with France, and the Dauphin was to receive Naples and Sicily; and the Archduke Charles of Austria, second son of Leopold, was to have the other Italian provinces, except Milan. But the Electoral Prince of Bavaria suddenly died. A second Partition Treaty was accordingly signed, giving Spain and the Indies to the Archduke Charles, and increasing the Dauphin's territory by the addition of Milan. But the dying King Charles II. made a will, leaving his territories to Philip of Anjou, the

Philip of Anjou.

younger son of the Dauphin of France. But a warlike spirit was aroused, and soon afterwards, although Portland and Orford, Halifax and Somers were actually impeached for their share in the Partition Treaty, a second Grand Alliance was signed between Holland, Austria, and England, to prevent the union of France and Spain under the same government. James

Death of James II.

II. died in exile at St. Germains, on the 16th of September, 1701. Louis visited the dying king, and publicly acknowledged James Francis, the son of James, born in 1683, as king of Great Britain and Ireland. This declaration aroused general indignation in England. The new parliament responded to the speech from the throne, recommending that war should be

War with France.

vigorously prosecuted. All persons holding offices in Church or State were required to abjure "the pretended Prince of Wales," against whom an Act of Attainder was passed. King William was more popular in England than he had ever been; but an ordinary accident brought his active and glorious life to a close. On the 21st of February, 1702, as he was riding

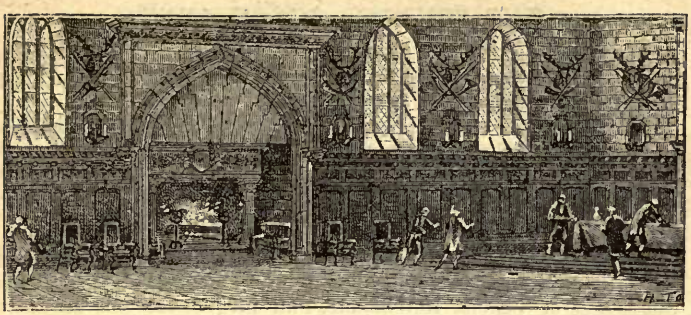
Death of William III.

through Bushey Park to Hampton Court Palace, his horse stumbled and threw him, so that he broke his collar-bone. A few days afterwards fever set in. On the 2nd of March the king died.

William of Orange was the greatest prince of his time. His wisdom and sagacity were remarkable. Untiring in activity, and indomitable in perseverance and resolution, in spite of constant bodily weakness and suffering, his ardent and unquenchable spirit was strongly in contrast with his feeble and uncertain health. He was singularly placable, and frequently disarmed enmity by his inexhaustible clemency. He

His Character.

was a stout and reliable leader of an army. His manners were far from agreeable. He was very dry and guarded in his speech. Hunting was his chief amusement. His religious feelings were strong and deep, but he manifested a toleration and liberality rarely found in the age in which he lived. His domestic affections were strong, and to his friends he was faithful, liberal, and kind. He spoke several languages, and was a man of information, but had little taste for literature, art, and science.



CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Stuarts.—Queen Anne.

A.D. 1702–1714.

The Policy of William III. continued. The War of the Grand Alliance. Marlborough made Captain-General. Influence of his Wife with the Queen. Campaign of 1702. Venloo and Liege. Expedition to Cadiz—Vigo Bay. Benbow and his Captains. The Great Storm of 1703. Campaign of 1704. Blenheim, a Great Victory. Capture of Gibraltar. The War in Spain. Lord Peterborough's Exploits. Progress of the War in Flanders. Ramilies. The Humiliation of Louis XIV. Oudenarde, Malplaquet. Affairs in Spain. Defeat of Almanza. The Castilians and Philip of Anjou. Question of the Succession in Scotland. The Union of England and Scotland Conditions. Elevation of Harley and St. John. Resignation of Harley. Sacheverell's Sermon. His Trial and its Result. Dismissal of Godolphin. Marlborough Neglected. Guiscard's Attempt to Assassinate Harley. Close of the War. Altered Conditions. Treaty of Utrecht. Administration of Oxford and Bolingbroke. The Succession. Dismissal of Harley. Bolingbroke's Intrigues. Their Failure. The Earl of Shrewsbury Treasurer. Death of Anne. Accession of George I.

THE Princess Anne, second daughter of James II., by his first wife, Ann Hyde, ascended the throne by virtue of the Act of Settlement. Her inclinations were towards the Tory party, from whom she chose her chief ministers on succeeding to the throne. Anne was strongly influenced by her intimacy with the Countess of Marlborough, and with the earl. The countess, already before her marriage, had been on terms

A Tory Ministry.

of familiar correspondence with Anne, the two taking respectively the signatures of "Mrs. Morley" and "Mrs. Freeman." The Marlboroughs were Whigs.

Marlborough Captain-General.

Marlborough, of whose talents William had the highest opinion, had already been entrusted by that king with the task of negotiating the Grand Alliance, and had been appointed captain-general of the troops to be employed in the war, which was declared against France on the 15th of May, 1702.

Campaign of 1702. Venloo and Liege.

Immediately after the declaration of war, operations commenced. Marlborough commenced his successes in Flanders by the capture of Venloo, Ruremonde, and Liege. He was advanced to the rank of a duke in the peerage; and £5,000 a year was granted to him for life by the queen, out of the revenue of the post-office. At a later period the duke's pension was made perpetual.

Expedition to Cadiz—Vigo Bay.

An expedition was despatched against Cadiz, commanded by the Duke of Ormonde and Sir George Rooke. Time was lost in disputes and deliberations which enabled the Spanish commander to close the harbour with a boom, and to provision the city. Divided councils prevented the striking of any great blow; and after a time the whole enterprise against Cadiz was abandoned. Receiving intelligence that the Spanish silver fleet of Cadiz had put into Vigo Bay, the commanders resolved to save the reputation of the campaign by attacking and capturing it. Six galleons and seven ships of war were taken. The Spaniards were compelled to set fire to others of their ships, after throwing the cargoes into the sea. A booty of four millions of dollars fell into the hands of the English. Admiral Benbow, a brave and rough sea-dog of the old school, with a squadron of ten ships, in the West Indies, came up with a force superior in number, under the Count de Grasse. A running fight was maintained for several days, but Benbow's captains refused to second him, and he was at last left with only two ships, and having had his leg broken by a chain shot, was compelled to give up the chase. Soon afterwards he died of his wounds at Kingston, in Jamaica, but not before he had brought his refractory captains to a court-martial, and two of them were shot for disobedience of orders.

Benbow and his Captains.

No great battle marked the campaign of 1703; Marlborough was continually cramped in his action by the dilatoriness and over-caution of his Dutch allies; but the King of Portugal and the Duke of Savoy joined the Grand Alliance, and the Archduke Charles of Austria assumed the title of King of Spain. This year was signalized by a great storm, the only one that in England equalled the fury of a tropical tornado. It began on the 26th of November, 1703. In London alone, the damage amounted to over £1,000,000. Great trees and solid buildings were blown down, and among the mansions destroyed was the episcopal palace at Wells.

The year 1704 was a most eventful one. Marlborough, in conjunction with Prince Eugene of Savoy, laid down a masterly plan for the conduct of the campaign. While Eugene acted along the line of the

Upper Rhine, Marlborough made his way to the Danube, and in conjunction with an imperial army under the Duke of Baden, took Donanwerth, after forcing the lines of the Bavarians with great slaughter at Schellenburg, on the 2nd of July. Then the army of the Upper Rhine, under Eugene, came to reinforce his army, while the Bavarians, on their part, formed a junction with the French forces under Marshal Tallard, and took up their position at Hochstadt, near the village of Blenheim, in Bavaria, on the banks of the Danube. Here they were suddenly attacked by Marlborough and Eugene, who had marched at two o'clock in the morning of the 2nd of August, to take them by surprise. The forces on each side exceeded 50,000 men, but the French-Bavarian army was the stronger by some 5,000 men. From one o'clock in the day, until nightfall, the struggle was maintained with great obstinacy. The result was a complete victory for the allied army. The loss on the French side, in killed, prisoners, and missing, amounted to 40,000 men; the allies themselves lost some 13,000 men. The one day of Blenheim completely changed the aspect of affairs in Europe, and overthrew the schemes of dominion the French court had been pursuing throughout many years. Another most important achievement of this great year 1704 was the capture by Admiral Rooke of the strong fortress of Gibraltar, which has ever since remained in the hands of the English.

Campaign of 1704. Blenheim.

Taking of Gibraltar.

In the next year, Marlborough was employed in holding Flanders against the French. He was, however, prevented by the tardiness and timidity of his Dutch allies from fighting a great battle. The most notable exploits of the campaign of 1705 were in Spain, whither Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, was joined by the Duke of Darmstadt, and by the Archduke Charles. Peterborough conducted his operations in defiance of all the received rules and principles of warfare, and his audacity bewildered his employers as much as it alarmed his foes. Seeing the weakness and slothfulness of Philip of Anjou, he was for making a bold dash at Madrid; but the Archduke and the Prince of Hesse were both opposed to this exploit. They insisted, against the advice of Peterborough, on laying siege to Barcelona, which was in a good state of defence, and was held by a large garrison. A strong fortress, called Monjuist, commanded the town. Of this fortress Peterborough obtained possession by a bold and masterly stratagem; and Barcelona fell into his hands. All Catalonia and Valencia rose in insurrection against Philip of Anjou, and espoused the cause of the Archduke Charles, or, as he was now styled, Charles III. of Spain.

Lord Peterborough's Exploits.

Marlborough continued his career of victory in Flanders. On May 23rd, 1706, Villeroy encountered Marlborough at Ramilies. Each army was about 60,000 strong. The French were utterly defeated, with a loss of 13,000 men; an enormous number of standards and trophies fell into the hands of the victors, their loss being about 35,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Brussels, Ghent, Oudenarde, and Antwerp thereupon surrendered.

Battle of Ramilies.

Everything seemed to be now proceeding in favour of the allies.

Barcelona, which had been invaded by an army in the service of Philip, held out bravely until the siege was raised by an English fleet bringing troops to reinforce it. An Anglo-Portuguese army, under Lord Galway, occupied Madrid. Eugene had driven the French from Italy. The pride of Louis XIV. was humbled. He made offers for an accommodation; but his proposals were refused. In Flanders the tide of victory still ran high for the allies. Marlborough increased his fame by the glorious victory of Oudenarde, July 11th, 1708, in which the French army was saved by the approach of night from the most disastrous rout. They retreated under cover of the darkness, after losing 10,000 men. The capture of Lille was the result of this victory.

Proposals for Peace.

Battle of Oudenarde.

Again King Louis sued for peace, in the beginning of 1710; and again his overtures were rejected, the triumphant allies insisting that he should send troops against his own grandson, Philip. The old king declared with dignity that if he was forced to continue the war, it should be to fight for his children, not against them. Marlborough and Eugene marched against Mons, the chief town of Hainault, and Marshal Villars marched with his army to its relief. At Malplaquet, on September 11th, 1710, was fought the bloodiest battle the war had yet witnessed. The allies attacked Villars, who was posted in a position so strong as to be almost impregnable. Out of an army of 90,000, the allies lost 20,000 in killed and wounded, while the French, who were compelled to retreat, lost only 14,000. This was the last of the great victories of Marlborough in the war.

Battle of Malplaquet.

In Spain the English met with continued success. The Government sent out an experienced veteran, Lord Galway. At Almanza, on April 5th, 1707, Galway encountered James, Duke of Berwick, and sustained a complete defeat, leaving 4,000 men dead on the field, and losing all his baggage and artillery. Almanza proved fatal to the cause of the Archduke Charles in Spain. A change seemed to be effected for a time in 1710, when some important successes were gained by the English general Stanhope, and the Austrian Stahremberg, at Almenaca, and at Lerida, which last victory enabled Charles to enter Madrid. But the face of things changed again on the arrival of the great commander Marshal Vendôme, who, on the 9th of December, surrounded Stanhope's force, and obliged him to surrender, and on the following day encountered Stahremberg at Villa Viciosa. Stahremberg could not maintain himself in the country, but was compelled to retreat to Barcelona. The Castilians clung to the cause of Philip with indomitable courage and fidelity. It was found impossible to maintain the rule of Charles in Spain, and the position was entirely changed by his unexpected succession to the dignity of Emperor of Germany; the union of the kingdom of Spain with the empire would be more dangerous than the rule of Philip of Anjou in Spain alone.

Affairs in Spain. Almanza.

The Castilians and Philip.

In 1704, the Scottish parliament had declared, that if the queen died without issue, the Estates should appoint a member of the royal

line as king, but not the same person who ruled in England. In the Scottish parliament, in 1705, a treaty of union with England was, by judicious management, carried, in spite of strenuous opposition. The succession was to remain vested in the Electress Sophia and her Protestant heirs. Scotland was to be represented in the English parliament by sixteen peers, and by forty-five members in the House of Commons. Scotland was to raise £48,000 in land-tax for every £2,000,000 raised in England. The customs and excise in both countries were to be the same; and a sum of nearly £400,000 was to be paid to Scotland as a kind of compensation for the excise and customs. At first there was violent opposition, but the reasonableness of the proposed union of the two countries was so palpable that finally the measure was passed on the 1st of May, 1707.

Question of the Succession in Scotland.

Conditions of the Union.

The queen herself was at heart a Tory, and disliked the Whigs. The Tories were strong enough to cause their opponents much trouble. Marlborough wavered between the two parties. The Duchess of Marlborough, who at that time possessed almost unlimited influence with the queen, was anxious that her husband should join the Whigs. Robert Harley became secretary of state and Henry St. John secretary at war. But the Tories were divided among themselves, while the Whigs stood firmly together. They were, however, secretly attacked by one of their own colleagues. The Duchess of Marlborough had procured the place of bedchamber woman to the queen for an impoverished relative of her own, Abigail Hill, who was married privately, in 1708, to Mr. Masham, an officer in the queen's household, in the presence of Anne herself, over whom her influence became greater day by day. Of that influence Harley availed himself to undermine the power of Godolphin and Marlborough, who had kept aloof from both parties. Marlborough demanded of Anne the dismissal of Harley. Anne refused to give up Harley, who, however, seeing the difficulty of his own position, prudently resigned, and St. John and others followed his example, their places being filled by advanced Whigs.

Elevation of Harley and St. John.

Resignation of Harley.

The position of Godolphin and Marlborough was now a very difficult one. It was evident that the French king sincerely desired peace; and a rumour gained ground that Marlborough was needlessly prolonging the contest.

Accordingly, the triumph of the Whigs was short. Among the London clergy was a certain Dr. Henry Sacheverell. He made use of an opportunity of preaching at St. Paul's, on the 5th of November, 1709, a violent tirade, declaiming against the Dissenters, occasional conformity, and toleration; making a personal attack upon Godolphin, whom he stigmatized as Volpone (the fox). Godolphin resolved on impeaching Sacheverell, who was brought to trial on the 27th of February, 1710. "High Church and Sacheverell" became a popular cry, echoed by thousands who would have been puzzled to explain the meaning of the words. Even the queen's sedan chair was on several occasions stopped by the populace, who anxiously

Dr. Sacheverell's Sermon.

Trial of Sacheverell.

"hoped her majesty was for Dr. Sacheverell." The doctor was found guilty of libel and sedition, forbidden to exercise his office for three years, and sentenced, moreover, to have his sermon burnt by the common hangman. But he received a valuable living, and was even recommended for a bishopric. But these evidences of the public temper emboldened the queen gradually to get rid of the ministry she secretly disliked; Harley replaced the Marquess of Kent. Sunderland and Godolphin himself were next dismissed.

An entire change of ministry was brought about, Harley and Henry St. John having the chief influence, as chancellor of the exchequer and secretary of state respectively, the tone being decidedly Tory. The passing of the Schism Act, and of the act against occasional conformity, were among its first measures. Marlborough had the mortification of seeing a vote of thanks accorded to Peterborough, while a similar honour was denied to himself. His wife, the duchess, was dismissed from all her offices; and it was only at the urgent solicitation of Godolphin, seconded by that of the leading Whigs, that Marlborough refrained from resigning his command.

Neglect of Marlborough.

A Frenchman named Guiscard was retained in government pay, receiving £500 a year. This salary was reduced at the instigation of Harley; and Guiscard, angry at this, proceeded to indemnify himself by selling state secrets to the King of France. Detected in this, he was summoned before the council, and, suddenly and treacherously stabbed Harley. Several of the members drew upon the would-be assassin, who was carried off, desperately wounded, to Newgate, where he died shortly afterwards.

Guiscard's Attempt to assassinate Harley.

Louis XIV. had again made overtures for peace; but the Whigs had rejected them. Now the aspect of affairs had changed; and though in 1711, Marlborough surpassed himself, and with consummate skill forced the lines which Villars had drawn from Bouchain on the Scheldt to Arras, peace had already been determined on in the English cabinet. Secret negotiations were opened at the beginning of the year with the French minister, De Torcy. But when these proceedings became known, much indignation was excited, for many considered that any peace which allowed a Bourbon to possess Spain, and abandoned the interests of Charles of Austria, would be dishonourable. In May, 1711, Harley became Earl of Oxford, and in the following year secretary St. John was made Viscount Bolingbroke. Marlborough was considered the great obstacle to an accommodation. On New Year's Day, 1712, Anne dismissed the duke from all his employments, and presently he was charged with having illegally received large sums from the contractors who supplied the army with bread. Soon afterwards, Marlborough quitted England. He was succeeded in the command in Flanders by the Duke of Ormond, while Prince Eugene directed the whole army of the allies. Eugene hoped to penetrate even to Paris itself. But negotiations were being carried on at Utrecht for peace, and Ormond received directions to abstain from

Proposals for Peace.

Altered Circumstances.

Close of the War.

offensive operations. The allies were indignant; there was rage and sorrow in the English camp, and the genius of Villars restored the fortunes of France.

On the 31st of March, 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht was signed between France and the allies, with the exception of the Emperor of Germany, Charles VI. Philip of Anjou, acknowledged as King of Spain, gave up all prospective claims to the throne of France; the Netherlands, Naples, and Milan were to be given to the Emperor of Germany, Sardinia to the Elector of Bavaria, and Sicily to the Duke of Savoy. Holland was to have some towns in Flanders, including Namur; and Louis himself received Franche Comté, in return for ceding part of Gueldres to the King of Prussia. Lille was also restored to him. England was to receive Acadia in North America, the name of which province was changed to Nova Scotia; while the capital, Port Royal, was called Annapolis, in honour of the queen. St. Christopher, Gibraltar, and Minorca were also ceded to her. Finally, the title of Queen Anne and the Protestant succession were to be formally acknowledged by France.

Treaty of Utrecht.

The bond that united Harley and Bolingbroke had never been one of cordial friendship. The death of Godolphin dissolved the one cause they had for alliance, and from that time each intrigued against the other. Harley was anxious to preserve the Protestant succession, but was too timid and cautious to act boldly. Bolingbroke knew the predilections of the queen towards the Tories, and her secret wish that her half-brother, James Francis, should succeed her; and he accordingly turned his efforts towards bringing about a return of the exiled branch of the Stuarts. Lady Masham was among the most zealous of his partisans, while Lady Somerset was equally earnest on the other side; and Anne was in a state of doubt and irresolution.

Question of the Succession.

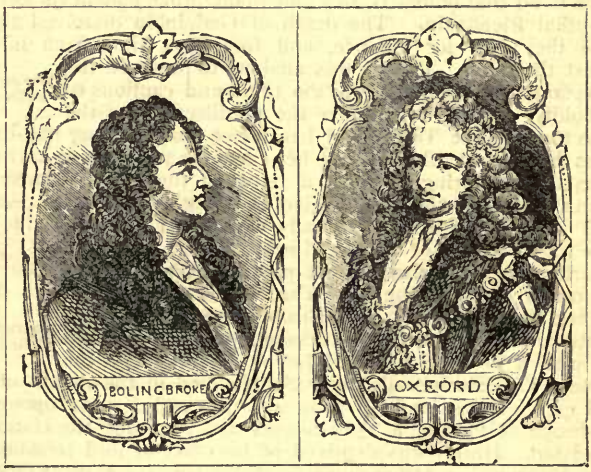
Harley and Bolingbroke were now enemies, and the influence of the former declined rapidly. The Tories themselves were divided into two factions—the "Whimsicals," who were for the maintenance of the Act of Succession, and the Jacobites, who wished to see the son of James II. placed on the throne. The Electress-dowager Sophia died in the month of June, aged eighty-three; and St. John now proceeded more openly with the design of forming a Tory cabinet and upsetting the Hanoverian succession. Harley was deprived of his office of lord treasurer, and Bolingbroke was in active correspondence with the exiled court at St. Germains. But presently a change came over the aspect of affairs. The queen's illness assumed an alarming character towards the end of July; and suddenly the Whig dukes of Argyll and Somerset appeared uninvited in the privy council. Under their influence the treasurer's staff was given by the dying queen to the Duke of Shrewsbury, and the Hanoverian succession was secured. Anne died two days afterwards, on the 1st of August, 1714 Immediately on the queen's demise, the elector was proclaimed. Bolingbroke, confounded by the rapid march of events, had not the heart to make any opposition.

Intrigues of Bolingbroke.

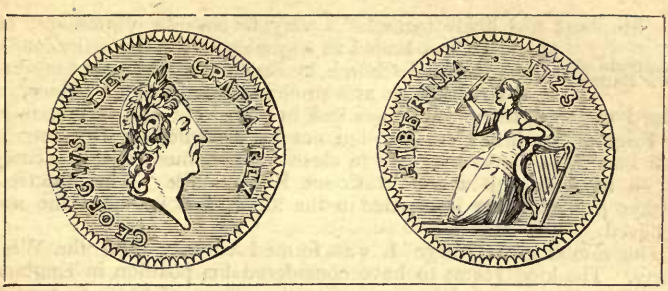
Interference of Argyll and Shrewsbury.

The character of Anne was of a negative kind. Indolent and self-indulgent, she early allowed herself to be led by any one of strong will and ambitious temper who would take the trouble to assert influence over her, and thus became successively the tool of Sarah Jennings and of Abigail Hill. As a wife and mother, her conduct was irreproachable, and she is said to have suffered remorse for her desertion of her father.* Her reign has been called the Augustan age of English literature; Swift, Addison, Pope, Prior, Gay, Tickell, and others, commenced their career in her time.

* The sarcastic Duchess of Marlborough, whose pride was deeply hurt by the manner in which Anne dismissed her from her offices and appointments, after many years of friendly and even familiar intercourse, represents the queen as consoling herself, on the day of her husband's death, by eating three plentiful meals, as if she thought it was not "silent," but "hungry," griefs that rend the heart-strings.



HENRY ST. JOHN. ROBERT HARLEY.



HALFPENNY COINED BY "WOLVERHAMPTON WOOD."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The House of Brunswick.—George I.

A.D. 1714–1727.

Undisputed Accession of George I. Attitude of the Nation. The King's Consort and Favourites. Whig Government. Proceedings against the late Administration. James Francis, son of James II. Rebellion of 1715. Revolt of Mar, Derwentwater, Kenmuir, etc. Surrender at Preston. Battle of Sheriffmuir. Tardy Landing of James Francis. His Flight. Arrest of the Rebel Lords. Their Punishment. Bill for Septennial Parliaments. Foreign Affairs. Sale of Bremen and Verden to Hanover. Ambitious Designs of Philip V. of Spain. Triple Alliance. Spanish War. Quadruple Alliance. Victory off Cape Passaro. Ormond's Expedition. Peace with Spain. Prince George, Walpole, and Townshend. South Sea Bubble. Popular Excitement. Bubble Companies. Anger at the Detected Fraud. Punishment of the Directors. Plot for Insurrection. Bishop Atterbury and St. John, Lord Bolingbroke. Ireland. Coinage of Wood's Halfpence. Dean Swift and the Drapier's Letters. Scotland. The Malt Tax. Riots in Glasgow. England's Intervention in Foreign Quarrels. Treaty of Hanover. Opposition against Walpole. Disastrous Expedition of Admiral Hosier. Sudden Death of George I. His Character.

THE transfer of the crown to a new dynasty was accomplished without the shade of disturbance. No dissentient murmur was heard when George Louis, Elector of Hanover, grandson of Elizabeth, daughter of James I. and of the Elector Palatine Frederick, was proclaimed King. For the principle of the Protestant succession was dear to the great bulk of the people; and though the foreign king, unable to speak a sentence of

Accession of George I.

English, was not likely to make a very favourable impression, his accession was hailed as a guarantee for the maintenance of the national Church in England. The new king had also a reputation as a prudent and moderate prince, inclined to peace, though not unskilled in war. He was accompanied to England by his eldest son, but not by his wife, for Dorothea of Zell had been for many years in close imprisonment, being accused of an intrigue with a certain Count Königsmark. The Electress always protested her innocence in the affair, and by many she was believed.

Attitude of the Nation.

The ministry of George I. was formed entirely from the Whig party. The king seems to have considered his position in England would be best secured by entrusting the affairs of State to men of experience belonging to the party who had placed him on the throne. Some discontent was caused by the appearance in the king's train of two especially ugly mistresses, the Countess Platen and Madame Schuylenburg.

In the first assembly summoned by King George, the Whigs had altogether the preponderance; and they proceeded to take advantage of their position to the utmost, in inflicting vengeance upon their opponents. Harley, Bolingbroke, and Ormond were accused of high treason. Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to the Continent. Oxford, though advised by Ormond to secure his own safety, braved the tempest at home, and was committed to the Tower. He remained in durance for two years, and then petitioned that his trial might be proceeded with. The Lords acquitted him.

Proceedings of the Whig Government.

The next year, 1715, was signalized by a rebellion in Scotland and on the English border. The Pretender had hoped to receive aid from the old King of France; but the death of Louis XV., a child only five years old, put an end to his hopes in that quarter. Suddenly the Earl of Mar betook himself to the Highlands, and raised the standard of rebellion on behalf of the prince, whom he proclaimed under the title of James III., at Braemar. A rising that was to have taken place simultaneously in the West of England was prevented by the prompt arrest of a number of disaffected gentlemen; while the defence of the royal cause in Scotland was entrusted to John, Duke of Argyll. At the same time an insurrectionary movement began in the North of England, under the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, who were presently joined by Lords Nithsdale, Kenmuir, Carnworth, and Wintoun, by Widdrington, Ord, and others. But at Preston, where they encountered the royal forces under Generals Willis and Carpenter, they surrendered unconditionally.

The Pretender, James Francis.

The Earl of Mar.

Derwentwater, Kenmuir, etc.

On November 13th, the day of the surrender of Derwentwater and Forster at Preston, a battle was fought at Sheriffmuir between the insurgents and the loyal troops under Argyll. Mar had nearly 9,000 men under his command, to whom the duke could oppose only some 4,000. But though the Highlanders charged Argyll's left wing, and drove it off the field,

Battle of Sheriffmuir.

Mar neglected to follow up his advantage, and fell back upon Ardoch, leaving Argyll to march to Dumblane. Argyll did not follow up his victory, having no rancour against his Highland foes. Mar was therefore allowed to retire to Perth unmolested.

The Pretender at length landed at Peterhead on the 22nd of December, 1715. He was presently joined by George Keith, Earl Marischal, and his brother James, by the Earl of Mar, General Hamilton, and sundry Jacobite gentlemen. But Argyll had been reinforced; and the prince had neither energy nor talent. At the end of January, 1716, he embarked at Montrose in a French vessel, which conveyed him to Gravelines. The Lords Derwentwater, Kenmuir, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Carnworth, and Nairn were condemned to death, and two of them, Derwentwater and Kenmuir, were beheaded. Lord Nairn's life was saved by the intervention of Secretary Stanhope, and Lords Nithsdale and Winton escaped from their prison, Lord Nithsdale being saved by the heroic stratagem of the Countess, who dressed him in her own clothes, and thus enabled him to deceive the Tower guards. The punishments inflicted upon the minor rebels contrast favourably with the proceedings after Monmouth's rebellion. In Lancashire twenty-two executions took place; in London, four. The bulk of the prisoners in Lancashire threw themselves on the royal mercy, and petitioned to be transported to the colonies in North America.

Flight of the Prince.

Punishment of the Rebels.

The ministers feared that a general election would reverse the state of parties. Accordingly, the Septennial Bill was brought in, proposing seven years instead of three for the longest interval between two general elections. After much opposition it was passed; and it continues in force to the present time.

Bill for Septennial Parliaments.

Townshend and Walpole resigned in 1717, and were succeeded by Lord Stanhope and by Sunderland, the son-in-law of Marlborough. The new ministry repealed the Schism Act, and the Act against occasional conformity, passed in the last reign, and even endeavoured to get rid of the Test Act. An attempt was also made to pass the Peerage Bill, to limit the number of the Lords by restricting the prerogative of the king in creating new peerages. The bill was lost in the Commons, after it had passed the House of Lords.

Sunderland and Stanhope's Administration.

The interests of England were frequently brought into collision with those of Hanover, and jealousy was aroused. The King of Denmark had seized upon the towns of Bremen and Verden. These two towns he afterwards sold to George I., as Elector of Hanover. In great anger at this transaction, Charles XII. of Sweden threatened to bring back the Pretender to Great Britain at the head of 12,000 Swedish veterans. To weaken the Pretender, the English cabinet made advances towards signing an alliance with the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France. The duke was very ready to welcome the friendship of the King of England at that time. Philip V. of Spain had, indeed, formally renounced all title to the throne of France; but at the instigation of his ambitious

Bremen and Verden sold to Hanover.

minister, Cardinal Alberoni, he was already intriguing to deprive Orleans of the office of regent. Accordingly, the triple alliance between England, France, and Holland was concluded in 1717. Philip V. thereupon seized on the island of Sardinia. He was bent on regaining the territory once held by his ancestors in Italy. The triple alliance was followed in the next year by a new compact, the quadruple alliance, in which the Emperor Charles VI. of Germany joined England, France, and Holland. Spain continued the war by the seizure of Palermo and Messina; but on the 11th of August, 1718, Admiral Byng gained a great victory over the Spaniards off Cape Passaro, in Sicily. In recognition of this victory, Byng was raised to the peerage as Viscount Torrington. The death of Charles XII. frustrated a great part of Alberoni's scheme, so far as England was concerned; he still, however, meditated the idea of a Stuart restoration. An expedition was organized under the command of the Duke of Ormond, who had made his way to Madrid in disguise. But, like the Spanish Armada, it was attacked by a storm, and the "Spanish affair," as it was called, ended in failure. Peace was then concluded between England and Spain. Immediately afterwards, a defensive alliance was signed between England, France, and Spain, in which France and Spain guaranteed to the Elector of Hanover the possession of Bremen and Verden, a point which the emperor had steadfastly refused, losing the friendship of George by his denial. Ulrica Eleonora, the sister of Charles XII., who became Queen of Sweden, showed herself disposed to become the friend and ally of George I.

Ambitious Designs of Philip V.

Byng's Victory off Cape Passaro.

Peace with Spain.

For some time the king was on very bad terms with his son. He retired to Leicester House in Leicester Fields, London. The good sense and astuteness of Walpole brought about something like a reconciliation between father and son.

Just at this time occurred that singular commercial hallucination, known as the South Sea Bubble.

The nation, in 1711, had a national debt of £11,000,000; it was chiefly funded, and Harley, Earl of Oxford, proposed to relieve the nation of the burden, by forming a company of the chief proprietors, who would take over the responsibility, the government guaranteeing them a profit of 6 per cent. This association was to be called the South Sea Company, and was to have the monopoly of trade to the ports of the Spanish possessions on the Pacific coast. But Philip V. refused to grant the monopoly. In spite of this the company was well supported, and its stock came into favour. During the war the company arranged to undertake the payment of the irredeemable government annuities; the annuitants were induced to commute their claims for South Sea stock. Mr. Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, was the promoter of the scheme. Walpole in the Commons, and Earl Cowper in the Lords, prophesied the ruin that would come from indulging hopes that could not be realized. But they were not listened to. The exaggerated accounts were spread abroad of the profits that would ensue from trading to the rich countries of

The South Sea Company.

The Popular Excitement.

GEORGE I.

silver and gold. Enormous dividends of 30, 40, and 50 per cent., paid by the directors to the shareholders, increased the general eagerness. The shares quickly rose. Two millions of stock were subscribed for at £300 for every £100 bond. The climax of folly was reached when hundred pound shares were quoted at £1,000.

Naturally the South Sea fever of speculation burst out in various cognate ways. Companies were formed for extracting silver from lead, for importing jackasses from Spain to improve the breed of mules, for crushing oil from seeds, for ensuring seamen's wages, for the fattening of hogs, for making salt-water fresh, etc., etc.; and one man actually found subscribers for a notable "scheme, an undertaking of great advantage, but no one to know what it is." In August, 1720, it oozed out that Sir John Blunt, the chairman of the company, and various of its principal promoters, had been getting rid of their shares. The bursting of the

Bubble Companies.

bubble was sudden and lamentable. The shares sank rapidly. The general consternation and the general anger were great. Walpole introduced a bill by which, on certain conditions, a large portion of South Sea stock was taken up by the Bank of England and the East India Company. This gave some kind of stability to the stock, and in some degree checked the panic among the public, whose cry was for vengeance. It appeared, on investigation, that more than half a million pounds of fictitious stock had been distributed as bribes to persons in high places. Among the recipients figured the names of Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer; Craggs, the secretary of state; Charles Stanhope, secretary to the treasury; and the Earl of Sunderland himself. The estates of the directors were confiscated for the benefit of the victims, only a small proportion of their fortunes being left to them. The proprietors ultimately obtained a dividend of about 33 per cent on their shares. Had it not been for the judicious energy of Walpole,* this would have been lost with the rest.

Anger at the Detected Fraud.

Punishment of the Directors.

Towards the end of the reign, the power was concentrated in the hands of Sir Robert Walpole, who continued at the head of affairs for almost twenty years, pursuing a peaceful policy, and greatly promoting the nation's well-being and prosperity. In 1722 a new project of invasion was entertained. It was made known to the government by the Regent of France, and Walpole at once took energetic measures. Lord Orrery, the Duke of Norfolk, a barrister named Sayer, and Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, were the principal prisoners arrested. Sayer was executed for high treason; Norfolk and Orrery were released. Atterbury was deprived of his bishopric, and banished from the kingdom. At the same time a pardon was extended to Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke. It was at first only a permission to return to England. But Bolingbroke, who had made a rich marriage during his exile, was indefatigable in his endeavours to regain his former position, and, so far as his estates were concerned, he succeeded; but he never regained his political ascendency.

Plot for Insurrection.

Atterbury and Bolingbroke.

In Ireland, a patent had been granted to William Wood, an ironmaster of Wolverhampton, for coining farthings and halfpence, to the amount of £108,000, for Ireland. The notion was started that this was a worthless copper coinage, to be foisted by an unscrupulous ministry upon an oppressed people; and great was the outcry raised against "Wood's halfpence." Dean Swift had been living in a state of chronic exasperation, in Dublin, from the beginning of the reign. Forthwith there appeared in Dublin a series of papers, under the title of "Letters of a Drapier." They denounced in a strain

Outcry against Wood's Halfpence.

Swift's "Drapier's Letters."

* While publicly denouncing the South Sea Scheme, and honestly pointing out the ruin in which it would end, Walpole nevertheless bought shares privately and sold them again while the stock was still rising, so that he made a handsome profit. The great Duke of Marlborough also bought and sold South Sea stock in so advantageous a manner as to gain £100,000 on his transactions.

of tremendous invective the new coinage, the manufacturers and the ministry. The letters were received with acclamation. The dean became the most popular man in Ireland. The government offered a reward of £500 for the discovery of the author of the Drapier's Letters, but no one would betray the writer. It became necessary to call in the whole of the coinage, and to cancel the order, though the unfortunate patentee was almost ruined. Swift knew that it was a mere party cry he was raising, and that the display of patriotism was assumed for his own ends. If he looked forward to being employed again as a political writer, he was disappointed.

Wood's Coinage condemned by Swift's Means.

In Scotland, likewise, the year 1724 was marked by popular discontent. When Walpole, very reluctantly, imposed a duty of threepence upon every barrel of ale, the people of Glasgow turned out in the streets in riotous assemblage, sacked the house of Mr. Campbell, a member of parliament who had voted for the tax, attacked the soldiers who were ordered out to quell the tumult, and drove their opponents out of the town. Walpole sent down into Scotland Lord Islay, who soon restored peace and tranquillity. In England, at the same time, Parker, Earl of Macclesfield, the lord chancellor, was impeached for selling masterships and other offices, and also for the misappropriation of trust moneys, and fined £30,000. At this time also the Order of the Bath was revived.

The Scots and the Malt Tax.

In 1725 a quarrel occurred between France and Spain, in which England took part. Louis XV. had been betrothed to an infanta of Spain, but sent her back to Madrid, and married Mary Leezinska, the daughter of the banished King of Poland. Philip V. entered into a compact with Germany and Russia against France and England. A defensive treaty was made, on the other hand, by France, England, and Prussia, known as the Treaty of Hanover. Denmark, Sweden, and Holland afterwards joined this union. There was a considerable opposition among the Whigs themselves against the policy of Walpole. The dissentient Whigs, who called themselves the Patriots, were led by Pulteney, a former colleague of Walpole. Pulteney, his followers, and the Jacobites, vehemently inveighed against the Treaty of Hanover. The war was carried on by sea, three fleets being despatched—one to the Gulf of Finland under Sir Charles Wager, a second for the West Indies under Admiral Hosier, and a third under Sir John Jennings for the coast of Spain. The Empress Catherine declared her intentions to be pacific, though she joined the alliance of Spain and Austria soon afterwards. Jennings brought his ships safely home, after inflicting some damage upon the enemy; but Hosier was singularly unfortunate. The greater part of the crews and officers, including Hosier himself, perished by yellow fever and other diseases. The expedition was a failure from beginning to end. Spain was presently deserted by the Emperor Charles VI., who made a separate pacification with France and England. Thus, at the end of the reign of George I., Spain was the only country with which Great Britain was at war.

Treaty of Hanover.

Naval Expeditions. Disaster of Hosier.

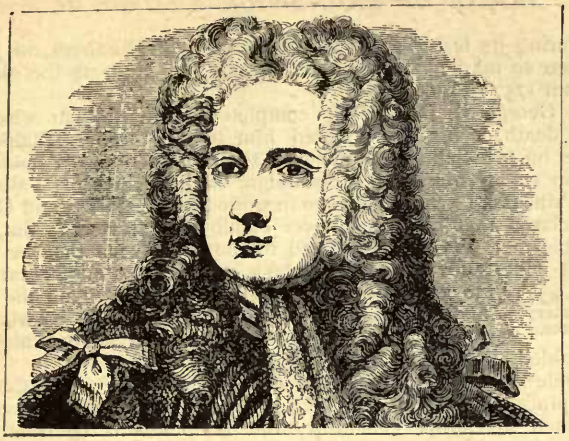
That end came somewhat suddenly. On the 3rd of June, 1727,

the king, attended by the Duchess of Kendal and Lord Townshend, set out for his Hanoverian dominions, which he was in the habit of visiting nearly every year. His wife, Sophia Dorothea of Zell, had died some months previously, in her dreary prison castle at Ahlen, where she had lived in confinement for more than thirty years. He was seized with an apoplectic stroke as he was travelling towards the village of Ippenburen. The king's attendants wished to stop at Ippenburen, but he motioned with his hand that they should go forward, and contrived to articulate several times, "Osnabruck!" When they arrived there, the king was dead. He was in his 68th year, and had reigned close upon thirteen years in England.

Death of the King.

He had considerable shrewdness and sagacity, prudence and good sense. He studiously avoided everything that could offend the opinions and prejudices of his subjects. Horace Walpole speaks of him as "a good-natured king." Hardly ever has the rebellion of a country against its sovereign been punished with less rigour than was displayed towards the insurgents of 1715. He was considered a stout soldier and a skilful leader. But his habits and tastes were gross and unclean. The strangeness of his domestic arrangements was a source of never-ending sarcasm to the Jacobites and Tories of his time. In his course of action was seen much of the steadiness and solidity of the German character. It has been justly remarked of him that he was never so happy as when he could leave England for Hanover, and St. James's for Herrenhausen.

His Character.



GEORGE II.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The House of Brunswick.—George II.

A.D. 1727–1760.

Character of the Reign. Walpole Retained in Power. His Conciliatory Measures. Political Parties. The October Club. System of Bribery. The Pensions Bill. Walpole's Excise Scheme. Strong Opposition. The Measure Abandoned. The Porteous Riot in Edinburgh. Porteous Executed by the Rioters. Quarrels with Frederick Prince of Wales. Death of Queen Caroline. Walpole's Opponents. The Patriot Whigs. William Pitt. His Character. War Declared against Spain, 1739. Admiral Vernon. Capture of Portobello. Failure at Carthagena. Anson's Voyage round the World. Fall of Walpole's Ministry. Cartaret, Lord Granville. The Pelhams. The Duke of Newcastle. War of the Pragmatic Sanction. Charles VI. Frederick II. and Maria Theresa. Triumph of Marshal Saxe. Rebellion of 1745. Charles Edward in Edinburgh. Prestonpans. Advance to Manchester. Retreat. Culloden. Punishment of the Rebels. End of the War. Newcastle, Pitt, and Fox. Hostilities with France. Braddock's Defeat. Boscawen, Hawke, and Byng. Change of Ministry. Execution of Byng. Pitt and Newcastle in Power. Seven Years' War. Wolfe at Quebec. Clive in India. Brilliant Close of the Reign.

DURING the first fifteen years of the reign of George II. the peaceful policy of Walpole was followed out, and the growing prosperity of Britain bore witness to the ability of the statesman at the helm. The close of the reign was illuminated by the warlike triumphs of William Pitt, the "Great Commoner," who was in the very zenith of success and popu-

Character of the Reign of George II.

larity during its last years. Since the reign of Elizabeth, no period had been so marked by triumphs on sea and land, as the glorious time from 1757 to 1760.

King George II. had nearly completed his 43rd year when the sudden death of his father called him to the throne. Walpole at once set off for Richmond to convey the intelligence. Walpole had made an enemy, during the last reign, of the Prince of Wales and of the Princess of Wales, by some incautious expressions; and George had declared that he would never employ his services. But, with admirable tact, Walpole conveyed to the new queen that he would obtain a jointure for her of £100,000 a year, and an augmentation of £130,000 for the king's civil list; whereupon the same ministry remained in office; and in the new parliament that met soon afterwards he secured a good majority, that enabled him to keep his promise.

Walpole's Conciliatory Measures.

Walpole's policy had been a peaceful one. In France, Cardinal Fleury practised the same policy; so that for some years peace was maintained in Europe generally. But Walpole was confronted by an opposition which became stronger from the accession to it of men of ability, whom Walpole should have enlisted on his side. The Opposition consisted of the Tories, chiefly country squires and members of the famous October Club; the discontented Whigs, with Pulteney, Sandys, Littleton, the Grenvilles, Sir John Barnard, and the fiery and eloquent William Pitt; some fifty or sixty Jacobites, sufficient to turn the scale when a measure was hotly contested. Walpole reduced bribery and corruption to an organized system. Votes were unblushingly sold; and large sums of money paid for parliamentary support. Another form of bribery was by the bestowal of pensions. In 1730 a bill was brought in, by which every member of parliament who accepted a pension was to be bound to notify the fact to the House; but this bill was thrown out in the House of Lords.

Political Parties—the October Club.

A measure, as bold as it was original, the Excise Bill, was proposed by Walpole, in 1733, for simplifying the collection of the revenue, discouraging smuggling, and increasing the commerce of the country. The experiment was to be tried first with tobacco. But Pulteney and Bolingbroke wrote vehemently against the scheme. Riotous proceedings took place. Walpole acted with characteristic decision, abandoning the bill, and promptly turning out those of his partisans who had crossed him in the matter. The dismissed officials joined the ranks of the so-called "patriot" party, and tried to undermine Walpole's power. This attempt failed, and the same fate befell the oft-renewed attempts to get rid of septennial parliaments. In the general election of 1735, the minister again obtained a large majority.

Walpole's Excise Scheme.

In the year 1736 Captain John Porteous, a man of indifferent character, commanded the town guard in Edinburgh, at the execution of Wilson, a smuggler. After the culprit was dead, there was some disorder, and stones were thrown at the city guard. Porteous ordered his men to fire. Five persons were killed, and many wounded; among them being some spectators who were looking on from win-

dows and balconies. Porteous was tried for murder, and condemned to death; but a reprieve was sent by the Queen Caroline, acting as regent for her husband, King George, who was absent in Germany. The lower classes in Edinburgh determined to execute what in more modern days has been designated as lynch law. A number of men with blackened faces broke into the Tolbooth prison, where Porteous was confined, dragged him to the Grassmarket, and publicly hanged him from a dyer's pole. The queen was highly indignant at this act; but none of the perpetrators of the outrage were discovered.

The Riots in Edinburgh.

The relations between George II. and his eldest son Prince Frederick of Wales were not more cordial than those of George I. had been with himself. The quarrel was embittered by the opposition offered by the king and the minister to a proposal to increase the Prince of Wales's income from £60,000 to £100,000 a year. Thus the prince's court became a kind of cave of Adullam, a gathering-place for the discontented, and for those who expected promotion when the heir to the throne should enter into possession of his inheritance. The death of Queen Caroline, in 1736, was a heavy blow to George II., by depriving him of an astute adviser and an untiring fellow-worker in all that concerned the State.

Death of Queen Caroline.

The opposition from the patriot Whigs became stronger and stronger; William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, and Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, were the foremost men of this section of the parliament. By his commanding figure, his splendid eloquence, his dauntless and impassioned manner, Pitt had forced himself into a foremost position in the House of Commons. Walpole's habit of concentrating all power in his own person formed a fertile subject of the tirades of Pitt, who also violently objected to what he called the "Hanoverian" policy of Carteret, that furnished English troops and English money to fight out foreign quarrels in Germany. The patriot Whigs took the occasion of an excited state of public feeling in 1738, to compass the downfall of the Walpole ministry. There had been frequent complaints of injustice and hardship inflicted by the Spaniards in the West Indies upon British traders, and especially of the enforcing of the right of searching foreign vessels for contraband goods. The Opposition and the public clamoured for war; and in an evil hour Walpole yielded to the outcry. War was accordingly declared in 1739. Admiral Vernon, who had the courage of a lion, but more audacity than skill, after taking Portobello, on the Isthmus of Darien, failed entirely to reduce Carthagena, in March, 1741. This failure was counterbalanced by Commodore Anson, during his memorable voyage round the world with a squadron; he inflicted great damage on the Spaniards in the Pacific. The achievement was crowned by the capture of a rich Spanish galleon freighted with silver. But long before Anson's triumphant return to England in 1744, Walpole had been overthrown in spite of the concessions he had unwisely made. When a new parliament met,

William Pitt.

Character of Pitt.

Clamour for War with Spain.

Anson's Voyage round the World.

in 1742, the verdicts in petitions on contested elections went against him in so many instances that he declared he would sit in the House of Commons no more. He was elevated to the peerage with the title of Earl of Orford, and retired to his country seat of Houghton. Carteret, Earl of Granville, with Pulteney, who was made Earl of Bath, attempted to form a government. Lord Wilmington then held power for a short time; and in 1744 a new administration came into office distinguished by the name of the Broad Bottom ministry, as it was formed upon the principle of admitting men of talent belonging to the various parties. Henry Pelham became prime minister, and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, exerted great influence by the number of votes his great territorial possessions and the adhesion of the great Whig houses enabled him to command. Newcastle, after his brother's death in 1754, assumed the chief direction of affairs. He was the laughing-stock of his colleagues for his blunders and absurdities. But his shrewdness, perseverance, and ambition enabled him to outwit and circumvent all rivals and opponents. The ministry was strengthened in 1744 by the appointment of the Earl of Chesterfield as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Fall of Walpole's Ministry. New Arrangements.

The Pelhams.

Meanwhile a great change had come over the politics of continental Europe. The Emperor Charles VI. died in 1740. For many years he had turned his attention, as he had no male heir, to the task of procuring by the Pragmatic Sanction the recognition of his daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, as the successor to the vast dominions of the Austrian House. The assent of the various powers had been obtained to this document. Among others, Frederick William I. of Prussia had most reluctantly given his consent. He died, like Charles VI., in 1740; and his son and successor, Frederick the Great, immediately laid claim to the province of Silesia, and invaded it with a large army, at a time when the Austrian government had no adequate force ready to encounter him. In 1741, Frederick gained the battle of Molwitz. Bavaria and Saxony now came forward, each claiming a part of the Austrian heritage; and France joined against Austria in this war of the Pragmatic Sanction. George II. espoused the cause of Maria Theresa, and sent an army to maintain her cause in Flanders, besides voting large subsidies. But Frederick gained a second battle at Chotusitz; and Maria Theresa, at Presburg, invoked the protection of the Hungarian magnates and deputies. They declared they would die for their monarch. Meanwhile Charles, Elector of Bavaria, became Emperor of Germany, with the title of Charles VII. At the urgent advice of her ally, George II., Maria Theresa ceded Silesia to Frederick II. This enabled her to turn her arms with triumphant effect against her other enemies. Charles, the new emperor, was driven from Austria and Bohemia, and being deserted by his allies and defeated by his enemies, died shortly afterwards of disappointment and chagrin. The French were compelled to retreat out of Bohemia. In 1743, an English and German army, under the command of the king in person, fought the battle of Det-

Frederick II. and Maria Theresa.

Molwitz and Chotusitz.

The Emperor Charles VII.

tingen. The French were defeated with a loss of nearly 6,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. War was declared between France and England, in 1744, the French army being commanded by the famous Marshal Saxe. The army of the English and their allies in Flanders marched, under the Duke of Cumberland, to the relief of Tournay, and on May 11th, 1745, having met the French, fought the famous battle of Fontenoy. The famous English Guards, after conquering various important positions, found themselves encountered, without support, by the French household regiments, and all the reserves of Marshal Saxe, supported by a strong force of artillery. After suffering an immense slaughter, the brave household regiments retreated slowly, with their faces to the foe, and presently rallied at the town of Ath. The English and Hanoverians in this action lost about 6,000 men, while the French loss is said to have been under-estimated at 7,000. The immediate consequence of the disaster of Fontenoy was the occupation of Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, and other places in Flanders by the French. In the same year we find Frederick the Great again in the field against Austria, fighting and gaining the famous battle of Hohenfriedberg. Francis of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Theresa, was raised to the imperial throne, and the Queen of Hungary thus became the Empress-Queen. In the same year Frederick gained another victory over the Austrians at Soor.

Battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy.

Battles of Hohenfriedborg and Soor.

James Francis, the son of James II., was now fifty-seven years of age, and even in his youth had never shown any signs of energy or courage; but his son, Charles Edward, had long wished to renew the attempt which had ended so disastrously for his father in 1715. With an energy somewhat rare in his family, he resolved to strike a blow for himself; and the French government, though disinclined to incur any further risk or expense, had no objection to the prince's diverting the attention of the foe by an invasion of Scotland on his own account. The prince raised all the money he could possibly collect, even pawning his jewels and borrowing from his friends, and procured arms and ammunition, which he sent on board an old warship of 65 guns—the *Elizabeth*—for removal to Scotland. He himself embarked at Belle-isle for Scotland, on a swift 18-gun brig, the *Doutelle*, on the 2nd of July, 1745. The *Elizabeth* was obliged by a British ship of war, the *Lion*, to return to France; but the *Doutelle* landed Charles at the Western Islands, and from thence carried him over to Moidart, in Inverness. At first the chiefs to whom he applied were disinclined to aid in what they rightly considered a desperate enterprise. But two chiefs of the Macdonalds caught the young clansman's enthusiasm, and declared for the prince. Presently the "seven men of Moidart," as the followers of Charles Edward at his first landing were called, found their numbers rapidly increasing. Among those who were induced to join the enterprise was Cameron of Lochiel.

Prince Charles Edward, the Young Chevalier.

Expedition to Scotland.

The example of Lochiel was speedily followed by other chiefs, and the prince's forces soon amounted to some fifteen or sixteen hundred

men. Sir John Cope, who commanded the king's troops in Scotland, drew off his men towards Inverness. The prince and his followers proceeded to Blair Athol. The wily old Lord Lovat, the chief of the Frasers, still held back, in spite of the title "Duke of Fraser," by which the prince commanded his attendance. On the 11th of September, Charles Edward hastened forward to Dunblane and the Firth of Forth. His object was to get to Edinburgh before Sir John Cope. The prince and his Highlanders took possession of Edinburgh, Charles Edward establishing himself in Holyrood Palace. At this time his force amounted to 2,000 men.

The Prince's Followers. Simon, Lord Lovat.

Charles Edward in Edinburgh.

Cope, meanwhile, had reached Dunbar. Charles Edward collected supplies and weapons in Edinburgh, and marched forth to meet him. The two forces encountered each other at Prestonpans, not far from the capital. Cope had taken up a strong position, with a morass between him and the insurgents' army; but the clansmen discovered a way through the swamp in the night time, and on the morning of the 21st of September, encountered the army of Cope. The Highlanders advanced with fierce shouts against the cavalry, who fled, though Colonel Gardiner in vain tried to rally them; whereupon the infantry lost heart, surrendered at discretion, and called for quarter. Never was battle more promptly or more completely decided. The one brave stand of the day was made by Colonel Gardiner. He was slain, with many wounds, near his own park wall. Cope's military chest, containing £1,500, was among the booty made by the victorious army. Charles Edward returned in triumph with his Highlanders to Edinburgh. But the Lowlands remained quiet; there was no movement among the Jacobites in England; in general, the loyalty of the country was unshaken; and the government, recovering from its first consternation, was taking serious measures for putting down the rebellion.

Sir John Cope and his Army.

Battle of Prestonpans.

Doubtful Prospects of the Prince.

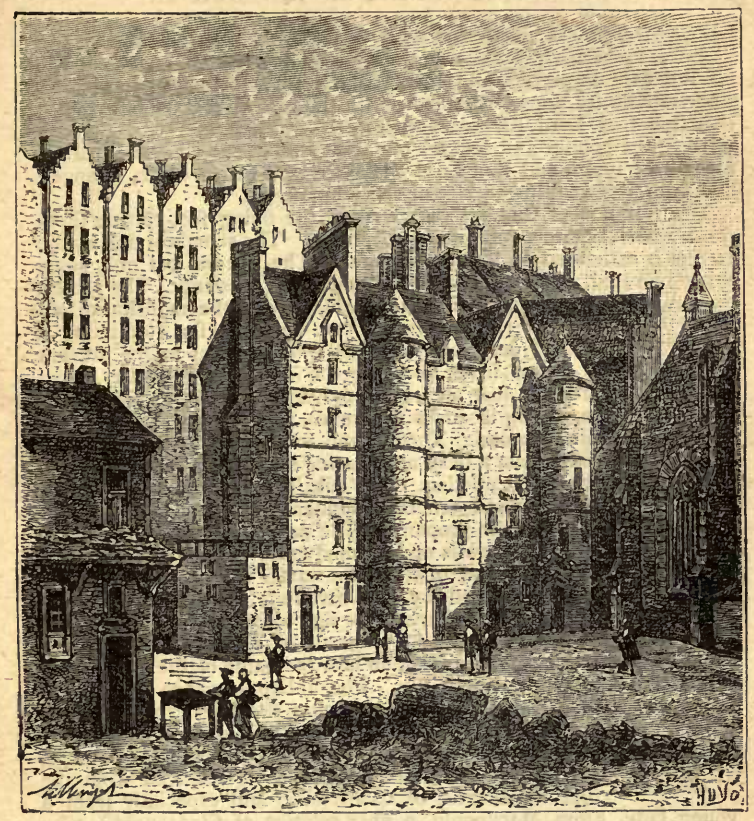
It was under such circumstances that the Chevalier marched southward into England at the head of some five thousand men. Carlisle surrendered, the garrison marching out and engaging not to serve against the prince for a year. The invaders marched to Preston, Wigan, and Manchester. Here some recruits were obtained for the invading army. Affairs were now assuming a very gloomy appearance. General Wade was marching on the rear of the invading army. The Duke of Cumberland, with eight thousand men, was encamped at Lichfield. Liverpool and Chester were taking active measures against the Highlanders; and near London itself a large army was encamped at Finchley. At last, on the 4th of December, 1745, at Derby, was held that famous council of chiefs, in which it was resolved to retreat northwards. On the 19th of the month, Charles Edward was back at Carlisle, whence he hastened to Glasgow. Thereupon he laid siege to Stirling Castle. At Falkirk, on the 17th January, 1746, Charles Edward obtained a last success against the troops of General Hawley.

Advance to Manchester.

Council at Derby, Dec. 4th.

Skirmish at Falkirk.

The advance of the Duke of Cumberland with his army compelled



THE TOLBOOTH PRISON, EDINBURGH.

the rebels to raise the siege of Stirling. On the 8th of April, the final encounter took place on Culloden [or Drummossie] Moor, near Inverness. At about midday the battle commenced with an artillery fire, in which the English artillery did great execution upon the Highland lines; while the battery of the Highland army could effect nothing. The Highlanders then endeavoured to carry the day by their accustomed practice of a bold and rapid advance, rushing to the charge, shouting their war-cries, and flinging away their muskets after once discharging them, trusting to the claymore to finish the business. But their opponents had become accustomed to this manœuvre. They were received with such a withering discharge of musketry by the second line, that four to five hundred fell at once. Several times they charged desperately, but

Defeat of the Clansmen.

lost heart at length, when they saw the enemy advancing, cavalry and infantry, upon their wofully diminished numbers. They began to go off the field in parties, and this was the preface to a general rout. Charles Edward himself had been with the rear or reserve line, and it is stated that Lord Elcho urged him to lead a desperate charge, to retrieve the honour and fortune of the day; that the Chevalier turned pale and refused, and that Lord Elcho rode off with a curse, in anger, and swore he would never see or serve him again.

The troopers of Cumberland pursued the flying foe, cutting them down without mercy, and giving no quarter. The slaughter during the retreat is estimated at about 2,500 men. The victors lost only some three hundred, including killed, wounded, and missing. The prince, after escaping from the field, rode to the mansion of old Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, who was for continuing a kind of desultory Highland warfare, that might prevent King George's troops from ravaging the clansmen's country; but Charles Edward had lost all heart, and soon afterwards became a solitary fugitive, hiding in rocks and caves, and waiting for an opportunity of escaping abroad. Then began that ruthless devastation of the Highlands that cast a deep and lasting slur on the memory of the victor of Culloden. The duke's soldiers ranged through the Highland country, plundering the unhappy inhabitants of their property. The army, as it moved onward, was often followed by crowds of famished men, women, and children, begging for the blood and offal of the cattle that had been taken from them and slaughtered by the invading host. The greatest cruelties were practised, neither sex nor age being spared. The Duke of Cumberland was rewarded by a grant of £25,000 a year for his achievements; but posterity fixed on him the name of the "Butcher," which clung to him permanently. The unhappy prince was meanwhile wandering, a hunted fugitive, among the Western Islands, a reward of £30,000 having been set on his head by the government. He would hardly have succeeded in making his escape, but for the generous assistance he received from the chief Macdonald of Clanronald, and especially from a young lady, Flora Macdonald, a near relative of Clanronald's, who devoted herself entirely to his service. The search for him among the islands was very sharp and persevering. At length, in September, intelligence was given that some French ships had put into a neighbouring harbour; on one of these Charles Edward secretly embarked, and made his way to Paris.

Utter Collapse of the Rebellion.

Vengeance of the Conquerors.

Escape of Charles Edward.

The number of prisoners put to death for their part in this rebellion was much greater than that of the victims of the outbreak of 1715. Nearly a hundred heads were set up on gateways and castles in the North, and in England above fifty executions took place. Charles Radcliffe, brother of the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater, had in 1716, escaped from prison, but now he was captured for the second time, and executed on the old sentence. Colonel Townley, of the Manchester regiment, was put to death, with eight of his officers and men, on Kennington Common. The most important prisoners were the Lords Cromartie, Balmerino,

Executions in England and Scotland.

and Kilmarnock. Cromartie obtained a pardon through the intercession of powerful friends. Kilmarnock and Balmerino were brought out for execution on Tower Hill. The former behaved with decent dignity, though he seemed somewhat discomposed and terrified. Balmerino, a stout old soldier, came cheerfully to his death as to a banquet. In the spring of 1747, the aged but by no means venerable Simon, Lord Lovat, was brought to trial. He made up the measure of his crimes and iniquities by the endeavour to extricate himself by sacrificing his eldest son. "Farewell, my lords; we shall never meet again in the same place!" was his sarcastic adieu to his judges, when sentence of death had been passed upon him. He was executed on Tower Hill, on the 9th of April, 1747,—the last man who fell under the headsman's axe in England.

Kilmarnock and Balmerino.

Trial and Execution of Lord Lovat.

The utter failure of the outbreak of 1745 showed that Jacobitism was a sentiment only, and not a moving principle, in those who professed it. James Francis, the "Old Chevalier," died in 1765, aged seventy-seven years. Charles Edward degenerated greatly in the later years of his life, and gave way to intemperance to such an extent, that a writer of the time declared "no street-porter was equal to him." He died at Rome on January 30th, 1788. His only brother, Henry Benedict, Cardinal of York, lived at Rome, lost his fortune, and was at last glad to accept a pension from George III. He died at Rome in 1809. In the Highlands, the patriarchal and despotic power of the chiefs ceased altogether. The making of military roads brought the whole country within the scope and authority of ordinary law; and the bravery and fidelity of the Highland soldiers were soon as conspicuously displayed in the service of the Hanoverian dynasty as it had been shown against them.

The Last of the Stuarts.

In 1747 several successes were gained by the British arms at sea. Admirals Anson and Warren defeated the French admiral De la Jonquière; and Admiral Hawke captured six ships of Admiral de l'Etendeur. On the other hand, the Duke of Cumberland, the king's favourite son, was utterly unfitted to cope with the genius and resources of Marshal Saxe. The peace was built up on a foundation of general restitution of conquests, and a reconstruction of the position as it had been before the war. The only gainer was Frederick of Prussia, who kept Silesia, to the secret anger and vexation of the Empress-queen Maria Theresa. One stipulation made by England was that Louis XV. should no longer give the support of his influence to Charles Edward. That unhappy prince was hurried away to the strong fortress of Vincennes. Afterwards he was conveyed to the frontier of Savoy, and then set free, with a prohibition to enter France.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was little better than a truce; and in North America and India, even the outward appearance of friendship was not maintained. In 1751, the Prince Frederick of Wales, between whom and the king there had been estrangement for years, died somewhat suddenly; and his young son George, a boy of twelve years, became heir-apparent to

Death of Prince Frederick.

the throne. In 1754, Henry Pelham died. The deceased statesman's power and office descended to his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, who disregarded the claims of Henry Fox and William Pitt, the most talented men in the House of Commons, and endeavoured to rule the country with the help of mediocre men. He was reluctantly compelled to admit first Fox, and afterwards Pitt, to a substantial share of power in the cabinet. In America, as in India, the French were the rivals of the English in colonization, and tried to hem them in by building a series of forts from the great lakes to the mouth of the Mississippi, thus connecting their own province of Canada with Louisiana. Hostilities accordingly commenced. The French enlisted some tribes of the Indians of North America on their side of the struggle, while others of the Red Men fought for the English. General Braddock, who was sent out in command of the English forces, on the 9th of July, suddenly fell into an ambuscade prepared for him in the forests by the Indians. His men were unable to deploy, and were compelled to turn and fly, Braddock himself receiving a wound, of which he died a few days after. In the next year, Fort Oswego, on the Ontario Lake, fell into the hands of the French.

Newcastle, Pitt, and Fox.

Braddock's Defeat.

In 1755 the war with France had fairly commenced. Boscawen was sent towards the Gulf of St. Lawrence with a fleet intended to intercept a French naval force despatched to strengthen the French-Canadians. Though the French fleet passed him in a fog, two ships of the line were captured. Howe, Hawke, and Byng were presently sent out to encounter the French fleet on its return from Canada; but they failed to fall in with the enemy. The next year was memorable for the breaking out of the great Seven Years' War. Maria Theresa was determined to recover Silesia, by bringing against Frederick the Great a coalition that should reduce Prussia to the dimensions of the Marquisate of Brandenburg. Russia, Sweden, Saxony, the Germanic body, and France, were to join the empress-queen in accomplishing the dismemberment of the Prussian monarchy. Frederick had, however, received accurate intelligence of the blow intended to destroy him, and he had negotiated an alliance with England destined to be productive of very important results to both nations. His enemies had purposed falling upon him suddenly and taking him by surprise. He anticipated this by suddenly demanding from the Austrian court a plain and intelligible answer as to its intentions. This was refused, and he thereupon suddenly, in August, 1756, invaded Saxony and took Dresden. But, before this, very grave events had happened with regard to England. The French had prepared a large armament against Minorca. Admiral Byng was somewhat tardily despatched to its defence. The fleet despatched from France, under La Gallisoniere, was far stronger than Byng's armament. The English admiral, on his arrival at Minorca, found the gallant General Blakeney still defending Fort St. Philip, which was hotly besieged by the enemy. On May 19th, the French fleet hove in sight; but Byng maintained his position. The next day the French fleet reappeared. West, the second in command, bore down upon the French gallantly,

Boscawen, Hawke, and Byng.

Tactics of Frederick the Great.

and obtained an advantage over them; but Byng was pedantically bent upon maintaining his line of battle unbroken, and thus failed to support his gallant subordinate. La Gallisoniere was enabled to slip away to Toulon, and boast of the "victory" he had gained over the English fleet.

Byng and La Gallisoniere.

Byng's best course would now have been to support Blakeney with all his strength; but he decided to return to Gibraltar to refit. The news of the disastrous failure to relieve Minorca was received in England through a boastful letter of La Gallisoniere. The public indignation was great, and the ministry at once sent Admirals Saunders and Hawke to supersede Byng, who wrote a despatch to the admiralty, in which he attributed the failure to the inadequate equipment of his fleet. Orders were despatched to Hawke to send him home under arrest. Byng was closely confined in an apartment in Greenwich Hospital. Newcastle was anxious to shift the danger from his own shoulders. He looked eagerly about for allies, but could find none. Fox resigned his office, and Murray, the attorney-general, followed his example. At length Newcastle resigned his position. Pitt now came into power. He was personally obnoxious to the king; but he was wonderfully popular with the nation, and the public feeling was too strong to be trifled with. He became secretary of state, the Duke of Devonshire taking the treasury. First lord of the admiralty, and places were also found for Lord Temple and James and George Grenville. Thus, in November, 1756, the new ministry was formed. Byng was brought to trial, and condemned to death on the article of war which denounces that punishment on all officers who fail to do their utmost to injure the enemy. Great efforts were made to induce the king to exert his prerogative of mercy, Pitt urging that the House of Commons inclined towards a lenient course.

Loss of Minorca.

Terror of the Ministry.

Pitt's Plea for Mercy.

The unfortunate admiral requested and obtained the favour of being shot on the quarter-deck of his own ship, the *Monarch*, and met his fate with unflinching courage.

If he disliked Pitt, George II. absolutely abhorred Temple, whom he accused of gross insolence. Consequently, when the popular excitement had subsided, Pitt and Temple were dismissed, and efforts were made to form a new ministry, strengthened by the eloquence and energy of Henry Fox. But while Pitt was the idol of the people out of doors, Fox was intensely unpopular. It was found that the Duke of Newcastle would be unable to stand without Pitt; while Pitt, on the other hand, had failed for want of the kind of influence the duke possessed. Accordingly Pitt coalesced with Newcastle. He accepted the office of secretary of war with the leadership of the House of Commons. Newcastle became once more first lord of the treasury, and Fox was made paymaster of the forces. Lord Granville became president of the council, while the privy seal was given to Lord Temple.

Change of Ministry.

Pitt's Return to Power.

Pitt turned his chief attention to the great contest that was going on between Prussia and Austria, and in which England was involved

as the ally of Prussia. The memorable year 1757 was at first unfavourable. An expedition against Rochefort was repulsed; and the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of 40,000 German troops, gave battle to the French under Marshal d'Estrées, at Hastenbeck, and, being beaten by them, signed the capitulation of Kloster-Seven, his army being put under obligation not to serve again during the war. The king refused to ratify the agreement, alleging that his son had exceeded his commission. At the same time the Marquis de Montcalm, who governed Canada, took Fort William-Henry on Lake George.

Duke of Cumberland's Defeat.

But by the end of the year a vast change had taken place. Frederick the Great, after gaining a battle, had been beaten on the 18th of June, by Marshal Daun, at Kollin. His enemies, Austrians, Swedes, and French, attempted to hem him in. He turned his arms against the French, and on the 5th of November gained the celebrated battle of Rossbach. Thereupon, with wonderful promptitude, he marched eastward, and on the 5th of December, Frederick defeated a great army at Leuthen, near Breslau. The name of the conqueror of Rossbach and Leuthen was in every mouth. Pitt arranged for a subsidy of almost a million annually for the Prussian king, and a large force of English troops now took part in the war, under Ferdinand of Brunswick. In 1758, and until the end of the reign, occurred a series of triumphs for the British arms. The French settlements at Goree and Senegal in Africa, Cape Breton on the American coast, and St. John's were taken, though the opponents of Pitt in parliament secretly murmured at the expense of his triumphs. In 1759, however, such triumphs were gained, that the voice of dissent and remonstrance were drowned in jubilation. Pitt had formed a bold scheme to be executed in America—nothing less than the reduction of Canada; and to General James Wolfe the execution of the plan was entrusted, through the influence of Pitt and Temple. The plan involved the co-operation of three commanders—Wolfe, Amherst, and Prideaux. The first was to advance and capture Quebec; the second to occupy Crown Point, and take Ticonderago, and then descend the St. Lawrence, to join Wolfe in front of the capital city; and the third to operate by way of Niagara, Lake Ontario, and Montreal, and then to join Amherst and Wolfe at Quebec. Montcalm, a brave French officer, was in command at Quebec.

Rossbach and Leuthen.

Falling of Goree and Cape Breton.

Scheme for the Conquest of Canada.

From the beginning of July until the middle of September, Wolfe tried in vain to bring his antagonist to a general engagement. He determined to scale the plateau on which Quebec was built, at a place called the Heights of Abraham, in the rear of the city. On the night of the 12th of September the troops were silently landed at a point that had been fixed upon, and climbed up the heights till they gained the level ground at the top. The French general could hardly believe his eyes when the dawn of the 13th of September showed him the English army at the top of the apparently inaccessible cliffs. He was obliged to issue forth from his intrenchments. For half an hour the fight was main-

Ascent of the Heights of Abraham.

tained with great spirit on both sides. Wolfe was with the front ranks, encouraging his men, when a musket bullet struck him in the wrist. He wrapped his handkerchief round the wound, and maintained his post. Soon afterwards a second bullet struck him in the body, but still he continued to cheer on his brave soldiers, until he received a third ball full in the breast, and fell to the ground. A wounded man near him exclaimed, "They run!" "Who run?" he eagerly inquired. "The French!" was the reply. "Then," said the hero, "I die content;" and shortly afterwards he expired. Never did soldier meet a more glorious death. Quebec surrendered a few days afterwards, on the 18th of the month. The brave Montcalm had been mortally wounded. By the following year the whole of Canada was in the hands of the English.

Victory and Death of Wolfe, at Quebec.

On the 18th of August, 1759, the brave Admiral Boscawen encountered the French fleet, under Admiral de la Clue, off Cape Lagos, on the Portuguese coast, and gained a signal victory. A still more noble triumph was gained by Admiral Hawke, who for a long time blockaded the port of Brest. Early in November he was obliged to run to Torbay to refit. Monsieur de Conflans came out of Brest with his fleet. Hawke immediately went in pursuit of him, and found the French fleet in Quibéron Bay, on the 20th of November. The situation was one of great peril. The wind was blowing dead on shore, and the coast was covered with rocks and sandbanks. But Hawke attacked, in the face of all difficulties, destroying eight of the enemy's ships, and forcing the rest to fly.

Triumphs at Sea.

Hawke's Bravery.

On the continent of Europe also, the glorious year 1759 brought good fortune and victory to the British armies. Already, in June of the previous year, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had driven a French army out of Germany. An English army of about 12,000 men was despatched to help the Prince. On the 31st of July, 1759, Prince Ferdinand, at Minden, in Hanover, was attacked by the French, whom he put to the rout after a sharp contest. But the share of the English in this achievement was lessened by the misconduct of Lord George Sackville, who disregarded the repeated commands of Ferdinand of Brunswick to charge with his cavalry. The English infantry acted gloriously in the battle, for a time sustaining the whole weight of the French attack. Frederick the Great himself was singularly unfortunate in the campaign of 1759. But in 1760, Frederick inflicted a great defeat on his enemies at Liegnitz, and Prince Ferdinand, with 20,000 British troops, gained a great victory over the French at Warburg.

Victories of Ferdinand of Brunswick.

Battle of Minden.

Battle of Warburg.

In India also, the close of the reign of George II. was marked by a splendid series of triumphs. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the position of the English in India was merely that of traders, possessing some factories; for, besides an English, there was a French, a Dutch, and a Portuguese East India Company. Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, endeavoured to establish a French domination in India by taking the

The English in India.

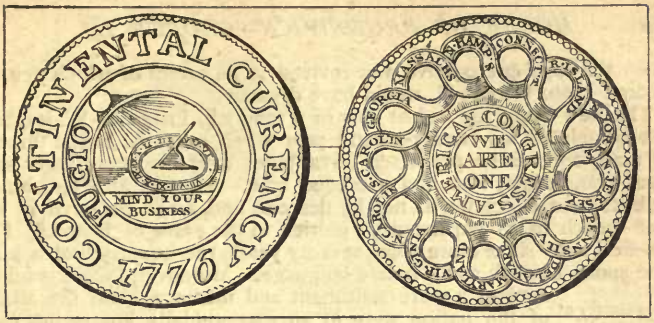
part of Mirzapha Khan, an aspirant to the throne of the Deccan; he was foiled by the genius of young Robert Clive, who, originally sent out to India as a writer in the Company's service, commenced a series of marvellous exploits by the heroic defence of Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. After assuring the supremacy of the English on the coast of Coromandel, Clive returned to England, from whence he was afterwards sent out, with the military rank of Colonel, as governor of Fort St. David, a castle subordinate to Fort St. George, at Madras. Surajah Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar, a cruel and worthless youth, had thought fit, on the flimsiest pretext, to march against Calcutta from Moorshedabad, his capital. The place fell into his hands, together with 146 English prisoners. The prisoners were confined, during one of the hottest nights of an Indian summer, in the Black Hole, the prison room of the garrison; 123 of the captives perished by suffocation before the morning. Clive was at once despatched from Madras, with an army and a fleet, to avenge this atrocity. He quickly took Hoogly, and by February, 1757, compelled Surajah Dowlah to sign articles promising restitution. But as the worthless Nabob would keep no stipulations, an agreement was secretly entered into with Meer Jaffier, the commander of Surajah Dowlah's army, for the dethronement of that cruel prince, and the raising of Meer Jaffier in his stead to the throne of Bengal. With three thousand men Clive encountered the huge army of the Nabob on the plains of Plassey, not far from Moorshedabad, and gained the splendid victory that opened to the English the sovereignty of India. Meer Jaffier was placed on the throne. Clive returned to England to be rewarded with distinguished honours, being raised to the Irish peerage under the title of Baron Clive of Plassey. England was in a condition of triumph and prosperity such as she had not enjoyed since the days of the Commonwealth. In all parts of the world the affairs of the nation prospered, and the British flag was feared and respected—even the strife of religious parties at home seemed for the time quelled, and Ireland was quiet; when suddenly the reign of George II. came to an end. On the 25th of October, 1760, the king died from rupture of the heart. Like his father, he laboured under the disadvantage of being looked upon as a foreigner. His personal courage was undoubted, and he had a high appreciation of that quality in others; he also possessed some military talent, and took a keen interest in warfare. Among his vices, avarice was the most prominent. Though subject, like most of his family, to violent outbursts of anger, he was in general amenable to the dictates of right and justice. For art and literature he had no love whatever. In matters of government he was much influenced by his wife, Caroline of Anspach, whom he always consulted, and to whom he delegated considerable power in state affairs. It is to the king's credit that he kept strictly within his rights in matters of government, and made no attempt to encroach on the constitutional privileges of his people.

Robert Clive in Bengal.

Battle of Plassey.

Death of George II.

His Character.



CHAPTER XXXVI.

The House of Brunswick.—George III.

First Period—1760–1783.

From the Accession of George III. to the Treaty of Paris.

Popularity of George III. at his Accession. Influence of the Princess Dowager of Wales on his Character. John, Earl of Bute, a Favourite. Breaking up of the Ministry. The Family Compact among the Bourbons. Resignation of William Pitt. Vindication of his Policy. His Great Popularity. Peace with France and Spain. Resignation of Bute. The Grenville Administration. Character of George Grenville. Prosecution of John Wilkes. General Warrants. Wilkes Prosecuted for Libel. The "Wilkes and Liberty" Agitation. The American Colonies. Scheme of Taxation. The Stamp Duty. Grenville's Resignation. The Rockingham Ministry. Pitt's Second Administration. The Opposition. Letters of Junius. The Tea Duty. Resistance. Boston Tea Riot. Benjamin Franklin. Lord North. Skirmish at Lexington. War with America. Bunker's Hill. General Washington. Capture and Loss of Philadelphia. Declaration of Independence. Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga. Interference of the French. Lord Howe. Lafayette. Chatham's Protest. His Death. Elliot's Defence of Gibraltar. English Victories at Sea. Lord Rodney. Treason of Arnold. Execution of Major André. American Victory at the Cowpens. Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Loss of the Royal George. Resignation of Lord North. Coalition Ministry. Lord Shelburne. Treaty of Paris. Peace with the United States. New Coalition Ministry, Portland and Fox. William Pitt's Long Administration. Royal Marriage Act. Gordon Riots.

WITH the accession of George III., the position of the monarch in England was entirely changed. We now enter upon a period

when the royal prerogative was revived to an extent of which neither George I. nor George II. would have dreamt.

The new king, the eldest son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, had just completed his twenty-second year when he came to the throne. In many aspects he possessed advantages over his grandfather and great-grandfather, who had preceded him. He was an Englishman by birth and education if not by descent, and, as he declared in his first speech to his parliament, "gloried in the name of Briton." For the first time since more than seventy years, the country had a king who spoke English as his native language. Moreover, Jacobitism had become a mere sentiment and memory; and the affairs of the nation were in an exceptionally flourishing condition. The expectations formed of the young monarch, also, were full of hope. But, indeed, the public and the court knew little of him, for he had been brought up in strict seclusion by his mother, the Dowager Princess of Wales.

Popularity of George III.

John, Earl of Bute, who had been groom of the stole to Prince Frederick of Wales, continued, after that prince's death, to exert such power in the household of the princess dowager that some scandal was created in the public mind. At first the king, in his address to the parliament, declared his intention of prosecuting the war; and some fresh successes were gained. But the king had conceived the design of removing the ministry from power, and replacing it by another under the favourite. Bute was introduced into the privy council without the concurrence of Pitt and Newcastle; and a gradual dismissal of the ministers began, Lord Holdernesse being bribed to resign in favour of Bute, and Legge, the chancellor of the exchequer, being replaced by Sir Francis Dashwood. Pitt little suspected that their fall was merely a preliminary to his own.

Influence of John, Earl of Bute.

Breaking up of the Ministry.

Under the wretched government of Louis XV., France had met with great calamities. The course of the war had of late years been uniformly against her, in Germany, in America, and in the East and West Indies. But Pitt declared that while he was in power, England should never make a Treaty of Utrecht, or desert King Frederick of Prussia as she had, in former times, deserted Charles of Austria. The three branches of the Bourbon house thereupon entered into the "family compact." Louis XV. of France, Charles III., King of Spain, and his son Ferdinand, King of Naples, bound themselves to act in concert for the mutual defence of their dominions against all enemies. Pitt urged that war should be declared against Spain without loss of time; which would enable this country to intercept and capture the treasure galleons from America, and the rich fleet from the West Indies. His advice was disregarded, and his measures were opposed, whereupon Pitt tendered his resignation, which was accepted. George III. behaved with great affability and courtesy to the "great commoner." A peerage with the title Baroness Chatham was conferred upon his wife, and a pension of £3,000 settled upon himself, for his own life and that of his wife and eldest son.

The Family Compact.

Resignation of Pitt.

Soon the prognostications of Pitt were fulfilled. It was necessary

STATUE OF PITT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

to declare the war which he had pronounced inevitable. This was done on the 4th of January, 1762. The operations undertaken in consequence were brilliantly successful. An English expedition captured Havannah, and took other possessions of the Spaniards in the West Indies. Three millions sterling of treasure and a large number of ships became the prize of the victors. Admiral Cornish and Sir William Draper were equally successful in the Eastern seas, Manilla, and some other important places being taken, with an immense booty. The treasure ships from Acapulco and Peru also fell into the hands of the British. The Duke of Newcastle at last retired, and Bute became first lord of the treasury. The unpopularity of the new premier was excessive. He could not appear in public without being insulted; Pitt, on the contrary, was everywhere welcomed with enthusiasm.

Vindication of his Policy.

The young king had in the previous year married the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh. On one public occasion the populace reserved all their shouts of welcome and applause for Pitt, and were with difficulty prevented from taking the horses from his chariot, and dragging him through the streets, while Bute was at the same time hooted and hissed. Bute was desirous of peace, and on February 10th, 1763, the Treaty of Paris put an end to the participation of England in the seven years' war. England retained Canada, Cape Breton, and other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with Louisiana, and several West Indian islands—

The Popularity of Pitt.

Tobago, Grenada, Dominica, and St. Vincent's. Minorca was to be restored to her, she ceding Belleisle, and Spain gave up Florida and Porto Rico, receiving back Havannah and the Philippines. Great surprise was exhibited when it was suddenly announced, in September, 1763, that Bute had resigned; probably the prime minister was alarmed at the storm of opprobrium to which he found himself exposed. He was succeeded by the memorable administration at the head of which was George Grenville. Henry Fox was raised to the peerage, with the title of Baron Holland.

Peace with France and Spain.

Resignation of Bute.

Grenville succeeded to power under peculiar difficulties. One of these difficulties arose from the sarcastic opposition of Pitt. The two men were naturally antagonistic to each other. Pitt was daring and enthusiastic; Grenville was slow and cautious. It has been rightly said of the two that in war Pitt could see nothing but the triumphs, while Grenville saw nothing but the bill. The ministry also presently involved itself in a difficulty. There sat in the House of Commons a certain John Wilkes, a man of undoubted talent, but notoriously profligate. He was the proprietor of a somewhat clever and exceedingly scurrilous periodical, the "North Briton." Bute had taken no notice of Wilkes and his periodical, but Wilkes, in the celebrated forty-fifth number, accused Grenville of having put a falsehood into the king's speech. Thereupon Grenville caused a general warrant to be issued for the apprehension of the authors, printers, and publishers of the "North Briton." Wilkes was arrested and conveyed to the Tower, but was discharged, his privilege as a member of parliament exempting him from arrest except for treason-felony or breach of the peace. But the government had made a great mistake by its manifestly illegal procedure in the arrest of Wilkes on a general warrant. Wilkes instituted proceedings, and obtained damages to the amount of £1,000. The question whether persons could be arrested on a general warrant was said to be important to the very existence of the liberty of the subject. "Wilkes and liberty" became the watchword of the crowd. Chief Justice Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, declared from the bench that general warrants were illegal; and his opinion was endorsed by a decision of Lord Mansfield, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

George Grenville's Character.

Prosecution of John Wilkes.

General Warrants.

But the government, angry at its defeat, had determined to ruin Wilkes in another way. His profligate wit had displayed itself in a poem entitled an "Essay on Woman," a parody on Pope's "Essay on Man." The poem had never been published, being printed at a private press in Wilkes's house, and intended for the amusement of the author and his friends; but the government managed to obtain some sheets from the printer, and brought the matter before the House of Commons. The forty-fifth number of the "North Briton" was declared to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and was condemned to be burned by the hangman; and the House of Lords decided that the king should be petitioned to order a prosecution for blasphemy and breach of privilege against Wilkes for writing and publishing the "Essay on Woman."

Prosecution of Wilkes for Libel.

Though expelled the House of Commons and outlawed, Wilkes, after retiring to France for a time, returned and stood for the city of London and afterwards for Westminster, for which latter constituency he was several times elected. His partisans caused riots in the city and in the vicinity of London; and in opposing a meeting in St. George's-in-the-Fields, the action of the Surrey magistrates led to the death of several persons. The large fine to which he had been sentenced was paid by public subscription. The matter ended in a compromise, and in 1774 Wilkes again took his seat in the House. He was subsequently elected an alderman of London, became lord mayor in due course, and at length chamberlain to the city of London.

The "Liberty" Scare.

Far more important in its consequences than the proceedings against Wilkes was the action of the Grenville administration towards the colonies in North America. The settlements in that continent had been gradually increasing in population and prosperity. Besides Virginia, there had gradually arisen the settlements of Maryland, the Puritan colonies of New England, North and South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Georgia. Their population had increased until it numbered about three millions, half a million being negro slaves employed in the plantations. It was during the Grenville administration in 1754 that the proposition was brought forward to make the colonies contribute to the expenses of the British empire by the imposition of a stamp duty. The colonies objected that as they were not represented in the English parliament, such taxation without representation was contrary to the spirit of the English constitution. They alleged, moreover, that the various states had already borne their full share, both in men and money, during the late war. Still, they were willing to contribute; but to the principle—"no taxation without representation"—they absolutely adhered. On March 22nd, 1765, the Stamp Act was passed. All classes in the colonies united in reprobation of it. Resolutions were passed, not only to refuse to use stamps, but to refrain from buying goods imported from Britain.

The American Colonies.

The Stamp Duty.

The Stamp Act made the Grenville administration so unpopular, that a resignation took place soon afterwards, and the Marquis of Rockingham, a patriotic and enlightened nobleman, undertook to form a government. William Pitt, in opposition, had strongly denounced the Stamp Act. The Rockingham administration accordingly repealed the Act, to the great dissatisfaction of the king, who suddenly dismissed Lord Rockingham, and a negotiation was entered into with Pitt to form a government. The "great commoner" had for some time suffered so cruelly from gout, that he could not be expected to take the onerous duties of first lord of the treasury. That office was taken by the Duke of Grafton. Pitt became lord privy seal, and was at the same time removed to the Upper House, with the title of Earl of Chatham. A strange malady fell upon him at this time. He shut himself up in his country house in complete solitude, and refused to meet his colleagues in office. The chief weight of public business thus fell upon Charles Townshend, the

The Rockingham Ministry.

Pitt's Second Administration.

chancellor of the exchequer, and, in 1767, taxes were imposed on various articles in America, such as tea, glass, painters' colours, and paper. Again violent opposition was excited, and the government partly gave way, for in 1770 the taxes were repealed, with the important exception of the duty on tea. By this time great changes had taken place by the resignation of Lord Chatham and the death of Charles Townshend. Edmund Burke entered parliament, and vehemently denounced the coercive measures employed by the government to enforce obedience from the colonies, where the feeling grew more and more bitter year by year. The Duke of Grafton, as prime minister, found his position more and more irksome. Chatham, who suddenly reappeared in the House of Peers, took part with the Opposition against the government. At this time also, in 1769, began that remarkable series of letters in the "Daily Advertiser," published by Woodfall, whose authorship has, even to the present day, remained an unsolved problem. A writer, signing himself Junius, inveighed with great freedom and bitterness against the government, not even sparing the king. The letters ceased suddenly, with a farewell letter to Woodfall, in 1772. The ingenuity of politicians and literary writers has been taxed at various times in the endeavour to identify Junius. Burke, Chatham, Temple, Colonel Barré, General Conway, Lord George Germaine, and Sir Philip Francis, have been conjectured by various commentators to have been the mysterious writer.

Opposition.—The Junius Letters.

In 1770, the Duke of Grafton resigned, and Lord North became prime minister. Among the members of the North ministry was Charles James Fox, the second son of Henry Fox, Lord Holland. But shortly he was dismissed for a difference of opinion with Lord North, and joined the Opposition, whose chief support he became. The disagreement with America assumed more formidable proportions. In 1772, when two tea-laden vessels arrived at Boston, they were boarded by a number of men disguised as Red Indians, who seized the cargoes of tea, and flung them overboard. The English government removed the custom-house to the town of Salem, to punish Boston by the loss of its commerce. Many citizens entered into a covenant to resist the encroachments of the English legislature. Benjamin Franklin, who had been postmaster in Virginia, was at that time in London as a delegate from his native state, and did his best to bring about a good understanding; but he found himself so grossly insulted by the king's friends, that he betook himself to France, where he was able to plead the cause of his country in a manner that produced active sympathy and co-operation. The American cause had also able and zealous advocates in Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox, and Lord Chatham.

Resistance against the Tea Tax.

Efforts of Benjamin Franklin.

In the new parliament, which met in the spring of 1775, Lord North found the majority of members in favour of warlike measures to force the colonies to obedience. Burke made a final effort to avert hostilities by proposing thirteen articles for acceptance by the colonies. But already the troops of the two nations had come into actual conflict at Lexington, the English losing sixty-five men killed and one

hundred and eighty wounded, while the Americans had only fifty killed and thirty-eight wounded. Boston was blockaded by a large force of the American militia, who had assembled to the number of 20,000 at Cambridge. General Gage marched against them, and a gallant action was fought, on the 17th of June, at Bunker's Hill, where the British suffered such loss from the well-directed and carefully-reserved fire of the American levies as convinced them of the difficulty of the task they had before them. Meanwhile, the congress at Philadelphia put the country as far as possible in a state of defence. They also appointed, as the commander-in-chief of their army, George Washington, who stands forth as one of the ablest and most persevering generals, and the most patriotic and unselfish of citizens. Throughout danger, toil, and discouragement he fought on, doing his duty and persisting in his work through the darkest periods of loss and misfortune.

Lexington.

Battle of Bunker's Hill.

General Washington.

An invasion of Canada was a part of the plan of the Americans, who succeeded in taking the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point and the city of Montreal. Quebec also was besieged in December of the year, but an assault attempted on the 31st of the month failed, General Montgomery being killed in the attempt, and General Arnold wounded. The American army was shortly afterwards compelled to evacuate the province. Washington, meanwhile, had blockaded Boston, and, fortunately for him, General Howe, who commanded the English force in that city, remained on the defensive until the American general received large reinforcements, and erected batteries which commanded the harbour. In March, 1776, accordingly, Howe agreed to evacuate the place. The English appeared, in June, before New York. They were reinforced by troops hired from Hesse Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt. Howe attacked and took Long Island, and in September, 1776, captured New York itself, of which the English kept permanent possession. The reduction of the province of New Jersey followed, Washington being compelled to retire across the Delaware. But at the end of the year he recrossed the river and resumed the offensive, succeeding after a time in regaining a great part of the province.

Capture and Loss of Philadelphia.

On the 4th of July, 1776, the congress passed the famous Declaration of Independence, by which the allegiance to the British crown was finally renounced, and the United States of America stood forth, like the Dutch Republic in the sixteenth century, to battle for freedom. In 1777, the English landed at Chesapeake Bay, and on the 11th of September the Americans were defeated on the Brandywine River, which enabled the English to take the city of Philadelphia. But General Burgoyne found himself in a trap at Saratoga, being surrounded by General Gates with an army far larger than his own. He was under the necessity of capitulating. General Gates behaved with great consideration and humanity to those whom the fortune of war had placed in his hands.

Declaration of Independence.

Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga.

The capitulation of Burgoyne induced France openly and officially to acknowledge the independence of the States. A loan was also

granted, and preparations were made to give them active aid by sea. War between France and England was seen to be imminent. Washington's army suffered greatly in their winter quarters at Valley Forge: they endured all their hardships with heroic fortitude. Sir Henry Clinton resolved to evacuate Philadelphia and concentrate the forces, as France would probably soon have to be dealt with as an enemy. Accordingly, he marched for New York. Washington was not in a condition to offer him battle. At Newport, Rhode Island, a French fleet under the command of Count D'Estaing was encountered by Admiral Lord Howe, who so battered the ships of his opponent that they were obliged to retire to New York to refit Lord North was by this time in great difficulties. The alliance between France and America, the permission given by King Louis XVI. to the young Marquis de la Fayette, to Rochambeau and other French nobles, to serve under Washington, and the vehement denunciation of his own policy in parliament by the Opposition, made him so anxious for peace, that he actually carried two bills in parliament, renouncing the right of taxing America. The veteran Lord Chatham denounced the war, the method of conducting it, and the whole policy of the ministers. "You cannot, my lords," said the veteran orator, "you cannot conquer America." On the 7th of April, the Duke of Richmond moved an address to the throne, strongly opposing the continuance of hostilities with America, and recommending peace, even at the price of acknowledging American independence; therein expressing the opinion of the Rockingham party. Chatham, who looked upon such a dismemberment of the empire as a national disgrace, resolved to go down to the House and speak in opposition to the proposal. He was supported to his seat, and presently rising, delivered a speech in which a flash of his old genius and eloquence now and then appeared. The Duke of Richmond replied with great gentleness and good temper; Chatham rose again, as if to speak, pressed his hand on his heart, and fell forward in an apoplectic fit. He was caught in his fall, and conveyed from the House. After lingering a few weeks, he died at his house at Hayes, in Kent. The nation showed its appreciation of the great man it had lost by voting him a public funeral and a monument in Westminster Abbey, and annexing to the earldom of Chatham a perpetual pension of £4,000.

Chatham's Protest against the War.

Death of Chatham.

Spain was presently added to the enemies of England. In the West Indies the French took St. Vincent and Grenada. Washington chiefly devoted himself to guarding the line of the Hudson. General Arnold was put in command at West Point. In Georgia, D'Estaing besieged General Prevost at Savannah, with the assistance of General Lincoln and an American force. The defence of Savannah was one of the most valiant exploits of the war, and the British lines were held successfully against more than one assault. In the end D'Estaing returned to France, the siege of Savannah being raised. Far more important was the attempt made in the same year to take Gibraltar from the English. The fortress was besieged by the combined French and Spanish fleets, and was nobly defended by the

garrison under Sir Gilbert Elliot, who was subsequently raised to the peerage, with the title of Baron Heathfield, for the successful defence of Gibraltar. In other parts England was less successful. Two ships of war were captured by the squadron under the command of the celebrated Paul Jones, a Scotchman by birth, who carried on a privateering contest on behalf of the Americans. Minorca was attacked with a great force by the French and Spaniards, and a new difficulty arose with regard to the rights of neutrals. Catherine II., Empress of Russia, induced the northern powers of Europe to enter into the compact known as the Armed

Elliot's Defence of Gibraltar.

SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE AT SARATOGA.

Neutrality. Holland also allied herself with America, which led to a declaration of war from England, in December, 1780.

The honour of England was restored, and her success at sea secured by Admiral Sir George Rodney. The Spanish admiral, De Langara, endeavoured to intercept him. After pouring succours into Gibraltar and Minorca, Rodney made the best of his way to the West Indies, where he fought an action off St. Lucie with the Count de Guichen. Admiral Parker fought the Dutch, who were commanded by Admiral Zoutman, off the Doggerbank, on the 5th of August, 1781, and shattered their fleet.

English Victories at Sea.

Among the successes of the English by land in 1780, the most im-

portant was the taking of Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, by Sir Henry Clinton, which was soon followed by the reduction of the whole province. Lord Cornwallis, on the 17th of August, encountered General Gates at Camden, and completely defeated him. It was at this time that the unfortunate episode of Major André occurred. For some time the American general Arnold had meditated treason. He entered into correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton for the surrender to the English of the fortress of West Point.

General Arnold and Major André.

An agent being required between the negotiators, Major John André, a young English officer, volunteered to act in the matter, and was accordingly landed in the night from a British sloop of war for a conference with Arnold. After concluding the interview, he was prevented from returning on board the sloop, and endeavoured to make his way to New York by land. He was stopped, however, and being brought before a court-martial, was condemned to be hanged on a gallows as a spy. André's fate aroused compassion even among his enemies. In England, a tablet in Westminster Abbey records his merits as an officer and his unfortunate death. In 1781, events took place which were decisive as to the issue of the contest.

American Victory at the Cowpens.

On January 17th, 1781, the Americans gained a decided victory at the Cowpens, where, on the 15th of March, Lord Cornwallis was defeated at Guildford court-house by the American general Greene, who was in his turn beaten by Lord Rawdon, at Hobkirk's Hill, on the 25th of April. The British were obliged to fall back upon Charleston.

The decisive event of the war now approached. Lord Cornwallis took up his position at Yorktown. He was obliged to yield, after carrying on the defence to the last moment; and on the 19th of October, 1781, the capitulation at Yorktown virtually decided the long and arduous contest in favour of the Americans.

Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown.

Lord North's administration was thoroughly discredited. Men of the most different political opinions united for the moment in forming an Opposition. William Pitt, the son of the great Chatham, General Conway, Charles James Fox, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, all joined in attacking the ministry. Lord North at length resigned in March, 1782. A ministry was brought together, consisting of five of the Rockingham party and an equal number of the "Shelburnites"—Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox being secretaries of state; Edmund Burke, paymaster of the forces; Lord Thurlow, chancellor; General Conway, commander-in-chief; Sheridan, under-secretary of state; and Lord Rockingham, prime minister. Mr. Pitt, Chatham's son, refused to take office. The administration was speedily broken up by the death of the premier, Lord Rockingham, in the summer of 1782, whereupon Lord Shelburne came into power, and the ministers who would not act with him resigned. Mr. Pitt, though only twenty-three years of age, now came into the ministry, with the important office of chancellor of the exchequer.

Coalition Ministry.

So far as America was concerned, the war was virtually over. But as regarded France and Spain, it still continued, and in 1782 Rodney obtained his greatest success, off St. Lucia, in the West

Indies, against the fleet of the Count de Grasse, that leader's flag-ship, with four other ships of the line, being captured. Many of the fugitive ships were captured by Admiral Hood, who had joined Rodney. On the other hand, the numerous prizes that were taken in the great fight by Rodney were lost in a terrific storm they encountered on the voyage to England, which cost the country two thousand lives and two large men-of-war. A further calamity was the loss of the "Royal George," a hundred-gun ship, which sank while anchored at Spithead, opposite Portsmouth, on the 29th of August, being upset by a sudden squall of wind; and on this occasion more than a thousand lives were lost. Negotiations were set on foot for peace with America, and the preliminary treaty was signed in Paris, in November, 1782. It was negotiated by Dr. Benjamin Franklin. The triumph of the American cause was complete. England acknowledged the independence of the United States of North America, and ceded the vast territories west of the Mississippi. The separation of England from America was an event that must, in the natural course of things, have happened within a short period. The lamentable part was, that through the obstinacy of the king and his advisers, the disruption was brought about, not peacefully and naturally, but by a war which cost many thousands of lives, and added a hundred million to the British national debt. Negotiations soon followed for a general peace, which was concluded with France and Spain at Versailles in January, 1783, and with Holland soon afterwards, though the various treaties were not finally signed until September. The basis of the treaties with France and Spain was a restitution of conquests, Minorca and the Floridas being yielded up to the last-mentioned power, and similar restitutions and exchanges taking place in the East and West Indies, and in Africa.

Rodney's Victories.

Loss of the "Royal George."

Peace with America.

Lord Shelburne was distrusted by the country, and in February, 1783, could command only a majority of thirteen in the Lords, while he was beaten by sixteen in the Commons. He tried to strengthen his ministry by an alliance with Lord North or with Mr. Fox; but Pitt refused to act with Lord North, and Fox with Lord Shelburne. Indeed, he preferred a reconciliation with Lord North. The king, who detested Fox, showed the greatest repugnance to admitting him to his councils, and even threatened to retire to Hanover. He was obliged, however, to yield; and the resignation of Shelburne was followed by the celebrated coalition ministry. The Duke of Portland became premier, with Lord North and Mr. Fox as secretaries of state, and Burke paymaster of the forces. But the coalition was disliked both by the king and the country, and Fox quickly gave an opportunity of getting rid of it by introducing a bill for the better regulation of the government of India. This measure was thrown out in the Upper House, in December, 1783. This gave the king the opportunity to demand the seals of office from Fox, and the coalition ministry fell.

Lord Shelburne's Administration.

Coalition Ministry.

Among the home events of the first period of this reign, the Royal

Marriage Act is deserving of mention, if only as an instance of the increased power of the crown. The Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland having highly offended the king by their marriages, a bill was brought into parliament in 1772, providing that no descendant of George II. should contract a matrimonial alliance before the age of twenty-five without first obtaining the king's sanction; and even after that age, the consent of the parliament and of the privy council was necessary to the legalizing of their unions. The king considered those who opposed the measure as enemies; and his inveterate hatred to Charles Fox is said to have been first aroused by the part taken by that statesman on the occasion.

Royal Marriage Act.

Ever since the time of William the Third there had been on the English statute book certain harsh laws against the Roman Catholics. A Romish priest who officiated or taught was liable to the penalty of treason; a Protestant younger son or nephew of a Catholic holder of an estate could oust the possessor from his property. Papists could not hold property in England, and the Romanist gentry were obliged to send their sons across the water for their education. Sir George Savile introduced a bill for the repeal of these cruel statutes. Lord George Gordon, a crack-brained son of a Scotch duke, who sat for a pocket-borough in parliament, declared himself ready to present a petition to parliament setting forth the evils that would ensue from a predominance of the Papists. This petition he declared he would present in person to the House of Commons, if 20,000 Englishmen would support it. Accordingly, on the morning of the 2nd of June, enormous crowds from various quarters, wearing blue cockades in their hats, marched to Westminster, and besieged the doors of the parliament house. At length a party of foot-guards and horse-guards arrived, accompanied by Addington, a justice of the peace, who expostulated with the crowd, and offered to send away the soldiers, if they would disperse quietly. Cheers were given for the magistrates, and the portion of the mob that blocked Palace Yard dispersed for the time. But the chapel of the Sardinian ambassador in Lincoln's Inn Fields was attacked and burnt by a party of rioters. Saturday was a quiet day, but on Sunday night other Catholic chapels were burnt. For six days the riots continued. Besides the chapels, the mobs wreaked their vengeance on the houses of prominent obnoxious Catholics, members of parliament, and others. Lord Mansfield's house in Bloomsbury Square was sacked. They then proceeded to fire Newgate and other prisons, after letting out the prisoners. The greatest terror prevailed. Peaceful citizens chalked "No Popery" on their doors, to propitiate the rioters, who boldly demanded, and frequently received, money in the name of the Protestant Association. One of their last exploits was to set fire to the premises of one Langdale, a distiller in Holborn, whose cellars were plundered; and hundreds, drinking themselves into a state of stupefaction, perished in the flames. At last the soldiers were called out in earnest, and took to shooting down the mob right and left,—and the riots were at length quelled.

Repeal of Acts against Papists.

The Gordon Petition.

The Riots of 1780.

Issue of the Riots.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The House of Brunswick.—George III. (*continued*)

Second Period.—1783–1802.

From the Treaty of Paris to the Peace of Amiens.

Charles James Fox and William Pitt. Advantages of the Younger Pitt. India under the Company's Rule. Misgovernment and Extortion. Clive's Reforms. Fox's India Bill. New Government of India. Warren Hastings and the Supreme Council. Triumph of Hastings. His Impeachment. Charges. Long Trial. Acquittal. Board of Control. Domestic Politics. Financial Reforms of Burke. The Prince of Wales. His Extravagance. Marriage. The Regency Bill. Bad Government in France. The Philosophers. Disordered Finances. The Estates-General summoned. Emigration of the Nobles. Taking of the Bastille. Flight of the King. Fall of the Monarchy. Burke's Denunciations. War. Bonaparte at Toulon. Victory of the 1st of June, by Lord Howe. Abortive Attempt at Invasion. Battle of St. Vincent. Mutinies at Spithead and the Nore. Camperdown. Irish Affairs. United Irishmen. Rebellion of 1798. Atrocities. Lord Cornwallis. Suppression of the Rebellion. Union of 1800. Policy of Pitt. Ambition of Bonaparte. Egyptian Expedition. Battle of the Nile. Nelson and Caraccioli. St. Jean d'Acre. Bonaparte First Consul. Armed Neutrality. Alexandria. Copenhagen. The Addington Ministry. Treaty of Amiens.

THE period of the reign of George III., which occupied the years between 1784 and 1802, was characterized by the government of William Pitt. It was to his purity, his consistent standing aloof from bribery and corruption, that Chatham owed a good part of his

vast influence; and the younger Pitt gained immense advantage through the contrast presented by his private life to that of his rival, Charles James Fox. Fox was a persistent and ardent gambler, and lost enormous sums by this lamentable vice. The second Pitt enjoyed the especial favour and support of George III. He also inherited a name that had already been surrounded with a halo of glory and success. Early in 1784, before he had completed his twenty-fourth year, he held the combined offices of prime minister and chancellor of the exchequer. The nation considered the conduct of Fox and his followers, in their violent opposition to the measures of Pitt, as factious rather than patriotic. In the new elections, a hundred and sixty of the Opposition members lost their seats. They were facetiously dubbed "Fox's Martyrs."

Charles James Fox and William Pitt.

The condition of India was such as to demand serious attention. Since Clive had laid the foundation of the British power, great abuses had increased in the government. Clive himself wrote: "I shall only say that such a scene of anarchy, confusion, corruption, and extortion was never seen or heard of in any country but Bengal; nor such and so many fortunes acquired in so unjust and rapacious a manner." He announced that he was determined to effect a thorough reform in India, or perish in the attempt. He began by increasing the salaries of the officers of the Company. Clive absolutely prohibited the private trade. He also put down a dangerous mutiny among the officers in the army. When he left India for the last time, its affairs were in a state of order and prosperity; but after his departure, the old misrule once more prevailed.

India under the Company's Rule.

It had become abundantly apparent that the government must interfere in the rule of India, when Fox brought forward his India bill to regulate the affairs of that country. This bill had, however, been cast out of the Lords; and thus, when Pitt came to power, the India question was still unsettled. Pitt took it in hand with his accustomed energy. The bill he brought in did not greatly differ from Fox's measures, but the king did not oppose it. The measure consequently passed without difficulty. The principal point of Pitt's act consisted in the establishment of an authority over the East India Company by means of a board of control, to consist of six members, which had the right of approving or forbidding any contemplated action of the Company.

Fox's India Bill rejected.

General attention was called to India by the return to England of Warren Hastings. This astute and determined man had been raised to the highest post in India. Two separate committees had been ordered by the English government to look into Indian affairs. The seat of the government for all India was established at Calcutta, and the governor-general was to be assisted by a supreme council, consisting of four members. Warren Hastings was appointed in 1773 as the first governor-general. From the beginning the relations between the governor-general and the council were the reverse of cordial; and from the first, three members—Francis, Clavering, and Monson—formed an opposition against him. The opposition

New Government of India.

The Supreme Council and the Governor-General.

of the council he confronted with indomitable courage and obstinacy. When Nuncomar, the chief of the Brahmins, sought to curry favour with the council by accusing Hastings of malversation, the governor-general caused him to be arrested and tried before Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice of India, who was in Hastings' interest, on the charge of a forgery said to have been committed some years before; and Nuncomar was publicly hanged in Calcutta. When the death of Monson and the return of Francis to England broke up the confederacy against him, he still further extended the power and the possessions of the English in the East. Besides taking Chandernagore and Pondicherry from the French, he acted with singular sagacity, promptness, and decision, when the tremendous invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali, the Sultan of Mysore, menaced Madras with destruction. When he returned to England, in 1785, it was generally thought that the talents and statesmanship of Hastings would speedily be enlisted in the service of the country.

But Edmund Burke gave notice that he intended to ask questions seriously affecting a gentleman lately returned from India. The question whether an impeachment should be undertaken was accordingly put in the House of Commons, and decided in the affirmative. Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Grey, and Wyndham were chosen as managers of the trial, which commenced on the 13th of February, 1788. The principal matters of the indictment were as follows:—That the late governor-general had, for £400,000, paid to the East India Company, lent to Sujah-ud-Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, the services of British soldiers, for the subjugation of the Rohillas, against whom the British had no quarrel; that he had burdened Cheyte Singh, Rajah of Benares, with fines beyond the power of the rajah to pay, and had afterwards deprived him of his territory for non-payment; that he had unduly pressed the charge of forgery against Nuncomar; that he had imprisoned the Begums of Oude on an ungrounded charge, and had imprisoned and tortured two of their principal officers until a sum of £500,000 had been extorted. The trial took place in Westminster Hall, and at its commencement excited the greatest attention and interest. Hastings' best chance lay in tiring out his accusers, and consequently every quibble, every objection to evidence, every opportunity of raising a question was put in requisition to delay the proceedings. Large sums were spent in bribing the press, and newspapers were started to support Hastings' cause. At length, on the 23rd of April, 1795, the verdict was given. It was one of acquittal, and Hastings was discharged; he lived to a great age, dying at last at Daylesford, in 1818, nearly ninety years old.

Impeachment of Hastings.

Charges against him.

The Long Trial.

The effect upon India of the changes connected with the establishment of the board of control was beneficial to that country. The first governor-general under the new system, the Marquis of Cornwallis, introduced salutary changes into the Indian jurisdiction, and also upheld the honour of the British arms. Hyder Ali's son, Tippoo Sahib, a brave but barbarous ruler, intrigued with other native princes, rose in rebellion, and

New System under the Board of Control.

perished fighting at the head of his troops at the storming of his capital, Seringapatam, by the English, in 1799.

Pitt endeavoured to bring about a reform in parliamentary representation, and almost succeeded in carrying his motion for inquiry in the Commons, in May, 1782. In another direction beneficial changes were made by the abolition of various pensions and sinecures. The credit for this alteration is due to Mr. Burke. The relations between the king and his eldest son, George, were hardly more cordial than those between George II. and Frederick Prince of Wales had been in times past. Fox and Sheridan, particularly the latter, were the companions and associates of Prince George. He was recklessly extravagant, a gambler, both with cards and dice, and on the turf. His residence, Carlton House, was known for the brilliancy of its fêtes. The easy, epicurean life developed in the prince an intense selfishness. His manners were pleasing, and he could assume a courteous grace which caused him to be designated by his flatterers, "The first gentleman in Europe." On the 21st of December, 1785, he married Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Catholic lady of great beauty, sense, talent, and virtue. . . . Such a union, however, was directly against the provisions of the Royal Marriage Act, and indeed it was against all precedent for the heir to the throne to marry a subject. At a later period the prince, when matrimony was suggested as a means of extrication from the labyrinth of debt, solemnly, and even with tears, denied to his friend Sheridan that he had been really married to Mrs. Fitzherbert. The prince's debts were paid by a parliamentary grant, and his income was increased by £10,000 a year; but this relief did little towards keeping him out of debt.

Beneficial Reforms.—Burke.

The Prince of Wales.

Marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert.

In 1788, the king was attacked by a fit of insanity. It became necessary to make arrangements for carrying on the government, and thus arose the celebrated Regency Bill. The Whigs, whose hopes were associated with the Prince of Wales, claimed the power of government for him as a matter of undoubted right. Pitt, on the other hand, declared that no such right existed. The question was set aside by the recovery of the king. Public rumour represented the Whigs as disappointed. The king looked upon the Whigs as men who wished to supersede his authority; and they became more than ever objects of his aversion.

The Regency Bill.

In France, the weakness of the government, and the miserable condition of the people, at length led to the great French Revolution. The country was overwhelmed with debt, and the bulk of the nation in hopeless poverty. The expenses of the government were enormous; and the burden was very unjustly distributed. The nobles and the beneficed clergy were exempt from taxation; the peasants were still in a state of serfdom. The farmers-general enriched themselves by extortion and overcharge in the collection of the taxes. The writings of the philosophers, of whom Diderot and Voltaire represented two schools, destroyed much of the faith the people still had in religion. Superstition was succeeded by scepticism, and in

Bad System of Government in France.

The Philosophers.

many cases by atheism. When at length the finance minister, Necker, by his balance-sheet "Comptes rendus," proved that the country was in a state of bankruptcy, it became imperative to conciliate the people. The estates-general were summoned to meet at Versailles on the 5th of May, 1789; and with that important day commences a new era in the history of France and of Europe.

Necker's Comptes Rendus.

The nobility began to escape from France in great numbers, when the aspect of things grew dangerous. The great majority of the third-estate deputies stood firmly together, and braved the menaces of the court party. On a frivolous pretext they were excluded from their hall of meeting at Versailles. They immediately adjourned to a tennis-court, and there took the memorable oath, not to separate until they had gained a constitution for France. On the 14th of July, 1789, an excited mob attacked and took the Bastille, the hated prison-fortress, within whose walls so many prisoners had helplessly languished without hope of deliverance, or even of investigation. A deep distrust of the king caused a mob to march to Versailles and bring the royal family in triumph to the Tuileries. During the winter of 1789–90, châteaux and country seats of the seigneurs were burnt down without mercy. The privileged classes were deprived of their immunities. A constitution was prepared, according to which it was decreed that France should be governed by a national or legislative assembly of deputies. At a great public festival the king, the queen, and the great functionaries of state publicly swore to maintain the constitution. But when the assembly met, in October, 1790, there were many conflicting elements. In June, 1791, the king endeavoured, with the royal family, to escape to the Austrian Netherlands. But they were stopped at Varennes, and brought back to Paris. In the autumn of 1791, Leopold, Emperor of Germany, and Frederick William III., King of Prussia, met at Pilnitz, in Saxony The consequence was a declaration against the National Assembly by the Prussian king. The reply was a declaration of war, on March 20th, 1792. Then came the famous invasion of the French territory by an Austrian and Prussian army, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick. At first the French armies sent to oppose the invaders were unsuccessful. Then the anger of the Parisian populace rose to madness. The general cry was that the nation was betrayed. The moderate Girondin ministry had to give way to the extreme section of the Montagnards, under Danton, Marat, and Robespierre. On the 20th of June the mob broke into the Tuileries; on the 10th of August, the palace was attacked and taken by storm. The king and queen and their children, with the sister of Louis, were presently transferred to the Temple, an old tower. Here they remained in close captivity. Danton and his colleagues reigned supreme. During the first days of September, 1792, a horrible massacre took place of the captives in the various prisons of Paris. The Assembly was changed into a National Convention, the fall of the monarchy was declared, and amid scenes of bloodshed and terror

Taking of the Bastille.

New Constitution.

The Invasion of France.

Fall of the Monarchy.

the first French republic had its birth. Meanwhile, the fortune of the war was changing. The battle of Valmy, on September 20th, in which the French gained the advantage, was followed, exactly a month later, by Dumouriez' more important victory of Jemappes; and the Convention proceeded to the trial of the king, who was pronounced guilty, and was executed by the guillotine on the 21st of February, 1793.

Sympathy with the Revolution.

In England, the progress of this stupendous change was naturally watched with the highest interest; the Whig party generally hailed such events as the fall of the Bastille as the precursors of a period of liberty. Various societies were formed, such as those of the "Friends of the People" and the "Corresponding Society," to advocate the views of the French liberals. Works like Mackintosh's "Vindiciæ Gallicæ" and Paine's "Rights of Man" were read with eager interest. On the other hand, the partisans of liberty were mercilessly ridiculed in the "Anti-Jacobin." Among those who spoke with approval of the struggle for constitutional government was Charles James Fox himself; but this fact brought about a separation in the Whig party. Edmund Burke spoke in eulogistic terms of the French court as the abode of chivalry and loyal devotion to the crown. He spoke of the French as a people who had shown themselves "the ablest architects of ruin that have hitherto appeared in the world." He declared he would "quit his best friends and join his most avowed enemies" in the endeavour to keep England clear of the infection of such a spirit. He made good his declaration by shortly afterwards publicly sundering the bond which bound him to the Whig party, in spite of the conciliatory endeavours of Fox. For the rest of his parliamentary career, Burke was a follower of Pitt.

Grey's Motion on Reform.

In 1792, Mr. Grey, a prominent Whig, tried to bring forward the question, which Pitt had introduced some years before, concerning a reform in the representation of the people in parliament; but, on this occasion, Pitt strenuously opposed the inquiry, declaring the time unsuitable for its discussion.

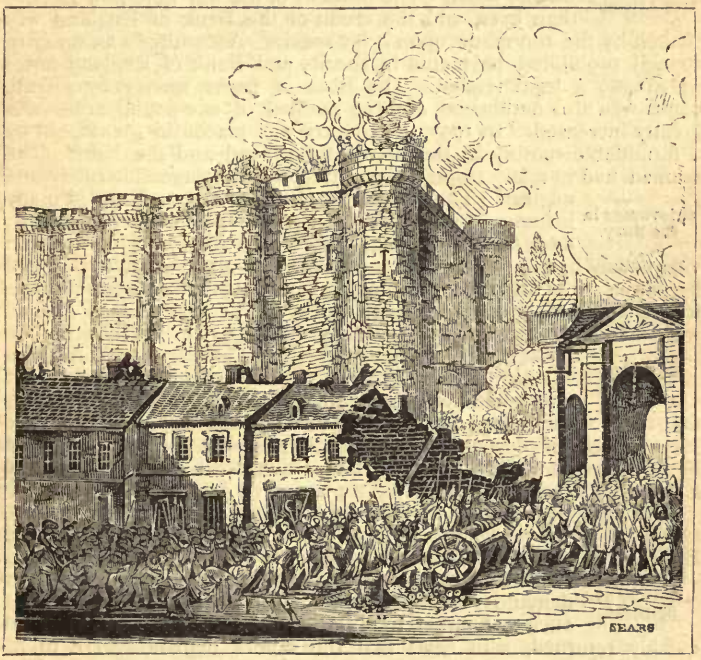
War with France declared.

The execution of Louis XVI. excited such horror in England as to bring matters to a crisis. M. Chauvelin, the French ambassador, was ordered to quit London. The French convention proposed to invade England with 40,000 men; and on the 3rd of February war was declared.

Of the atrocious nature of the French government during the next period, known as the "reign of terror," there can be but one opinion. The faintest suspicion of a tendency to thwart the republic exposed a French citizen to instant arrest and trial before a revolutionary tribunal; and in the great majority of instances such trial was followed by execution within twenty-four hours. No man's life was safe during that ruthless period. But the French republican armies fought with a zeal and valour that astonished every foe, succeeded in rolling back the wave of invasion across the frontiers, and then overran Holland, crossed the Rhine, fought in Germany, and even penetrated into Piedmont; and the efforts of England to stem the revolutionary torrent on the Continent met with no success. An expedition organized under the Duke of York, the king's second son, resulted in

utter failure. A rising in Brittany was put down by General Hoche, at Quiberon, in July, 1795. In the south, Toulon revolted against the republic, and admitted a British fleet into its harbour. The National Convention sent an army to besiege the revolted town, which was soon obliged to capitulate, chiefly through the skilful plan of operations carried out by Napoleon Bonaparte, a young colonel of artillery. Bonaparte was the son of Charles Bonaparte, an advocate, and was born at Ajaccio, in Corsica, in 1769. He was educated first at the military school at Brienne, and afterwards at the college in Paris, and was transferred to the artillery

Napoleon Bonaparte.



ATTACK ON THE BASTILLE, FROM A CONTEMPORARY PRINT.

regiment stationed at La Fèrè. By his conduct at Toulon he attracted the attention of the government, and was soon advanced to a more important post.

The naval chronicle of England for the quarter of a century after the French revolution is one of glory and triumph. In 1794, Lord Hood took the island of Corsica; and on the 1st of June, Lord Howe gained a glorious victory off Ushant, on the north-west coast of France, over the Brest fleet, under Admiral Villaret Joyeuse. The French lost seven ships and

Victory of the 1st of June.

8,000 men, Howe repeating the manœuvre of breaking the line, formerly introduced by Rodney. The capture of the French West India Islands also belongs to the achievements of this year, in which the name of Horatio Nelson already becomes conspicuous. In June, 1795, Lord Bridport captured three of the largest French ships. The naval operations against the Dutch were also successful, resulting in the capture of their possessions in the West Indies, and of the Cape of Good Hope. In 1796, an expedition having on board 15,000 men, under the command of the republican General Hoche, sailed from France for Ireland; but violent storms drove the ships off the coast. The burdens of the war were now heavier than ever, and the credit of the Bank of England was shaken by the run made upon it for specie. Accordingly an order in council prohibited payments in specie, and Bank of England notes were made a legal tender. The issue of paper money by private banks was also authorized, and the number of one-pound notes was greatly increased. In 1797, the country was placed in great peril by a formidable mutiny in the fleets at Spithead and the Nore. The seamen had in many respects been treated with shameful cruelty and neglect. Their pay was absurdly low, and was in many instances withheld for years in ships on foreign service; and the provisions were insufficient in quantity and villainously bad in quality. The punishments also were arbitrary and barbarous, the discipline needlessly harsh, while impressment was frequently carried on with great cruelty. The year indeed opened with a most important naval victory off Cape St. Vincent, on the coast of Spain. On the 14th of February, 1797, Admiral Sir John Jervis attacked a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven ships, he having under his command only fifteen. Four first-rates were taken from the Spaniards, and again Commodore Nelson was conspicuous for his gallantry and skill. He was rewarded by being made a Knight of the Bath, while Sir John Jervis became Earl of St. Vincent, and received a pension of £3,000.

Hoche's Abortive Attempt.

Grievances in the Navy.

Battle of St. Vincent.

But immediately upon this victory followed the calamitous mutiny. On the 15th of April, the sailors in the fleet commanded by Lord Bridport at Spithead, manned the yards when the order was given for sailing, and refused to raise an anchor until their demands were satisfied. Lord Bridport proceeded at once to London, to report matters to the Admiralty; and quickly returned, with news that the sailors' demands were to be granted, whereupon, for the moment, the discontent was allayed. The sailors returned to their duty, and the fleet put to sea on the 17th of May. No sooner was this difficulty surmounted than a more formidable mutiny broke out in the fleet stationed at the Nore, under Admiral Buckner. The mutineers in this case were led by one Richard Parker, a man of some education and ability. Thirteen sail of the line and various frigates took part in this outbreak; but the hearts of some of the crews began to fail them at the preparations which were being made to encounter them. The Clyde first abandoned the cause of the mutineers; one ship after another followed her example, and on the 13th of June,

Mutiny at Spithead.

Mutiny at the Nore.

the Sandwich, the flagship, lowered the red ensign of revolt, and the whole fleet surrendered. Richard Parker was hanged, and five of the ringleaders shared his fate. Then a general pardon was pronounced. Shortly afterwards, a splendid action was fought under Admiral Duncan against the Dutch off Camperdown, on the coast of Holland. The Dutch, after a very obstinate resistance and a splendid display of valour, lost nine line-of-battle ships and two frigates. Admiral Duncan was raised to the peerage, and pensioned. On land the French armies had been gaining great successes, and this year, 1797, was signalized by the treaty of Campo Formio, concluded with the Austrians by General Bonaparte.

Battle of Camperdown.

To all enemies and opponents, Pitt presented an undaunted front; and one of the weapons he unsparingly used was that of prosecution for sedition and libel. Three offenders in this respect, Horne Tooke, Hardy and Thelwall, were indicted for publishing seditious works, but acquitted; in Scotland several offenders, such as Watt and Palmer, were hanged or transported. In 1795, the king himself, as he was proceeding in state to parliament, was surrounded by a furious mob, stones were thrown, and a window broken by a shot from an air-gun. The chief cause of anxiety and trouble was Ireland.

Trials for Sedition.

That unhappy country had for more than a century suffered from various kinds of injustice. A series of laws, far harsher even than those in England, were enacted against the Romanists in Ireland. The Catholics were excluded from parliament, and from every office, civil and military. They could not buy, or hold, or inherit land; the Protestant wife could dispossess her Catholic husband, the Protestant son his Catholic father or elder brother of his estate. A marriage between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic was in law null and void. Cattle, sheep, and swine might not be imported. Irish ships were excluded from the carrying trade; direct trade with the British colonies was forbidden, and the woollen trade was crushed by a series of harsh and tyrannical restrictions. During the greater part of the eighteenth century, the parliament of Ireland only met once in every two years to pass the necessary money bills. A few leading families, like the Boyles and Ponsonbys, kept the affairs of the parliament in their own hands. In the middle of the century arose the party of the patriots, whose object was to break down the power of this oligarchy. Among the patriots, the names of Flood and Grattan are especially famous. A convention was formed to demand the redress of Irish grievances. The act of George I., "for securing the dependence of Ireland," was repealed, and the Irish parliament became for the space of eighteen years a real legislature.

Catholic Grievances.

A Free Irish Parliament.

The endeavour to procure a union of friendship and a fair parliamentary representation gave rise to clubs of "United Irishmen." Among the chief members were Mr. Hamilton Rowan, James Napper Tandy, a hatter, and Wolfe Tone, a barrister. Some of the prominent members, notably Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor, opened negotiations with the French

The United Irishmen.

Directory, for assistance in freeing Ireland from the English yoke. The designs were betrayed to the government, and martial law was proclaimed in Ireland. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in defending himself against his captors, received wounds of which he died. Arthur O'Connor was also arrested. Great tyranny was exercised in quartering soldiers and yeomanry upon the people. Many of these soldiers belonged to the Orangemen, a faction who bitterly hated the Catholics of Ireland, and persecuted them cruelly. Numbers of peasants were driven by the brutality and licentiousness of the men quartered in the disaffected districts, into rebellion. At the end of March, 1798, Ireland was declared to be in a state of revolt, and troops were sent there in haste to put it down in summary fashion. The cruelties perpetrated by the troops were horrible. The leaders of the rebellion projected a general rising for the 23rd of May; but again the plan was betrayed to the government. The military and so-called Loyalists, who fought on the side of the government, showed the rebels no quarter, and extended their outrages to all ages and both sexes. The rebels, on their part, retaliated in like manner.

Tyranny of the Orangemen.

Rebellion and Atrocities.

The decisive conflict of the rebellion took place at Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy, where the rebels were attacked by the government troops, who numbered thirteen thousand men. The insurgents fought with desperation, and after losing a great many men, fled to Wexford. This town was presently surrendered, and the scattered bands were put down without difficulty. The atrocities committed on both sides during this unhappy rebellion render it the darkest page in the history of Ireland; but it is only fair to state that the provocation was in the first instance given by the Protestants. The insurgents also are entitled to credit from having uniformly treated the female prisoners who fell into their hands with respect and consideration; while the conduct of the soldiers in this particular was exactly the reverse. Lord Cornwallis was sent to Ireland with an adequate force of troops. Cornwallis himself, a kind-hearted and humane man, professed himself horrified at the rancour evinced by the victorious Protestants. A general pardon was published, the surviving chiefs of the rebellion, Emmett, O'Connor, and other prisoners, were allowed to quit the country, and the peasants returned to their cabins and potato patches. The great Irish rebellion of 1798 is estimated to have cost fifty thousand lives. Cornwallis is entitled to the highest credit for the manner in which he repressed the reprisals the exultant Orangemen were ready to carry out.

Arrival of Lord Cornwallis.

Suppression of the Rebellion.

One result of the Orange ascendency, and of its abuse in Ireland, was a firm determination of Pitt to put an end to the so-called "Independence" by taking away the separate parliament from Ireland. A system was followed of buying up all claims and silencing objections by the potent argument of lavishly distributed gold. Peerages were plentifully given, and offices created to stop the mouths of clamorous applicants for compensation. To the Catholics the boon of emancipation was held out. Pitt's policy of greatly increasing the number of peers was not

The Union of 1800.

confined to Ireland alone. In England also he added very considerably to the numbers of the members of the upper house. He wished the House of Peers to represent the wealth and importance of a great class—not the power of a narrow clique. The measure passed the Irish parliament in March, and the English parliament in May, 1800. Ireland was to be represented in the English House of Commons by 100 members, and in the House of Lords by thirty-two peers.

Enlightened Policy of Pitt.

The treaty of Campo Formio, and the great victories and successes of Bonaparte, had turned all eyes upon that victorious general. The government of the Directory was rendered very uneasy by the progress the young general made in the people's good graces, and favoured a project which would give him employment at a distance. Accordingly, an important expedition to Egypt was planned for 1798. In May, 1798, a French fleet sailed from Toulon, having on board an army of about seventeen thousand men. Nelson was at that time in the Mediterranean with an English fleet, but the French armament reached the mouth of the Nile in safety, and landed the troops, who proceeded at once on their march into the country. Nelson, who had received intelligence too late to encounter the French fleet during the voyage, found it moored in a strong position in Aboukir Bay, in line of battle, protected on one side by a formidable row of batteries erected along the shore, and on the other by shoals and sand-banks, and seemingly unassailable. But Nelson attacked the enemy at sunset on the 1st of August, 1798. The action continued throughout the greater part of the night. Nearly all the ships of the enemy were taken or sunk. It was on this occasion that Nelson, being wounded by a splinter from a gun, towards the end of the battle, refused, on being carried below, to be attended to by the surgeons, who rushed in alarm to his assistance. "No," said the hero, "I will take my turn with my poor fellows!" During the fight, the great line-of-battle ship, L'Orient, the flagship of the French admiral, Brueys, blew up with a tremendous explosion. Nine French line-of-battle ships fell into the hands of the English. The loss of the English in killed and wounded was about 900; that of the enemy 5,000, including Admiral Brueys himself, who perished in his ship. Nelson was raised to the peerage for this victory, with the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile. Nelson was the hero of the day in England, the magnitude of the service he had rendered being equalled by its opportune occurrence at a time when the national debt had advanced from two hundred and forty to above five hundred millions. It is unfortunate for the fame of the hero that it was tarnished soon afterwards by the only tyrannical action recorded against Nelson. He was misled by an infatuated attachment to Emma, Lady Hamilton, the intimate friend of the vindictive Queen of Naples, to please whom, she prevailed on Nelson to treat the aged Prince Caraccioli, who fell into his hands as a prisoner, with iniquitous severity. Nelson caused Caraccioli to be hanged at the yard-arm, refusing him even the favour of letting him die a soldier's death by having him shot.

Ambition of Bonaparte.

The Egyptian Expedition.

Battle of the Nile.

Nelson and Caraccioli.

HORATIO NELSON.

In 1799, an expedition was organized against Holland. Sir Ralph Abercrombie captured the fleet in the Texel. But the Duke of York presently took the command; not only did the expedition fail, but the duke was obliged to surrender a large number of prisoners. Meanwhile Bonaparte, in the East, gained the battle of the Pyramids. Then, after taking Cairo, he advanced across the desert to Syria; the heroic defence of St. Jean d'Acre, where the English admiral, Sir Sidney Smith, exhibited equal courage and skill, checked the course of his victories. Bonaparte saw that the conquest of the East was an impossibility. Accordingly, in the summer of 1799, he secretly quitted the army and returned to France. In November of the same year he overthrew the government, on the celebrated "18th Brumaire," and established a new form of government, the consulate. There were to be three consuls: Bonaparte himself, as first consul, was, in truth, the ruler of France. He wrote an autograph letter to the King of England, proposing negotiations for peace. An under secretary of state was instructed to pen a dry refusal, and the war went on.

St. Jean d'Acre and Sir Sidney Smith.

Bonaparte First Consul.

England was soon to find herself left alone to carry on the struggle against republican France. Bonaparte marched an army across the Alps, gained the great victory of Marengo on the 24th of June, 1800, and returned to Paris more powerful and popular than ever. Meanwhile, also, Moreau was brilliantly successful in Germany, gaining over the Austrians the Battle of Hohenlinden, in Bavaria, on the 2nd of December, 1800. The Austrians were obliged to make overtures for peace, which was granted to them in the treaty of Luneville, in February, 1801. In the north also matters had an unfavourable aspect. Catherine II. had died in 1796, and had been succeeded by her son Paul. To an intense admiration for the achievements of Bonaparte, Paul added an almost equal jealousy of England, and under his auspices the northern powers had revived

the Armed Neutrality. Prussia joined the league of the northern powers, while Denmark, another member, seized upon Hamburg. On the other hand, England in 1800 took possession of Malta. In March, 1801, an English expedition of twelve thousand men landed in Egypt in Aboukir Bay, under General Sir Ralph Abercrombie. On the 21st a battle was fought near Alexandria, in which Sir Ralph defeated General Menou, but was mortally wounded; General Hutchinson advanced against Cairo. The town capitulated; and Hutchinson besieged Alexandria, whereupon a capitulation was agreed to by the French, who were removed from Egypt.

The Armed Neutrality.

Battle of Alexandria.

It was determined in England to compel Denmark by force to secede from the Armed Neutrality. A fleet was despatched to the Baltic under Sir Hyde Parker, with Lord Nelson in command under him. Nelson advanced against Copenhagen on the 2nd of April with twelve line-of-battle ships and several frigates; but after some hours' fighting, Nelson sent a letter to the Crown Prince, suggesting the capitulation of the foe. An armistice of a day was agreed upon, and the English took possession of the prizes that had struck their colours to them. For this victory Nelson was made a viscount.

Denmark. Bombardment of Copenhagen.

In the night of the 24th of March, 1801, the Emperor Paul was barbarously murdered in his own palace, through a conspiracy of the nobles. Denmark had already been compelled to secede from the Armed Neutrality, which was now deserted by Russia, and quickly collapsed.

Murder of Czar Paul I. of Russia.

Among Pitt's schemes of statesmanship had been one for the removal of Catholic disabilities in Ireland. He wished to emancipate not only the Catholic but the dissenting part of the community from all religious tests. The king angrily declared to Mr. Dundas that he should consider any one in the light of a personal enemy who proposed such a thing. The adherents of the king were sufficiently numerous to throw out the bill in the Commons, whereupon Pitt tendered his resignation, which was accepted. He was succeeded in his office by Mr. Addington, the speaker of the House of Commons, a dull man, and a very small politician.

The Addington Administration.

The Treaty of Amiens, which now followed, was based on the principle of restitution of conquests. England gave up all her acquisitions, except the Dutch settlements in the island of Ceylon, and Trinidad in the West Indies. The Cape of Good Hope was restored to the Dutch. The integrity of the Turkish empire was to be maintained. Malta, which had been taken by the English, was to be restored to its ancient possessors, the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The Batavian republic was to be maintained. In its very nature this peace could hardly be expected to endure long, for neither of the contracting parties trusted the other. Pitt himself approved of the action of the Addington ministry in advocating this peace, declaring with great justice that since the dissolution of the coalitions, the sensible course was evidently to procure the best conditions attainable for an honourable

Treaty of Amiens.

peace for ourselves and the few allies who had remained faithful to us. And he now saw Bonaparte, as first consul, actively engaged in crushing the revolution that had raised him to power, and building up the fabric of his supremacy upon strictly monarchical and even despotic principles, restoring public worship in France, reopening the churches, and recalling a number of banished priests. Afterwards Bonaparte played off the Royalists and the Jacobins against each other, declaring to each that the opposite faction, if triumphant, would destroy it, and impressing upon both that the only hope of safety was in the upholding of the order he himself had evolved out of the chaos of the great revolution.

Changes Introduced by Bonaparte.

KENSINGTON PALACE.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The House of Brunswick.—George III. (*concluded.*)

Third Period.—1802–1820.

From the Peace of Amiens to the King's Death.

Expectations of Lasting Peace. Fox and the First Consul. Embarrassments of the Prince of Wales. Trial and Execution of Despard and his Associates. Encroachments of Bonaparte. Malta. Trial of Peltier. Renewal of War. English "Détenus." Emmett's Insurrection in Ireland. Arthur Wellesley in India. Assaye and Argaum. Triumph in the West Indies. Plot of Pichegru, Cadoudal, and Moreau. Coronation of Napoleon. Execution of the Duc d'Enghien. Fall of the Addington Ministry. Campaign in 1804. Nelson and Villeneuve. Sir R. Calder. Battle of Trafalgar. Nelson's Death. Napoleon at Ulm, Vienna, and Austerlitz. Death of Pitt. The Grenville Ministry. The Princess of Wales. "Delicate Investigation." Jena. Death of Fox. The Dardanelles. The Portland Ministry. Danish Fleet Captured. Spain and Portugal. Carlos IV. and Godoy. Revolt in favour of Ferdinand VII. Saragossa. Peninsular War. Vimiera. Convention of Cintra. Sir John Moore, his Death at Corunna. Napoleon at Wagram. His Marriage. Talavera. Walcheren Expedition. Busaco. Fuentes de Onoro. Albuera. Vittoria. Insanity of George III. Regency. Murder of Mr. Perceval. Lord Liverpool's Ministry. War with the United States. Washington Burnt. New Orleans. Napoleon's Russian Campaign. Moscow. Campaign of 1813. Lützen, Wurzen, Bautzen, Leipzig. 1814. Napoleon's Abdication. Peace of 1814. Depression and Discontent. Napoleon's Return from Elba. Campaign of 1815. Ligny, Quatre Bras, Waterloo. Napoleon's Final Surrender. Close of the Reign of George III. Reform Agitation. Repressive Measures. "Peterloo" Massacre. Death of the King.

THE most sanguine spirits of the time looked upon the Treaty of Amiens as a permanent settlement of the long strife in Europe. Fox attended the levées of the first consul, who received him with

flattering distinction. In various conversations with Bonaparte upon the political affairs of Europe and the East, Fox was greatly struck with the clearness and force of his interlocutor, and the width and scope of the first consul's ideas and plans.

Embarrassments of the Prince of Wales.

The revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall in former times, during the minority of a Prince of Wales, had been allowed to accumulate for his benefit; in the present instance they had for a series of years been appropriated by the king. The Prince of Wales had received relief grants from the parliament to the amount of £221,000. The sum of £900,052 was voted by the commons for clearing his debts. Soon afterwards an income of £12,000 was settled on the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge.

Trial and Execution of Colonel Despard.

At this time much excitement was caused by the discovery of an alleged conspiracy for the murder of the king. Colonel Despard, an old soldier, had, in 1799, been arrested by order of the government, kept for a long time in Coldbath Fields prison, and released without trial, and from that day became exceedingly bitter against the government. In November, 1802, he was seized at a public-house in Oakley Street, Lambeth, with a number of men of low station. On his trial, it was alleged by informers that Despard had tampered with private soldiers in the King's Guards to join an association to recover the liberty of the people. Among the witnesses for the defence was Lord Nelson himself. Indeed, the very absurdity of the conspiracy made it amount to little more than vapouring threats. The jury found Despard guilty, and the prisoner, with six accomplices, was executed.

Ambitious Encroachments of Bonaparte.

Very soon after the Treaty of Amiens had been signed, causes of quarrel began to show themselves. The first consul aspired to universal dominion on the continent of Europe. He had procured the consulship for life. He annexed Piedmont to France, kept possession of Holland, and occupied the Duchy of Genoa with his troops. Great activity was also noticed in the French and Dutch fleets. Bonaparte complained bitterly of the reluctance evinced by the English to give up Malta. He was irritated at the manner in which his character and actions were discussed in the English press; he insisted that Peltier, the editor of an obscure journal, should be prosecuted by the government, for having endeavoured to bring into contempt the chief magistrate of a friendly power. Bonaparte would have had the trial hurried on at once; but by the time it really came on, the relations between England and France were no longer friendly. The jury reluctantly pronounced Peltier guilty, but no punishment was inflicted upon him; while the proceedings damaged Bonaparte's cause, and filled him with hatred against the country where his pride had met with such a check. Some aggressive measures with regard to the East had called forth certain expressions in the king's speech on the opening of parliament, to which the first consul violently objected; and in an interview with Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, he angrily accused England of a disregard of treaties. Shortly afterwards the English ambassador quitted Paris. The British government

Trial of Peltier.

Bonaparte's Declaration to Lord Whitworth.

caused ships and cargoes belonging to French and Dutch owners to be seized in British seaports, and captured on the high seas. Bonaparte retaliated by detaining in France some 10,000 English subjects, who were residing in or passing through his dominions. In many cases these "détenus" were compelled to remain in France for twelve years, until the close of the war in 1814.

Popularity of the War.

The war now assumed a more deadly aspect. A great camp was established at Boulogne, ostensibly for the invasion of England. The danger of invasion seemed to have the effect of thoroughly rousing the spirit of the English nation. Martello towers were built to defend the coast; volunteers came flocking in, and were enrolled to the number of 300,000, to assist the regular forces.

Emmett's Insurrection.

A miserable attempt was made to stir up another rebellion in Ireland. Thomas Russell, a superannuated officer, was one of the chief originators of the absurd scheme for setting up "the Hibernian republic." Still more active was Robert Emmett, one of the United Irishmen. The first object of the conspirators was to seize the castle of Dublin. The failure of the attempt was complete and ignominious. The mob collected by Emmett and his confederates had no idea of facing regular troops. They utterly refused to obey orders, running away before any organized resistance of even a few soldiers, but murdering solitary men, and a few sentries whom they found alone. They also encountered, in the full heat of their drunken fury, Lord Kilwarden, driving in his carriage with his daughter and a nephew. Both uncle and nephew were at once put to death. The garrison at the castle fired among the flying mob, of whom some twenty were killed, and a large number wounded. Emmett was executed for high treason, in Dublin, on the 19th of September, 1803. At his trial he maintained a fearless bearing, and professed to die a martyr for the liberties of his native country. Russell, being apprehended shortly afterwards, met with the same fate. The lives of O'Quigly and Stafford, two inferior leaders, and of a number of peasant prisoners who had fallen into the hands of the government, were spared, with a leniency which contrasts favourably with the conduct pursued after the rebellion of 1798.

Execution of Emmett and Russell.

In India, Scindiah, Holkar, and the Peishwa, three great chiefs of the Mahrattas, quarrelled among themselves, and the Peishwa applied to the British for assistance. Arthur Wellesley, then a major-general, took the important fortress of Ahmednuggur, and afterwards, on the 23rd of September, 1803, gained the famous battle of Assaye, over the hostile Mahratta chief Scindiah, who was at the head of 60,000 men, while Wellesley's army consisted of only 8,000, among whom no more than 1,800 were Europeans. Scindiah was compelled to sue for peace; but he broke the conditions of the treaty. Another and a still more crushing defeat was inflicted upon him by Wellesley at Argaum, on the 28th of November, 1803; and with the storming of the fort of Gawilghur, the triumph of the British was insured. Lord Lake defeated Holkar near Ferruckabad on the 17th of November, 1804, on which occasion the brave

Assaye and Argaum.

General Fraser was killed. On April 2nd, 1805, the battle of Bhurtpore, in which Holkar was again defeated by Lord Lake, further consolidated the power of the British in India. In the West Indies the English flag was also triumphant. On June 22nd, 1803, the island of St. Lucia surrendered; on the 1st of July, Tobago was taken; and on the 2nd of December, St. Domingo fell. Captain Dance, a merchant captain, with fifteen East India ships and twelve private ships, fought an action against six French line-of-battle ships under Admiral Lenoir; and the merchantmen beat off the enemy. On the 9th of March, 1804, the island of Goree, which had been taken by the French in January, was recovered by the English.

Triumphs in the West Indies.

The power of Bonaparte in France was steadily increasing. Fouché and the secret police put down every expression of free opinion in the press. Toussaint L'Ouverture, the negro leader who endeavoured to give freedom to St. Domingo, was imprisoned in a fortress on the Jura mountains, where cold and misery soon killed him; and the will of Bonaparte superseded the ordinary course of law.

Toussaint L'Ouverture's Fate.

His influence was greatly increased by the discovery, early in 1804, of a plot against his government, and, it would appear, against his life. George Cadoudal, the proscribed Breton chief, had secretly returned to Paris, and held conferences with Pichegru, the republican general, and Moreau, the victor of Hohenlinden. The conspirators were arrested. Cadoudal perished on the scaffold, with his chief accomplices. Pichegru was found dead in prison. Among those who had, as *emigrés*, fought on the side of the allies against the republican government of France, was the Duc d'Enghien, a lineal descendant of the great military hero, the cousin of Louis XIV. In 1804, d'Enghien had taken up his residence at Ettenheim, in the Duchy of Baden; Bonaparte caused him to be suddenly seized, though Baden was neutral territory. The unhappy prisoner was conveyed in all haste and secrecy to the capital, arraigned for high treason before a court-martial, and shot, in the grey dawn of morning, in the ditch of the fortress of Vincennes. This savage deed excited great anger against Bonaparte in all foreign countries, for there was no doubt that it was by his orders the proceedings had been so cruelly hurried on against the unfortunate duke. Moreau, accordingly, was allowed to expatriate himself. He retired, in the first instance, to America, whence he afterwards returned to assist in directing the operations of the Russian army against the French, in 1813, and to die by a cannon-shot before the walls of Dresden. By means of a plebiscite, or general vote of the people, it was decided that the title of Emperor should be bestowed upon Bonaparte, and should be hereditary in his family. The aged Pope Pius VII. was induced to travel to Paris to officiate at the coronation of the Emperor Napoleon I. and the Empress Josephine, which was celebrated with great pomp in the cathedral of Notre Dame, in Paris, on the 2nd of December, 1804.

Cadoudal, Pichegru, and Moreau.

Seizure of the Duc d'Enghien.

Coronation of Napoleon.

The Addington ministry did not possess the confidence of the

nation. Accordingly, in 1804, Addington retired, and a mixed ministry was established, Lord Eldon, the Duke of Portland, and Lords Castlereagh and Hawkesbury, remaining in office, while Pitt became prime minister, and brought with him Henry Dundas, now Lord Melville, Lords Harrowby and Camden, with George Canning and Huskisson. Pitt's scheme was now to form a great coalition against Napoleon. Austria, Russia, and Sweden entered into a league with England for the recovery of Holland and Italy from France. Prussia kept aloof from the alliance. Napoleon had closely allied himself with Spain during the last year, with the view of recruiting the maritime power of France; England, in consequence, on the 24th of January, 1805, declared war against Spain. The French admiral, Villeneuve, was ordered by Napoleon to carry his fleet across the Atlantic towards the West Indies, and having thus drawn Nelson to the West Indies, to make his way home to the French coast, being joined on the way by the Spanish fleet from Cadiz, and a reinforcement from Brest; and under the protection of the combined French fleets the great army encamped on the heights of Boulogne might cross in the multitude of boats prepared for the purpose. Admiral Villeneuve, in command of the Toulon fleet, set sail into the Atlantic, joined by Gravina, the Spanish admiral, for the West. Nelson sought the enemy everywhere, and pursued Villeneuve to the West Indies, and then once more across the Atlantic, and at length disembarked at Portsmouth.

Fall of the Addington Ministry.

Napoleon's Scheme for the Invasion.

Nelson's Chase after Villeneuve.

Sir Robert Calder encountered Villeneuve, some distance from Cape Finisterre, and had succeeded in capturing two French ships of the line. Villeneuve bore up for Ferrol. Calder did not think it expedient to follow him, but brought his prizes safely to England. He was severely reprimanded for not having pursued Villeneuve.

Sir R. Calder's Action.

On the 14th of September, Nelson once more embarked on board his ship the "Victory." On the 29th of September he reached Cadiz, where his arrival was hailed with the greatest joy by the fleet. Nelson made sail for Gibraltar; on the 21st, at daybreak, the combined French and Spanish fleet was discovered near Cape Trafalgar. Nelson at once made the signal for bearing down upon the enemy. Before entering into action, he ordered his last signal to be hoisted from the "Victory," and repeated through the fleet—the famous "England expects every man will do his duty." The grand, simple words were received with deafening cheers in ship after ship. He wore on this occasion his usual undress uniform coat, with the Star of the Order of the Bath and other decorations upon it. The English fleet numbered twenty-seven ships of the line, four frigates, one schooner, and one cutter; the French and Spaniards had thirty-three line-of-battle ships, five frigates, and two brigs. The French had, moreover, 2,626 guns to oppose to Nelson's 2,148.

Battle of Trafalgar.

Lord Collingwood was the first to bring his ship, the "Royal Sovereign," into action. The "Victory" was not long in getting into the thick of the fight, and quickly had the fire of various ships con-

centrated upon her. The action had been proceeding about an hour and a half, when Nelson was struck in the left shoulder, by a musket-ball fired from the mizen-top of the "Redoutable." He fell on his face on the deck, and on being raised by Captain Hardy, said quietly, "They have done for me at last, Hardy—my backbone is shot through." He was carried below to the cockpit; he noticed that the tiller ropes of the "Victory" had been shot away, and ordered that fresh ones should be prepared. Dr. Beattie, the chief surgeon, at once examined the wound, which he found to be mortal. Captain Hardy found time amid the engrossing duty on deck to come down twice, to receive the last words of his beloved chief. Nelson inquired anxiously how the day was going, and his pale face lighted up with joy on hearing that twelve or fourteen of the enemy had struck, though he observed he had bargained for twenty. Thoughtful to the last of the safety of the fleet, he emphatically desired Captain Hardy to make the signal for the ships to anchor, as they might easily be stranded if the wind rose to a gale. He recommended Lady Hamilton emphatically to Hardy's care, and added, "Kiss me, Hardy!" The captain, kneeling down, kissed the cheek of the dying man. "Now I am satisfied; thank God, I have done my duty," murmured the hero, and added, "God bless you, Hardy!" He was heard several times to repeat the words, "Thank God, I have done my duty!" The pain, which had been very violent for some time after he was wounded, gradually ceased, and the hero passed quietly away, about three hours and a half after he had been carried from the deck. By this time the "Victory" had ceased firing, for her task and Nelson's was done, and the victory was won which assured the empire of the seas to England.

Nelson's Death.

Villeneuve, the French admiral, a prisoner in the hands of the English, was soon afterwards released on parole, and returned to France. At Rennes he committed suicide under somewhat mysterious circumstances. The enemies of Napoleon cast the same doubt upon the death of the admiral that they had already thrown upon the death of Pichegru. The news of Trafalgar was received in England with mingled exultation and sorrow. The corpse of the hero was solemnly borne, with all the pageant of a public funeral, to St. Paul's, where it was interred beneath the dome. Honours were also bestowed upon his family, his brother, a clergyman, being advanced a step in the peerage as Earl Nelson, with a perpetual pension of £6,000 a year, a sum of £100,000 to purchase an estate, and a fortune of £10,000 to each of his sisters.

Fate of Villeneuve.

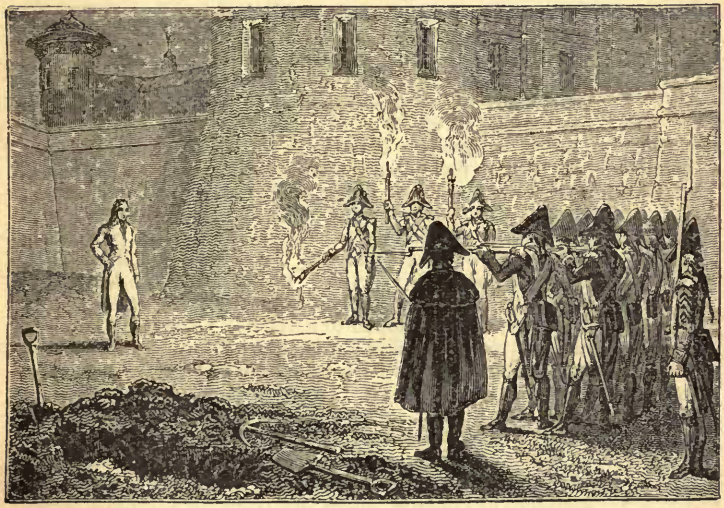
After waiting for Villeneuve's return from the West Indies until a great part of the year was gone, the French emperor had suddenly broken up his camp at Boulogne, and marched his army with great rapidity across Europe to the Danube. He contrived with consummate ability to secure the neutrality of Prussia. He crossed the Rhine into Germany, and marched through Würtemberg. General Mack was in command in the frontier fortress of Ulm, in Bavaria. Completely bewildered by the rapid tactics of Napoleon, the unfortunate veteran surrendered with his whole garrison. Napoleon thereupon marched through Bavaria into

Napoleon's March to the Rhine.

Austria, and entered Vienna. The Russians advanced, towards the end of the year, into Moravia, and the Emperor Francis, with his army, joined these allies. Napoleon took up his position at Austerlitz, not far from Brunn, and here, on the 2nd of December, 1805, he gained a battle which laid the Austrian power prostrate at his feet. The Russians were compelled to retreat. The Emperor Francis came into the victor's camp, and a treaty was concluded at Presburg, which completely broke up the coalition.

Ulm; Vienna; Austerlitz.

William Pitt had been sorely tried during the year 1805. "Austerlitz killed Pitt," said his friend Wilberforce. He came up to



EXECUTION OF THE DUC D'ENGHIEN AT VINCENNES.

London at the beginning of 1806, for the session; but he was utterly worn out, and died on the 21st of January, 1806, two days before the opening of parliament. "Roll up that map," he said mournfully, a few days before his death, pointing to a chart of Europe; "it will not be wanted these ten years." Pitt committed many errors of judgment, but his patriotism, like that of Chatham, was undoubted, and like him he could subordinate every personal interest to the honour and advantage of his country. Among the troubles that no doubt hastened his death, was the impeachment of Lord Melville, his old friend Henry Dundas.

Illness and Death of Pitt.

The death of Pitt caused the formation of a new government, in which the endeavour was made to unite the "talents" of the various parties. Lord Grenville became prime minister; Fox was minister of foreign affairs; and Lord Sidmouth (Addington) lord privy seal;

Law, now Lord Ellenborough, being brought into the cabinet, while Sheridan, as treasurer of the navy, had no seat there. The ministry of all the talents never had a chance of achieving much. The king disliked Grenville and hated Fox. The ministry, moreover, became unpopular through its connection with the matter known as the "delicate investigation," an inquiry of a very inquisitorial character, and supported by evidence surreptitiously obtained by spies, into the conduct of the Princess of Wales. The general public, being of opinion that the method of carrying on the inquiry had been grossly unfair, unequivocally testified its disgust at the conduct of the exalted personages who had instigated the whole proceedings.

Ministry of all the Talents.

Meanwhile, Napoleon, seeing Austria at his feet, became indifferent to the friendship of Prussia. In that country the strong war party, at the head of which was the popular Queen Louisa, now had its way, and war broke out between Prussia and France. The great battle of 1806 was that of Jena, fought on the 14th of October, in which a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the Prussian army. Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph, and had now for the year 1807 to reckon only with the Russians. In February, 1807, was fought the tremendous battle of Eylau, both armies being so much exhausted that they were obliged to suspend active operations for awhile, until the victory of Friedland, in June, put Russia at the feet of Napoleon. In the Treaty of Tilsit, which followed, on July 7, 1807, the French emperor was especially careful to cultivate the friendship of Alexander of Russia, with whose help he hoped to carry out his great scheme of universal dominion. Napoleon was paramount in Europe. After Austerlitz, he had declared he would no longer acknowledge the German empire; and the emperor Francis II. changed his title to that of Francis I., Emperor of Austria. The Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, and the Duke of Würtemberg, had been raised, by Napoleon's influence, to the rank of kings. Prussia was deprived of half her territory. The Batavian republic was converted into the kingdom of Holland, under the Emperor's brother Louis. Italy was likewise under the dominion of Napoleon, who made his stepson, Eugène Beauharnais, viceroy of that country, and placed first his brother Joseph, and then his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, on the throne of Naples. Joseph was transferred to the throne of Spain; while a new kingdom, that of Westphalia, was erected, of which Jerome, the youngest of the emperor's brothers, became king.

Napoleon's Victory of Jena.

Friedland; Eylau; Tilsit.

New Kingdoms and Rulers.

The first blow the ministry of all the talents received was by the death of Fox. That great statesman died on the 13th of September, 1806. With all his faults, he was a benevolent, large-hearted man. A public funeral was awarded to Fox in Westminster Abbey. Some military successes were gained under the Grenville administration. At Maida, in Calabria, General Stuart defeated the French; and in South America, Buenos Ayres was captured. Sir A. Cochrane took the Danish West India Islands. Peace was concluded with Prussia, in January, 1807, and on July 4th, 1808, with Spain,

Illness and Death of Fox.

British Successes.

On the other hand, Admiral Duckworth, after forcing the passage of the Dardanelles on the 19th of February, 1807, was obliged to retreat with great loss, having unfortunately accorded a delay to the enemy, who was thereby enabled to put his strong batteries into an efficient state. Buenos Ayres also was retaken by the Spaniards, while an income-tax of 10 per cent. interfered greatly with the popularity of the government. The Grenville ministry declared the blockade of all the ports friendly to the French, from Dantzic to Trieste; and Napoleon retorted in a very effectual manner by his Berlin decrees, sternly prohibiting all commerce with England on the part of the nations in alliance with him. Lord Howick introduced a bill to enable Roman Catholics to serve in the army. The king at once dismissed the ministry, on March 4th, 1807. The Duke of Portland became prime minister, Mr. Spencer Perceval led the House of Commons, Lord Eldon was made chancellor, while Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh and George Canning became secretaries of state.

Reverses—the Dardanelles.

The Portland Ministry.

The new ministry inaugurated its lease of power by an act which the strongest circumstances of necessity, and even of alarm, cannot justify. It was considered requisite, above all things, to prevent the French supremacy extending to the sea. The ministry entertained great apprehensions that Napoleon would make use of Denmark and her maritime resources. Accordingly, Admiral Gambier made a formal demand at Copenhagen, that the Danish fleet should be delivered up, to be carried to England, and kept till the close of the Continental war. This peremptory demand was refused, whereupon Copenhagen itself was bombarded; after which the Danes capitulated, on the 8th of September, 1807, and their ships were carried to England. Soon after, war was declared against Denmark.

The Danish Fleet Captured.

The refusal of Portugal to enforce the Berlin decrees against England furnished Napoleon with a pretext for the occupation of that country by French troops. Junot, with 80,000 men, entered Lisbon. The Prince Regent of Portugal embarked with his family for his colonial possession, Rio Janeiro. Junot treated Lisbon like a conquered capital. Spain was broken up by factions. The old king, Carlos IV., was entirely under the influence of his queen, Maria Luiza, and the prime minister, Godoy, who had gained some popularity by his administration; but his personal ambition rendered him an object of suspicion. The heir to the throne, Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, plotted to deprive his father of his crown. The king and queen and their son were summoned by the French emperor to a conference at Bayonne. The old king abdicated, and the throne of Spain was transferred to Joseph Bonaparte, the emperor's brother.

State of Portugal.—Flight of the Royal Family.

Spain.—Carlos IV. and Godoy.

Conference of Bayonne.

Joseph was far preferable to any ruler Spain had lately had. He was humane, anxious to conciliate, and ready to reform abuses. One of the first acts of his reign was to abolish the Inquisition. On the 2nd of May, 1808, there was an outbreak of the fierce populace of Madrid, who massacred some five hundred French soldiers. Murat

retaliated; and many persons, apprehended by the angry soldiery, were at once shot. Presently the insurrection assumed such formidable dimensions that Joseph Bonaparte was obliged to quit Madrid. A junta, or council, was established at Seville, which proclaimed the Prince of Asturias king, under the title of Ferdinand VII., and deputies were despatched to England, to entreat assistance. Saragossa distinguished itself by the heroic nature of its defence against the French armies. On the other hand, the struggle was defaced by horrible cruelties. Butchery of prisoners, inhuman tortures, and in many cases cruel treachery towards captives, marked the struggle between invaders and defenders.

Revolt in Favour of Ferdinand VII.

An expedition to the Peninsula to assist was sent out under Sir Arthur Wellesley, sailing from Cork on the 12th of July, 1808. On the 30th of July, Wellesley landed his forces in Mondego Bay, about 13,000 men, of whom some 500 were cavalry. The first encounter with the French was at Roliça, on August 17th; and on the 21st Wellesley encountered the army of Junot at Vimiera, and gained a brilliant victory over the French.

First Expedition under Wellesley.

Two officers, both senior in service and rank to Sir Arthur, had been despatched from England; they were Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Hew Dalrymple. Wellesley found himself thwarted in his plan of an advance upon Lisbon. The two older generals judged it more prudent to await the arrival of Sir John Moore with reinforcements. On the 30th of August was signed the Convention of Cintra, a very disastrous and blundering piece of military diplomacy, which enabled Junot and his troops to carry off their plunder, and escape from Spain. The Russian fleet in the Tagus at the same time was given up to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton.

Convention of Cintra.

The Convention of Cintra was viewed with great disfavour in England when the particulars came to be known. A court of inquiry was held, and Sir Hew Dalrymple was gravely censured. The chief blame was certainly due to Sir Harry Burrard, for stopping the pursuit after Vimiera, and thus throwing away the victory; but the principal censure fell upon Sir Hew Dalrymple.

Affairs in the Peninsula took an unpropitious turn. The gallant Sir John Moore was sent to Spain, with 20,000 men, to co-operate with the Spanish armies, intimation being also given that 10,000 men, under Sir David Baird, would be sent to Corunna to join him. Moore's army was entirely inadequate to the services it was required to perform. Napoleon suddenly took the campaign of Spain into his own hands, and appeared in that country at the head of 200,000 men. Moore had advanced as far as Salamanca, but found no Spanish army upon which he could rely for assistance. The overwhelming forces brought by Napoleon left no choice but retreat. Moore retired with his army towards the coast. Marshal Soult, with superior forces, pursued him. Under the walls of Corunna a battle took place on the 16th of January, 1809. The French were beaten back; but the English lost their brave commander and a thousand of their number, which was now reduced to some 13,000 men. The loss of the French was double that of the English. The diminished army of Moore embarked for England.

Sir John Moore in Spain.

In England it was resolved to persevere in the effort to drive the French from the Peninsula; and this time the command was entrusted to Sir Arthur Wellesley, with no Dalrymple or Burrard to counteract his plans. General Beresford was despatched to Portugal, and did excellent service in commanding and training the native troops. Napoleon had entrusted the military operations in Spain to Marshal Soult. Wellesley arrived in the Peninsula on the 22nd of April, 1809. He took command of both the British and Portuguese troops, numbering together about 26,000, and at once marched against Soult. After effecting the passage of the Douro under circumstances of great difficulty, he drove Soult from Oporto, and forced him to evacuate Portugal, and then marched into Spain to form a junction with the Spanish troops under General Cuesta, and to lead the combined force against Marshal Victor. But he soon found that the Spanish regular troops rather hindered than furthered the exertions of the British; and Cuesta, their leader, was superannuated, pedantic, and impracticable. With nineteen thousand British soldiers and thirty-four thousand Spaniards, Wellesley encountered fifty thousand Frenchmen, under Victor and Sebastiani, at Talavera, on the 27th and 28th of July, and obtained a complete victory, though not without considerable sacrifice, between five and six thousand of his army being killed or wounded. The news of the victory was received with great rejoicing in England, and Sir Arthur Wellesley was raised to the peerage as Viscount Wellington. He had, however, with his usual shrewd common-sense, made his own estimate of the position of things in Spain, and of the precautions necessary against surprise. The French had 200,000 troops in the country; the Spanish junta, who nominally governed the country, could not be depended on; and the story of the universal enthusiasm of the people proved a delusion. Wellington complains of the destitute condition in which the English forces were left, and of their sufferings from the want of provisions, with which the junta, in spite of solemn promises, had neglected to supply them. He speaks also, with undisguised plainness, of the carelessness and apathy of the people, who "would take no trouble, except to pack up their goods and run away, when they heard of the advance of a French patrol." He therefore selected, on the frontier of Portugal, that famous position where he afterwards constructed the lines of Torres Vedras, a strong line of earthworks from the sea-coast to the Tagus. The sudden reappearance of Soult compelled Wellington to retreat with his army towards the frontiers of Portugal.

Operations of Beresford.

Wellesley's Victory at Talavera.

Mismanagement of the Junta.

Lord Castlereagh conceived the plan of an expedition against the Low Countries. The design was allowed to ooze out; the time of departure was delayed, and the Earl of Chatham, under whose command it was placed, had neither promptitude nor ability. Forty thousand men were conveyed to the Dutch coast. Flushing was invested, and taken on the 15th of August; but Chatham lingered irresolutely. The island of Walcheren was a deadly position for the army. The troops were soon woefully thinned by disease, and the island was evacuated on the 23rd of

The Walcheren Expedition.

December, 1809. George Canning publicly declared that he would no longer remain in office, unless Castlereagh resigned. The consequence was a duel. Canning was wounded by his opponent, and both of them resigned.

Napoleon once more turned his attention to the conquest of Spain, and large reinforcements were sent under General Massena. Wellington retired behind the defences of Torres Vedras, after checking the pursuit of Massena by the victory of Busaco, on the 27th of September, 1810. The lines of Torres Vedras proved impregnable, and Massena retreated in the spring of 1811; whereupon Wellington followed the French general into Spain. At Fuentes de Onoro, on the 5th of May, 1811, he inflicted a defeat on Massena, and on the 16th, Soult was beaten in the terrible battle of Albuera by Marshal Beresford, who had unsuccessfully invested the strong fortress of Badajoz, and had been compelled to raise the siege. The arrival of Wellington was signalized by another attempt to storm Badajoz; but the city held out. In the former year, Ney had taken Ciudad Rodrigo; an attempt was also made to take this fortress from the French, but Marmont compelled the British to raise the siege, and the lines of Torres Vedras again became their stronghold. Early in 1812, Wellington resumed active operations. Ciudad Rodrigo was taken by storm on the 19th of January; and on the 6th of April Badajoz fell into the hands of the British after a tremendous conflict. A great victory was gained against the army under Marmont, at Salamanca, on the 22nd of July. Wellington was enabled to enter Madrid. But again he was obliged to retreat to the frontiers of Portugal. He had undertaken the siege of Burgos without heavy artillery, and was compelled to abandon the endeavour.

Battle of Busaco.

Fuentes de Onoro and Albuera.

Battle of Salamanca.

But in 1813, strongly reinforced, Wellington commenced his final march into Spain, the French, under Jourdan, retiring as he advanced. On the 21st of June, 1813, at Vittoria, in the north of Spain, was fought the decisive battle, the forces comprising about 75,000 men in each army. Marshal Jourdan was obliged to retreat, and lost all his artillery and the greater portion of his baggage. Soult, a leader of far superior abilities, now took the command. The strong fortresses of St. Sebastian and Pampeluna fell into the hands of the British; the frontier into France was crossed.

Triumph at Vittoria.

In England, meanwhile, the jubilee of the king, upon his fiftieth year of rule, was quickly followed by an attack of his mental malady. The return of the malady of the king had definitely declared itself. On the 20th of December, 1810, a bill was passed, declaring the Prince of Wales regent of the United Kingdom; and the personal reign of George III. was ended, for he never recovered, but passed the concluding years of his life in a pitiable condition in Windsor Castle, blind and almost entirely deaf. There had also been some excitement in parliament, Sir Francis Burdett being committed to the Tower for some very outspoken criticisms on the government. When he was removed from his residence in Piccadilly to the Tower,

The King's Insanity.

The Burdett Riots.

a collision occurred between the crowd and the soldiers, that resulted in the death of several persons and the wounding of many more. Sir Francis brought an action against the Speaker for breaking open his house to arrest him, but was nonsuited.

The war caused much distress, through the shutting up Europe against English manufactures. Gangs of men known as Luddites, went about attacking the factories and breaking the machines. An act was passed, making machine-breaking a capital offence; and various Luddites were executed. The Prince Regent was not generally popular. His extravagance, profusion, and dissipation, his conduct towards the Princess of Wales, and his Whig friends, especially Sheridan, rendered the prince odious to many. In 1812, Mr. Spencer Perceval, the chancellor of the exchequer, was shot dead, as he was entering the lobby of the House of Commons, by a certain John Bellingham. This man had been a merchant, and petitioned the government with regard to wrongs he had sustained at the hands of the Russian executive; he resolved, half demented with anger and disappointment, to revenge himself on the government, who refused him justice. Within a week of the murder, Bellingham was tried, condemned, and hanged. Lord Liverpool now became prime minister, with Mr. Vansittart as chancellor of the exchequer, and Lord Castlereagh as foreign minister.

Discontent in England. The Luddites.

Murder of Mr. Perceval.

On the 18th of June, 1812, war was declared by the United States against England. For some years there had been disputes between the two countries, especially with regard to the commercial rights of neutrals during time of war; and already, in 1807, the American ports had been closed to the British, and trade suspended. The New England States in the north were greatly opposed to this extreme measure of the government, and even threatened to secede from the union. One great cause of anger had been the Orders in Council issued by the English government in 1807, prohibiting trade with any of the ports occupied by the French. At sea the fortune of war was unfavourable to the British. In various encounters between English and American ships the Americans captured their opponents; but in each case the advantage in size and in weight of metal was with the victors. On the other hand, the British flag gained a triumph in the encounter between the frigate "Shannon," and the American "Chesapeake," which was taken and carried off as a prize to Halifax. In January, 1813, Frenchtown, in Canada, was taken from the British, but was recaptured. Various attempts of the Americans to occupy Canada failed, though on the lakes they gained important advantages. The Americans were defeated at Burlington Heights in June, 1813; and in December of the same year Buffalo Town was burnt by the British. Many of Wellington's veteran soldiers were despatched across the Atlantic to take part in the unnatural contest in America. In 1814, the British, under General Ross, defeated the Americans at Bladensburg; the city of Washington was taken, and the Capitol and other buildings were ruthlessly burnt on the 24th of August. Immediately afterwards, the British squadron on Lake

War with the United States.

Burning of Washington.

Champlain was taken by the Americans, and on the 12th, General Ross himself was killed in an abortive attack by the British on Baltimore. Negotiations were opened in Europe, and a treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States was signed at Ghent in December, 1814. But before the news could cross the Atlantic, an attack was made upon New Orleans; but the American general, Jackson, put the city into a most efficient state of defence, posting his troops behind entrenchments, and causing a simultaneous fire to be opened upon the attacking army from ships in the river, batteries on the shore, and large bodies of hidden riflemen. The brave General Pakenham, the leader of the British forces, was slain, and nearly three thousand of his brave Peninsular soldiers perished in the ditches and swamps of New Orleans, on the 8th of January, 1815.

Pakenham's Failure at New Orleans.

The year 1812 was the turning-point of Napoleon's career. His anger was excited against Russia, where the Berlin and Milan decrees had not been strictly carried out, and Napoleon prepared to invade Russia. No former campaign had been planned on such a scale of magnitude and magnificence. The immense preparations delayed the departure of the invading army. The Russian forces retreated before the advancing French; but the common soldiers were ready to mutiny from indignation at seeing the invaders advancing unchecked through their country. At Smolensk the Russians made an obstinate defence, but were compelled at last to retreat. On the 7th of September was fought the tremendous battle of Borodino, and Moscow lay open to the conqueror. The city was deserted, save by rabble of the lowest class, who had been commissioned by Rostopchin, the governor, to set Moscow on fire—a task they very accurately performed. The French were obliged to encamp outside the burning city. At length Napoleon was obliged to commence a retreat. Frost, famine, exhaustion, and the continual attacks of the Cossacks, combined to annihilate the great army. At the passage of the Beresina alone, above 20,000 fell; and at length Napoleon left to Ney the task of leading the remnant that remained, he himself arriving in Paris only just in time to put down the conspiracy of Colonel Malet.

Napoleon's Russian Campaign.

Burning of Moscow.

The year 1813 was one of awakening throughout continental Europe. In Prussia the hesitating king was compelled to declare war against France. Recruiting offices were opened in the principal towns of northern Germany; and men of all classes hastened to enrol themselves as volunteers. The English government helped the rising by lavish contributions. Napoleon marshalled a great army along the line of the Elbe. In the first part of the campaign of 1813, he was again victorious, inflicting defeat upon the allies at Lützen, Wurtzen, and Bautzen; and an armistice was agreed upon, to discuss the conditions of peace. When the time came for closing the armistice, without an accommodation, it was announced that Austria had joined the coalition. The whole force of the alliance was concentrated against him at the tremendous battle of Leipzig, from the 16th to the 18th of October, in which more than 600,000 men were in arms

Awakening of Germany.

Battle of Leipzig.

against each other, and the killed and wounded amounted to 80,000. Napoleon retreated with the wreck of his army to France.

The campaign of 1814 was short and sharp. Hemmed in by foes on all sides, Napoleon contrived, with a splendid display of energy and skill, to beat back one army after another, and, though hopelessly outnumbered, maintained the field, until, while he was engaging one army, two others marched upon Paris. The allied armies entered Paris, to the number of 300,000 men, on the 31st of March; and the Bourbon dynasty was restored. Napoleon signed an abdication, and was allowed to retain the title of Emperor, with the little island of Elba for a territory, and an annual pension. Wellington in the south was forcing his way into France. On February 27th, 1814, he gained a victory at Orthes; and on the 10th

Campaign of 1814.

Abdication of Napoleon.

MILITARY UNIFORMS OF 1812.

Austrian Foot Soldier. Polish Lancer. French Voltigeur Cuirassier. Dragoon.

of April, the last battle of the Peninsular war was fought at Toulouse, and again Wellington was victorious.

On the 3rd of May Louis XVIII. made his public entry into Paris. The Treaty of Paris reduced France to the limits of the monarchy before 1793. Wellington was created a duke, and an annuity of £13,000 was settled upon him by parliament. In the autumn a congress met at Vienna, to settle the boundaries of the different states of Europe. The various nations were soon ready to quarrel over their conflicting interests. Russia and Prussia stood together, while England and Austria combined with France to oppose their aggression; and thus the settle-

Congress of Vienna.

ment of the various boundaries was fraught with difficulty and delay. In England also, discontent and disturbances arose. The cessation of the war brought with it a cessation in the demand for various articles and stores supplied by manufacturing houses. Land had increased considerably in value; the proprietors of great estates received high rents; and the farmers became wealthy through the high price they obtained for their corn. But, while population had greatly increased, the wages of the labourer were insufficient, amid all the prosperity of the middle and upper classes. During the long war, Germany and other countries erected factories of their own, and established a system of protection, charging so high an import duty on goods brought from abroad as almost entirely to exclude British articles from their markets. At the same time they sent large cargoes of corn to England, bringing down the price of wheat. But the farmers cried out that this influx of foreign corn would ruin them. The landed proprietors quickly took the alarm. A bill was introduced, by a Mr. Robinson, to stop the importation of grain from abroad until the home price should have reached eighty shillings a quarter. Mr. Robinson's corn law resolutions passed the House of Commons; there were "corn law riots" in the metropolis, and Mr. Robinson's windows were broken. The military were called out, and various of the rioters were shot. Nevertheless, the Corn Bill passed the Lords in due course.

Depression in Trade.

The Corn Laws.

In France, the government committed grave mistakes. A foolish and senseless persecution was commenced against a number of blameless officials in the post offices and public service generally, who were turned out of their places to make room for a swarm of hungry emigrants, who returned in the train of the Bourbon princes, and clamorously demanded compensation. The army itself was treated with studied disrespect. The cross of the Legion of Honour was bestowed upon men of more than doubtful character. An enormous sum was taken from the budget to indemnify emigrants whose estates had been sold; and the pension awarded to Napoleon was left unpaid. Napoleon's veterans were filled with sorrow and anger at the altered state of things. The Jesuits flourished, and a severe censorship of the press was established.

Return of the Emigrés.

Mistakes of the Bourbons.

On the 26th of February, 1815, it was announced to the few hundred soldiers of the old guard of whom the emperor's army at Porto Ferrajo consisted, that their chief was about to embark for France. Napoleon at once disembarked at Frejus, near Cannes, and began marching northward with his few hundred followers. The news of Napoleon's landing fell like a thunderbolt upon the French court. The troops despatched against him shouted "Vive l'Empereur!" and joined his standard. Ney went over to him with all his men; Colonel Labedoque did the same thing at Grenoble; and presently Louis XVIII. fled from the Tuileries, and hastened to put the Belgian frontier between himself and the returned exile.

Napoleon Quits Elba.

Napoleon tried to conciliate the people by a promise to rule on

constitutional principles. He also made advances to the various governments of Europe. But England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia entered into a compact, each undertaking to bring 150,000 men into the field against him. Napoleon made preparations for the campaign with all his old readiness and energy. His best chance lay in striking speedily, and gaining a great victory over the first foes who opposed him. Accordingly, the emperor prepared to march across the Belgian frontier, and confront the forces of England and Prussia.

The War Renewed.

The Duke of Wellington readily accepted the command of the army that embarked for Ostend, whence it proceeded to Brussels. The Duke's forces in Belgium consisted of about 78,500 men. About two-thirds of the whole force were English or Belgians, the remainder being made up of German contingents, mostly Brunswick and Nassau troops. The Prussian army was under the veteran Field Marshal Blücher; and Wellington's plan was naturally to effect a junction with the Prussian general. The French emperor's plan was at once to attack the Prussians, to prevent their junction with the English; having defeated them, to attack the English and drive them back upon the coast. Accordingly, on the 15th of June, he took Charleroi from the Prussian general Ziethen. He then advanced with the main body of his army towards Fleurus, to encounter the Prussians; while he ordered Ney, with 40,000 men, to march upon Quatre Bras, to prevent the English from forming a junction with the Prussian forces. Wellington moved southwards to Quatre Bras, so called from the junction of four roads. For ten hours, on the 16th of June, a furious fight raged, the marshal hurling his heavy cavalry, time after time, against the British infantry, who formed into squares, against which the masses of cavalry broke continually, even the young recruits fighting with extraordinary steadiness and persistency. At length, late at night, Ney gave up the contest, leaving the English masters of the field of Quatre Bras, dearly purchased by the loss of 2,251 officers and men in the British army, and almost as many in the foreign contingent.

Napoleon's Plan of Campaign.

Quatre Bras.

Napoleon, meanwhile, attacked the Prussian army at Ligny. Blücher, the old field-marshal, maintained his position for hours with great courage; he was thrown from his horse, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. In the end, the Prussians were compelled to retreat in the direction of Wavre. Napoleon ordered Marshal Grouchy, with 35,000 men, to pursue them and drive them far from the field, and then to return with all speed with his men. These orders Grouchy failed to carry out. To Grouchy's failure Napoleon persisted in afterwards attributing his own defeat two days later.

The Prussians at Ligny.

Wellington determined to fall back upon Brussels. During the day of the 17th the army retreated by three roads. Ney moved forward in pursuit. The English cavalry, especially the life-guards, kept the horsemen of Ney in constant employment, and rendered them in the end far more cautious in their advance. Wellington contrived to communicate with Blücher,

The Retreat upon Brussels.

WELLINGTON IN 1815.

to whom he announced his intention of giving battle to the French on the following day, if the Prussian commander would support him with two army corps. The stout old field-marshal sent back word that he would be there, with the entire Prussian army. On the evening of the 17th, Wellington took up his position along a ridge of heights across the main road leading from Brussels to Charleroi, about three-quarters of a mile south of Waterloo, a village consisting of a row of houses on each side of the way. The centre of his position was a few hundred yards in front of the farm of Mont St. Jean. Château, Goumont, afterwards mentioned by the duke as "Hougoumont," and another farm, La Haye Sainte, were strengthened as far as circumstances permitted, and were occupied, the first by some companies of the guards and some Brunswick troops, the second by some soldiers of the German legion. The French, following close upon the track of their foes, were drawn upon the opposite heights. Napoleon, on the next morning, expressed exultation at finding the English army drawn up in battle array against him. The official record of the army under Wellington on the morning of that memorable 18th of June gives the number at something over 72,700 men. Of these, something over 36,000 were British, 21,000 Belgians or Nassauers, about 7,000 Hanoverians, and 8,000 Brunswickers. The strength of Napoleon's army, according to the most accurate computation, must have been about 78,000 men. The battle of Waterloo has often been emphatically described as a "soldier's battle." There was no attempt at manœuvring. The conflict consisted of a series of furious onslaughts by the French on the English line, and of a succession of stubborn and successful efforts of the English to beat off the attacks. The first was directed at about eleven o'clock, against Hougoumont. Sometimes the attacks were made by cavalry and infantry in combination, and hour after hour they were renewed with astonishing intrepidity. The duke himself, in writing to one of his old companions in arms, said: "Never did I see such a pounding match; both sides were what, in boxers' language, would be called gluttons." The repeated attacks of the heavy French cavalry were met by the infantry in squares, as at Quatre Bras.

Position of the English at Waterloo.

The Battle of Waterloo.

As the day went on, the efforts of the French became more and more desperate. On both sides great numbers fell; the slaughter at Waterloo, in proportion to the numbers engaged, was prodigious. Sir Thomas Picton, Sir William Ponsonby, and Colonel de Lancy, Wellington's quartermaster-general, were amongst the slain. Six hundred English officers were killed or wounded on the field of Waterloo. In the course of the afternoon, the columns of the Prussian army arrived on the scene. They had had a difficult task to force their way through the rain-sodden ground, in which the cannon frequently sank to the axle-trees of the wheels. At about seven in the evening, Napoleon made his last grand effort. The guard, which had been kept in reserve, was sent forward, under Ney, against the stubborn English lines. At a distance of some fifty yards from their foes, they attempted to deploy, but were met by so terrible and concentrated a fire that they reeled and wavered. The propitious moment was seized by the duke, who ordered a general advance of the whole line; and as the English mowed down cavalry, infantry, and artillery from the heights they had occupied all through the day, the French fell into hopeless confusion, and were swept down the hill by the advancing columns. "They are mixed together! It is all over!" was the despairing cry of Napoleon, as he saw the destruction of his famous legions. To the Prussians, who were comparatively fresh, was entrusted the duty of preventing the rallying of the vanquished army. All through the night the pursuit continued. Napoleon himself narrowly escaped capture. He was the first to bring the news of his discomfiture to Paris, where he arrived on the night of the 20th. He had the audacity to propose a short dictatorship; but the majority were bitterly hostile to him, and he saw that the game was played out. Accordingly he signed a second abdication, and quitted Paris for Malmaison, where he lingered irresolutely for a week. His object was to escape to America; but the coast was too strictly guarded by British men-of-war. His former ministers, Savary and Count Las Cases, therefore went on board the English line-of-battle ship, "Bellerophon," at Rochefort, to negotiate. Captain Maitland, of the "Bellerophon," offered, if the emperor chose to come on board, to carry him to England. Napoleon embarked, with a suite of about fifty persons, on board the "Bellerophon," and the ship entered Plymouth Sound. It was announced to Napoleon that he was to be conveyed to the island of St. Helena, and detained there in the custody of the allied powers. Napoleon protested, but he was transferred to the "Northumberland" ship of war, which at once sailed for St. Helena, where she arrived on the 5th of October. For five years and a half the fallen emperor lived as a prisoner, treated, on the whole, with as much consideration as he had a right to expect. But his pride revolted at certain restrictions somewhat pedantically carried out by the governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, against whom he conceived a strong and unreasonable antipathy. He died on the 5th of May, 1821, of cancer in the stomach, a disease hereditary in his family, and which had been fatal to his father before him.

The last Effort of Napoleon.

Napoleon's Surrender to Captain Maitland.

Napoleon at St. Helena.

The allied armies of England and Prussia marched to Paris, which was then once again occupied by foreign troops. Louis XVIII. was once more installed in the Tuileries. The allies ordered that 500,000 soldiers should be quartered in France for the space of five years, to prevent the recurrence of an outbreak against the government, and that France should bear the expense of this army of occupation. In the sequel, the army was withdrawn, after three years, in 1818. The congress of Vienna resumed and finished its labours, and was supposed to have settled the territorial distribution of Europe for at least a century. The principle on which it proceeded was to recompense those powers that had opposed Napoleon, and to mulct those that had given him countenance and aid.

Second Occupation of Paris.

Marshal Ney, Colonel Labedoyère, and Lavalette, Napoleon's post-master-general, were arrested, tried, and condemned to death. The two former were shot; Lavalette escaped through a stratagem.

After the great struggle was over, and peace had been permanently restored, there was leisure to count the cost, and to make an estimate of the position. From two hundred millions, the national debt, in spite of the vast amounts raised by taxation, had advanced to above eight hundred millions. Trade was in a depressed state; the manufacturers were overstocked, and the foreign markets to a large extent closed against England by prohibitive tariffs. The great number of men unable to obtain work were further exasperated by the high price of bread. Luddite riots were again rife. Petitions to the Prince Regent were prepared and signed by thousands, urging a reform of the Constitution. Those who clamoured for a thorough change were designated as "radicals." The Prince Regent steadily set himself against all concession and change. In consequence, he became very unpopular. In Manchester great meetings were held, and the people even declared their intention of marching upon London if their requests were not taken into consideration. The government met this demand by repressive measures and a system of coercion. In 1817, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. Sir Francis Burdett's motion for parliamentary reform and for annual parliaments and universal suffrage were lost in the Commons by large majorities. William Hone, a popular author and publisher, was tried before Lord Ellenborough on three indictments, for a parody on the Athanasian Creed, beginning, "Whosoever will be a placeman,"—and on the Litany and other parts of the Prayer-Book; but the government failed in securing a conviction, Hone showing, in his defence, that Canning and others of the Tory party had done the same thing with impunity. In August, 1819, an immense assemblage of people—men, women, and children—had assembled in St. Peter's Field, Manchester, to hear a discourse from a popular leader known as "Orator Hunt." The authorities, backed by a body of cavalry soldiers and a number of mounted yeomanry, attempted to disperse the meeting and arrest the speaker A number of lives were lost, and between 200 and 300 persons seriously wounded. The exasperated people declared that the soldiers and yeomanry had charged as

England after the Peace. National Debt.

Repressive Measures. Indictment of Hone.

if they had been at Waterloo; and the name "Peterloo massacre" was given to the nefarious transaction. The government refused all inquiry and redress. Lord Sidmouth (the Mr. Addington of 1802) thought to quell the spirit of discontent by hurrying through parliament the "Six Acts"—stringent edicts against seditious meetings, writings, and speech.

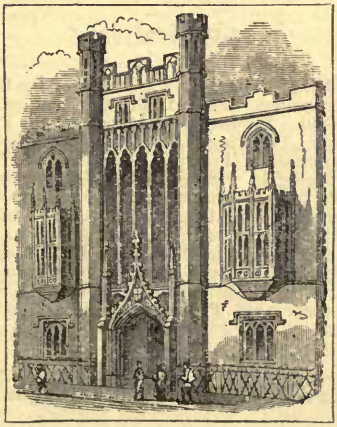
System of Coercion.

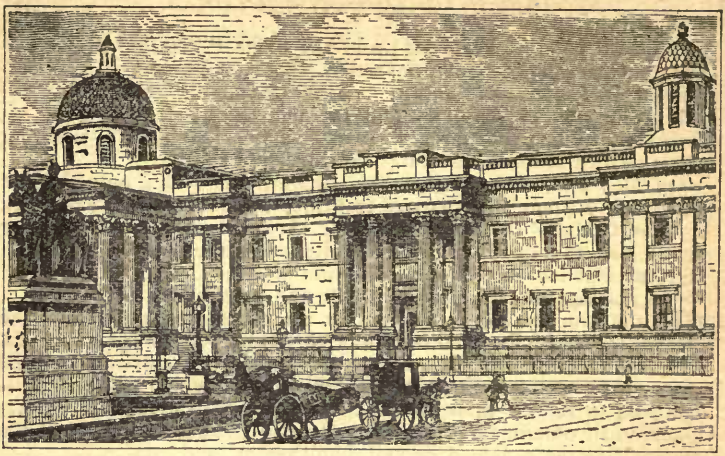
On May 2nd, 1816, the Princess Charlotte of Wales, only child of the Prince Regent, was married to Prince Leopold George Frederick of Saxe Gotha. On November 6th, 1817, the princess died, after giving birth to a dead child. Soon afterwards the Duke of Kent married the Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg, widow of the Duke of Leiningen. On the 24th of May, 1819, the Duchess of Kent became the mother of a princess, the present Queen of England, who was christened Alexandrina Victoria.

Birth of the Princess Victoria.

Sir Edward Pellew, afterwards Lord Exmouth, bombarded Algiers on August 27th, 1816, until the Dey was compelled to make submission and to release more than 1,000 Christian captives. Sir James Mackintosh obtained a select committee to consider so much of the criminal law as ordained capital punishment, and contrived to procure a very important and comprehensive alteration of the law. Queen Charlotte died, aged 75, in November, 1818. The Duke of Kent, the father of the Princess Victoria, was carried off very suddenly by inflammation of the lungs, on the 23rd of January, 1820. Six days afterwards, on the 29th of the month, King George III. died at Windsor Castle, after years of blindness and insanity. He was in his 82nd year, and had nearly completed the 60th from his accession to the throne.

Reform of the Criminal Laws.





CHAPTER XXXIX.

The House of Brunswick—George IV.

A.D. 1820–1830.

Unpopularity of the King. The "Holy Alliance" of the Despotic Powers. The Cato Street Conspiracy. Fate of the Conspirators. Return of Queen Caroline. Her Trial. Failure of the Ministers; the Proceedings against the Queen Abandoned. The King's Coronation. Death of the Queen. Riot at her Funeral. Statesmen of Progress. Canning and Peel. Don Pedro and Don Miguel of Portugal. Rising of the Greeks against Turkey. Battle of Navarino. Greek Independence Secured. Illness and Retirement of Lord Liverpool. Canning Prime Minister. Retirement of Wellington and his Followers from the Government. Death of Canning. Wellington Administration. Catholic Emancipation Bill Passed by Wellington and Peel. New Police Force Organized by Peel. Question of Parliamentary Representation Revived. Great Commercial and Manufacturing Centres Unrepresented. Boroughs with fewer than Twenty-five Voters. Ireland. Illness of the King. His Death.

GEORGE IV., as Prince Regent, had for ten years exercised all the functions of royalty. He was fifty-eight years old, and was far from popular.

On the Continent the despotic monarchs concluded among themselves the Holy Alliance, by which the great powers, France, Austria,

Russia, and Prussia, bound themselves collectively to interfere on behalf of any one of the powers that should be disturbed by liberal movements among its subjects. The worthless Ferdinand VII. of Spain was enabled, by the help of the Holy Alliance, to set at defiance the constitutional party, who endeavoured to enforce the performance of the promises he had made An Austrian army invaded Naples. In the Sardinian kingdom similar measures were taken, Turin and Alessandria being besieged, and the absolute government set up. In England the Holy Alliance and its principles were never openly acknowledged, the idea of foreign intervention for the settlement of English questions being distasteful to all parties alike.

The Holy Alliance.

A few weeks after the accession of George IV., a certain Arthur Thistlewood, a cashiered officer of marines, endeavoured to carry into effect the extraordinary idea of overthrowing the monarchy The conspirators were accustomed to meet in a hay-loft over a stable in Cato Street, Edgware Road. The design of the conspirators was to make their way into the house of Lord Harrowby, one of the cabinet ministers, in Grosvenor Square, on the occasion of a ministerial dinner. They were to murder the assembled ministers, and then to rush into the square and proclaim a republic. The plot was betrayed to the government by one of the conspirators, and a body of Bow Street officers, with a party of soldiers, was sent down to arrest the wretched gang of plotters in their den in Cato Street. Thistlewood escaped at the time, but was arrested the next day. He was committed to the Tower for high treason, and his companions were lodged in Newgate. On the 1st of May, 1820, Arthur Thistlewood and four of his fellow-conspirators were hanged at the Old Bailey their heads being afterwards cut off and exhibited to the people.

The Cato Street Conspiracy.

Fate of the Conspirators.

The king's unpopularity was greatly increased by the proceedings instituted with regard to his queen. Caroline of Brunswick returned to England, and claimed to take her place as lawful queen of England. Lord Liverpool brought in a bill of pains and penalties against the queen on the 19th of July, 1820. The case against the queen was opened by the attorney-general on the 19th of August. The manifest untruthfulness of the Italian witnesses, who were brought over to give testimony against her, and the notorious fact that the queen had been offered an income of £50,000 a year, on condition that she should give up her pretensions, and reside abroad, all told in her favour; and the report on the bill of pains and penalties, after the last debate on the 10th of November, was approved by a majority of only nine voices. Thereupon Lord Liverpool abandoned the whole proceeding. London was illuminated for three nights in honour of the event. Soon afterwards the freedom of the city was presented to Mr. Brougham, Mr. Denman, and Dr. Lushington, Queen Caroline's counsel. Arrangements were made for the coronation of George IV., which was to take place in Westminster Abbey on the 19th of July. The queen sent in a request to the Privy Council that she might be present on the occasion; the

Return of Queen Caroline to England.

Trial of the Queen.

Coronation of George IV.

answer was a refusal. Nevertheless, the queen presented herself at the Abbey, but was turned away from the doors. This rebuff appears to have broken the spirit of the unfortunate lady. She fell ill of a fever a few days afterwards, and died on the 7th of August, within three weeks after the coronation, at Brandenburgh House, Hammersmith. Her corpse was removed to Harwich, to be shipped to Germany, for interment in the family vault at Brunswick. It was arranged that it should proceed by way of the New Road, thus passing to the northward of the city; but the populace, who were violently excited, barricaded Park Lane. At two points there was a conflict between the crowd and the life-guards, who formed the escort. Two persons were killed and a number wounded by the sabres of the life-guards. A proof of the public temper is seen in the fact that at the inquest upon the bodies of the two slain persons a verdict of wilful murder was in each case returned against the soldiers.

Queen Caroline's Funeral.

The Tory party continued to direct the councils of the State; but Toryism was gradually altering its character. The old unflinching Tories of the Eldon and Ellenborough school were gradually giving way to a more enlightened order of statesmen, like George Canning and Sir Robert Peel, who incurred suspicion and dislike among their own party by abandoning the old Tory principles, which had become impossible under the altered condition of things. The question of the relief of the Roman Catholics from their political disabilities was forced upon the nation, with the demand for reform of the representation of the people in parliament. Meetings were held all over the country in furtherance of these objects.

Statesmen of Progress.

Question of Necessary Change.

It was in Ireland the agitation first assumed a formidable aspect. The distress in that country was terrible; and the Roman Catholics there were exasperated at having to maintain, out of their poverty, a Protestant Church, whose doctrines they repudiated. Already, in 1822 also, Lord John Russell brought forward a motion for reform in the House of Commons, but it was rejected. In the same year Lord Londonderry (Castlereagh) committed suicide. The appointment of George Canning to succeed Castlereagh as foreign secretary was a most important political event. Canning took the earliest opportunity of practically opposing the Holy Alliance. On the death of the King Louis XVIII., his younger brother and successor, Charles X., disgusted the people by his endeavours to bring back the ceremonial and system of the old *régime;* and the publication of the three famous decrees, in 1830, which put an end to what liberty remained to the press, dissolved the newly elected chamber of deputies before it had met, materially restricted the system of election, and led to the July revolution, which sent Charles X., like James II., "on his travels."

Death of Castlereagh.

In 1826, John VI. died, whereupon Don Pedro made over the throne of Portugal to his daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria, who granted her subjects a Constitution. Don Miguel, a brother of Don Pedro, set up a claim to the throne. Canning sent troops to support Donna Maria against the usurper.

Don Pedro and Don Miguel.

In April, 1821, the insurrection of Greece against the Turkish yoke broke out. In 1822, the whole civilized world was horrified by the horrible massacre perpetrated by the Turks in the island of Chios, or Scio. During ten days the butchery went on, and 40,000 persons, of both sexes, perished. In the next year the brave leader, Marco Botzaris, gained important advantages over the Turks, but lost his life. Lord Byron devoted himself to the Greek cause; but died of a fever, at Missolonghi, on the 19th of April, 1824. England took up the cause of the patriots, and France and Russia joined in the intervention. On the 20th of October, 1827, the combined fleets of the three powers, commanded by Admiral Codrington, destroyed the Turkish fleet in the harbour of Navarino. In 1829, the independence of Greece was acknowledged by the Porte. The Greeks chose Prince Otho, of Bavaria, as their king.

The Rising of the Greeks against Turkey.

Battle of Navarino.

In February, 1827, Lord Liverpool was seized with paralysis, and forced to retire. George Canning was made prime minister in April, 1827. But he found his path beset with difficulties. The Duke of Wellington refused to co-operate with Canning. Lord Eldon, Mr. Peel, and the bulk of the old Tory party also deserted. Within four mouths after he had assumed the premiership, the gifted minister died, on the 8th of August, 1827. For a time his friends remained in power, Lord Goderich taking the deceased statesman's place. But the ministers, finding themselves in a minority, resigned in January, 1828.

George Canning Prime Minister.

The Duke of Wellington now became prime minister. Great was the surprise of the nation when the new premier and Mr. Peel brought in a measure for the relief of the Roman Catholics by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. But here the duke's common sense stood him in good stead. In Ireland the agitation had assumed formidable proportions. Daniel O'Connell, an Irish barrister, had thoroughly gained the ear and enlisted the sympathy of his countrymen on the subject of Catholic emancipation; and the duke saw that the choice lay between giving way in this matter and civil war in Ireland. Accordingly, in April, 1828, the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed, and Catholics became eligible for seats in parliament. O'Connell was immediately returned as member for the county of Clare. An important event of 1829 was the passing of Mr. Peel's measure for the establishment of a new police force, which came into operation in London in September of that year.

Wellington Prime Minister.

Catholic Emancipation Act Passed.

The success of the agitation for the relief of the Catholics was an incitement to agitating for a reform of the representation of the people in parliament. It was felt that, in a great number of cases, the interests of a limited class, that of the landed proprietors, was the only one represented, the bulk of the people being left hopelessly out of the calculation. Decayed and insignificant towns sent a large number of representatives to Westminster, while Manchester, Sheffield, and Liverpool were not represented at all. But there was little chance that a reform measure would be initiated so long as George IV. lived and reigned.

Parliamentary Representation.

Yet the grievances for whose redress a clamour was raised were of old standing, and had been forcibly pointed out in a petition presented to parliament by Mr. Grey, afterwards Earl Grey, nearly forty years before, in 1793. The number of representatives assigned to various counties had no proportion to the extent, population, and commercial importance of those counties;—for instance, Rutland and Yorkshire, the smallest and the largest county in England, had the same amount of representation, while Cornwall contained so many boroughs that this one county actually returned more borough members to parliament than Yorkshire, Lancashire, Somersetshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and Middlesex all together. In some of the boroughs the number of voters was so small that the majority of the members in the House of Commons, more than half the entire number of members as then constituted, sufficient to show an absolute majority on any question brought before them, represented, in reality, the suffrages of a mere fraction of the general community. Bewdley was a borough in which the voters numbered thirteen; in Droitwich there were twelve, in Launceston fifteen; Marlborough had a roll of twenty-one voters, while in Buckingham their number was thirteen, at Sutton five, and Bramber twenty.

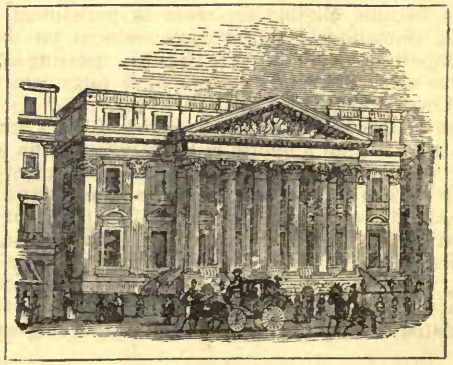
Inequality of the Franchise.

The Catholic Emancipation Bill did not stop the discontent in Ireland. From that time O'Connell commenced an agitation for the repeal of the union with England. He was credited with the chief praise for the success of Catholic emancipation, and was known as "the Liberator."

O'Connell and Repeal.

The king's health was gradually failing during the year 1829, and on the 26th of June, 1830, the life of George IV. came to a close. He had reigned about twenty years—ten as regent, and ten as king—during a most eventful period of the history of his country. But he had not been equal to the duties of his high position. Thus his death produced no general feeling of regret. As his only child, the Princess Charlotte, had died without issue, he was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Clarence.

The King's Death.



CHAPTER XL.

The House of Brunswick—William IV.

A.D. 1830–1837.

Popularity of the King. Railway Traffic. George Stephenson. The Reform Bill. Struggles in both Houses. Riots in the Country. The Grey Ministry Resignation and Reinstatement. The Compromise suggested by the King. Passing of the Bill. The "Cholera Morbus." Great Mortality. Irish Church. Lord Althorp's Poor Law. Burning of the Houses of Parliament. Resignation of Lords Althorp and Grey. Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet. His Resignation. Administration of Lord Melbourne. Affairs of Spain. Carlists and Christinos. Majority of the Princess Victoria. Death of William IV. His Character. Signs of Progress.

Popularity of the King and Queen.

WILLIAM IV., the third son of King George III., was nearly sixty-five years old at his accession. In his youth he had served in the navy, and had acquired the reputation of a strong, hearty sailor; he was popular with the nation, who looked favourably upon the bluff sailor-king.

The ministry, with the Duke of Wellington at its head, was maintained in office by the new king.

Railway Traffic. George Stephenson.

In England, the year 1830 is memorable for the opening of the first railway completed for passenger traffic in England—the line between Manchester and Liverpool. The pitman, George Stephenson, who worked his way up till he became enginewright at Killingworth collieries, forecast the railway future of England. The festive opening of the line, on the 15th of September, in the presence of the Duke of Wellington and other distinguished guests, may be considered as the triumph of the new system. But the day's proceedings were marred by a fatal occurrence, in the death of Mr. Huskisson, one of the earliest pioneers of the Free Trade doctrines, who was struck down by an engine and fatally injured.

When Earl Grey made some remarks on the necessity of reform, the Duke of Wellington replied that he would resist any such measure. This was enough to make the ministry unpopular, and soon afterwards the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues resigned, and were succeeded by Earl Grey's ministry.

On the 1st of March, 1831, Lord John Russell brought in the Reform Bill; and the debate on it was hotly continued till the 5th of June.

Lord John Russell's Reform Bill.

He proposed to disfranchise sixty-two small boroughs, to cut down forty-seven others to one member each, and to simplify electoral rights by giving householders rated at £10 a vote for a borough, and copyholders of £10 a vote for the county. Seats were to be given to great towns that had remained unrepresented, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and the great industrial towns in Yorkshire, and to certain of the counties. Changes were also made, in the same manner, in Scotland and Ireland. The bill created consternation in the Tory benches. Sir Robert Inglis, Sir Charles Wetherell, and Sir Robert Peel were its chief opponents. On the other hand, Lord Althorp, Mr. Hume, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Stanley, and others spoke in its favour.

In spite of all efforts in its favour, the bill, when it came on for second reading in the Commons, had 302 votes for and 301 against it—a majority of *one*, which clearly indicated that it would not be passed in that parliament. Earl Grey and Lord Brougham took upon themselves to make all the necessary arrangements for an immediate dissolution. The king consented, and in a brief speech prorogued the Houses, to the intense anger of the Opposition. The citizens of London illuminated their houses to testify their joy at this triumph, while the crowd vented its indignation on the opponents of the bill by breaking the windows of the Tory chiefs, such as the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Baring.

The Bill abandoned. General Excitement.

A new bill was brought forward immediately the parliament met in June. The second reading was carried by a triumphant majority of 136. The policy of delay was now again adopted by its opponents, who, by every means in their power, obstructed the bill when the motion was made for going into committee, by the proposal of endless amendments. At length, on the 22nd of September, it was passed in the Commons by a majority of 106.

Attempts to delay the Bill.

In the Lords the scene of opposition was renewed with even greater vehemence and acrimony. Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, was especially vehement in his denunciation of the bill and its supporters. The Peers threw out the bill by a majority of forty-one voices. The excitement throughout the country was intense, and in some districts manifested itself in rioting, as at Nottingham and Derby. At Bristol very serious riots took place, the mob being exasperated at the coming of Sir Charles Wetherell, who had opposed the bill vehemently, and with much intemperance of language, to hold the assizes as Recorder. Many lives were sacrificed before the outbreak was quelled. On the other hand, the more temperate and better-informed advocates of the measure were sanguine as to the result. When the Houses met again in December, a third Reform Bill was brought

Opposition in the Lords.

Riots at Bristol.

forward, and it was passed in the Commons, on the 23rd of March, 1832, by a majority of 116. But when it went up to the Lords, the second reading was passed only by a majority of nine, and on a motion, concerning the enfranchising clauses, the ministry suffered defeat. Thereupon they resigned, and the king sent for the Duke of Wellington. But Wellington declined the task of forming a government. William IV. was presently obliged to recall to power the ministry that had resigned. A strong hint was at the same time given to the non-content lords, that his majesty's difficulties would cease if they abandoned their active opposition. The duke's good sense at once showed him the way "to choose the less of two evils." He left the House without voting at the end of the last debate on the Reform Bill, and about a hundred of his adherents followed his example. When the votes were taken, there were 106 "contents" to 22 "non-contents." The king could not bring himself to give his assent in person. This closing act was performed by royal commission.

Minority and Resignation of the Grey Ministry.

The King's Hint to the Lords.

The year 1831 was signalized by the appearance in Europe of the Asiatic cholera. In the autumn this terrible disease appeared in Sunderland, and quickly spread to every part of England. In England it has three times since appeared. The second visitation was in 1848–49, in 1854, and in 1866. On the Continent, as in Italy in 1885, it has caused great ravages, especially in Naples, where the habits of the people, their bad food, and neglect of cleanliness assist its propagation. In Constantinople, nearly 50,000 persons died of it in 1865.

Appearance of the "Cholera Morbus."

The discontent of Ireland found an exponent in Mr. O'Connell, who expatiated chiefly on the Irish Church. A bill was brought in to reduce the number of Irish bishops from twenty-two to twelve, and devote the income thus saved to the augmentation of poor livings, the abolition of Church cess, the building of churches, and similar alterations; and after considerable opposition, the measure became law. A very important event was the emancipation of slaves in the British West India Colonies. The planters received a compensation of £20,000,000 as the value of the slaves set free.

The Irish Church.

A very important measure was the new Poor Law Act. A change was urgently needed. In 1832 the sum expended in relief exceeded £7,000,000, and yet the distress seemed greater than ever. In April, 1834, Lord Althorp introduced the new measure. Poor law commissioners were appointed under the new act to make regulations for the relief and management of the poor in England and Wales. The great principle was that of the cessation of outdoor relief. All persons requiring relief were to appear at the union workhouses, in which they were to take shelter. The new act for a long time caused great dissatisfaction. The paupers, who had been accustomed to exist in freedom, if in poverty, on the parish relief doled out to them in their cottages, complained bitterly at imprisonment with far worse than prison diet; but the chief grievances were mitigated by supplementary acts, and by the establishment of a permanent poor law board in 1867. The problem of the

Lord Althorp's Poor Law Bill.

Union Workhouses.

Provisions of the New Poor Law.

best method of dealing with the enormous mass of poverty and destitution always to be found amid the wealth and culture of the Empire, will ever be a difficult and, to a great extent, an unsatisfactory one to deal with. In October, 1834, a great fire occurred, by which the Houses of Parliament were reduced to ashes.

Resignation of Lord Althorp and Lord Grey.

The Grey ministry, in their endeavours to reform the state of the Irish Church, met with much opposition. Lord Althorp gave in his resignation, and Lord Grey adopted the same course. Lord Melbourne became prime minister in the place of Lord Grey. Lord Althorp was called to the House of Peers as Earl Spencer; and the king soon afterwards suddenly dismissed his ministers.

Peel's Cabinet. General Election.

Sir Robert Peel was summoned in hot haste from Rome, and assumed the premiership, with Lord Lyndhurst, the Earl of Aberdeen, and the Duke of Wellington as his principal colleagues. In this ministry of December, 1834, also appeared the name of William Ewart Gladstone. Parliament was dissolved on the 30th of December, 1834,—an act which excited much hatred against the new ministry. At the general election of 1835 the Whigs were returned in largely preponderating numbers.

Resignation of Sir R. Peel.

The appointment of the highly unpopular Lord Londonderry as ambassador to Russia increased the national discontent; and in a short time Sir Robert Peel resigned, and Lord Melbourne again came into power as prime minister, with Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, Lord Auckland, and Sir John Hobhouse as his chief colleagues.

Affairs of Spain. "Carlists" and "Christinos."

In Spain, the contest between the two parties, the "Carlists" and "Christinos," kept the country in a state of civil war. In 1836, a number of British troops, under the name of the Spanish Legion, proceeded to Spain under the command of Colonel de Lacy Evans, a distinguished officer of the Peninsular war, to fight on the side of Queen Isabella. The legion soon earned for itself a most unenviable notoriety. In the end, Queen Christina's partisans succeeded in vanquishing their opponents.

In the year 1837, the young Princess Victoria attained her majority on the 24th of May. Great rejoicings marked the occasion, the day being kept as a general holiday in London and other towns. The king's days were numbered, and by a bulletin issued on the 9th of June the public became aware of the approaching end. At two o'clock on the night of the 20th of June, he passed quietly away at Windsor Castle.

Death of William IV.

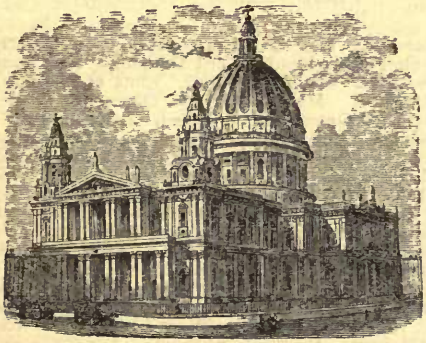
His Character.

During the closing years of his life, the character of William IV. had greatly improved. Though he was a man of very limited intellect, he applied himself with what powers he had, when he became king, to the business of the state; and he had the good sense to see where concession was necessary, and to give way in time to the national will. The glaring errors of his youth, and the faults of his manhood, had been forgotten. The common sense shown by the king in yielding to the popular voice in the matter of the Reform Bill and on other occasions had been favourably

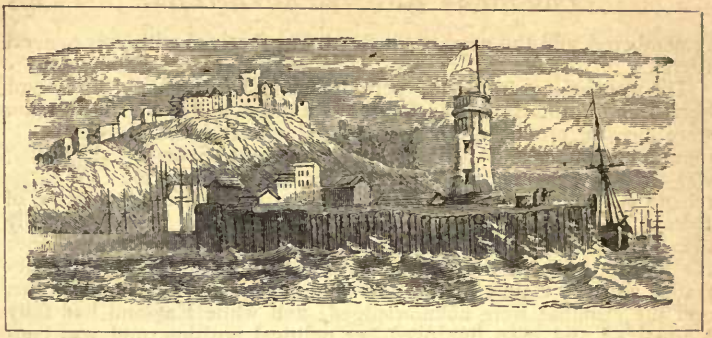
remembered, and the news of his death was received with very general regret.

The concluding era of the period that had just passed away had been rich in promise for the future. Railways and steam navigation were already producing their wonderful effects in promoting commerce and the intercourse of nations. Science was already wringing from nature the secret of the electric telegraph. The blot of slavery had been wiped from the brow of Britain, and the universal brotherhood of men had been practically acknowledged by the emancipation of the West Indian negroes. Into the foul darkness of the prisons the light of philanthropy had penetrated, and the claims of the poor and the weak, even of the fallen and the criminal, were acknowledged; and while England had fully maintained and even improved her political position, and was considered equal in power and influence to the greatest continental states, the question of the right of the people generally to participate in the national prosperity was being brought forward with persistent energy.

Signs of Progress.



St. Paul's



CHAPTER XLI.

The House of Brunswick—Victoria I.

First Period.—1837–1847.

Accession of Victoria I. New Civil List. Insurrection in Canada. Judicious Measures. Sir Francis Head. Lord Durham. New Constitution. The Chartists and their Claims. "Frost" Riots at Newport. The "Bedchamber" Question. Marriage of the Queen to Prince Albert. The Queen's Children. Opium War in China. Damages Paid by the Chinese. Treaty of Nankin. The War in Afghanistan. Dost Mohamed and Shah Soojah. The Disasters of Cabul and the Khyber Pass. Captivity of Women and Children. Sir Robert Sale and Generals Pollock and Nott. Vengeance Taken by the British. Evacuation of Afghanistan. Mohammed Ali and the Syrian War. Jealousy of France. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. Peel's Ministry. Free Trade Agitation. Anti-Corn Law League. The Sliding Scale. Protectionist Opposition. Corn Laws Abolished. Retirement of Peel. Factory and Mines Act. O'Connell and Repeal. Prosecution. Writ of Error. "Rebecca" Riots in Wales. War against the Ameers of Scinde. Meeanee. Dhuleep Singh. Battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshah. Aliwal and Sobraon. Second Sikh War. Battles of Chillianwallah and Goojerat. Annexation of Scinde. Distress in Ireland. Railway Mania.

Accession of the Queen.

THE Princess Alexandrina Victoria, now Queen of England, assumed the duties of her rank with great self-possession and composure. Early in July she proceeded to the House of Lords, in state, to prorogue parliament. Immediately afterwards parliament was dissolved, and a general election was ordered.

When the parliament met, the Tory party had been strengthened. Lord John Russell was the leader of the Whigs, Sir Robert Peel of the Tories. The subjects mentioned in the royal speech as requiring immediate attention were, the rearrangement of the civil list, rendered necessary by the demise of the crown, and the disturbances that had broken out in Upper and Lower Canada. The first question was settled by the recommendation of a parliamentary committee that £385,000 should be paid yearly for the support of the crown. The sum of £1,200 was appropriated to pensions, to persons who, by services to the crown, or the public, or by their useful discoveries in science, and attainments in literature and the arts, have merited the gracious consideration of their sovereign, and the gratitude of their country. The income of the Duchess of Kent was increased from £22,000 to £30,000 a year. One of the incidents of the session, which was afterwards recalled with some interest, was the first appearance of Mr. Benjamin Disraeli in parliament as a speaker. He was interrupted by a clamour, before which he was obliged to give way. "I will sit down now," said the undaunted orator, "but the time will come when you will hear me!" The time did indeed come, when the words uttered by Benjamin Disraeli from his seat in the House were to be listened to with respectful attention. At this time the political connection between England and Hanover was definitely severed. The queen's uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, by far the most unpopular among the sons of George III., was invested with the crown of Hanover, and proceeded to the Continent to take possession of his territory.

New Civil List.

Benjamin Disraeli in Parliament.

The first disturbance of the peace of the empire in this reign occurred in Canada. Already, in 1791, that extensive and important colonial possession had been divided into Upper and Lower Canada, the former province being peopled chiefly by British emigrants, while the population of Lower Canada was almost entirely French. To conciliate the French Canadians, while the criminal law of the colony was identical with that of England, the French civil law was carried out with regard to the tenure of land and other particulars; and the two systems continually clashed. M. Louis Papineau had at one time been Speaker in the House, and had also represented Montreal. It was at Montreal that rioting began on the 6th of November, 1837, with an attack by the followers of Papineau. The insurgents gained some advantages. But Sir John Colborne drove them from their positions at St. Eustache and Benoit, on the Ottawa River. The insurrection presently spread to Upper Canada, where it was headed by W. L. Mackenzie. Sir Francis Head attempted to negotiate with Mackenzie; but the rebel leader would listen to no smaller concessions than the assembling of a national convention, to whose decision his claims were to be submitted. Colonel M'Nab attacked the rebel forces, and drove them from the city.

Troubles in Canada.

Louis Papineau.

Defeat of the Rebels.

The rebels were seconded and encouraged for a time by some partisans from the United States. About 1,500 of these sympathisers

QUEEN VICTORIA IN HER CORONATION ROBES.

stationed themselves on Navy Island, in the Niagara River, about two miles above the Falls. They communicated with the mainland by means of a steamer, the "Caroline." Navy Island being British territory, the "Caroline" was taken by the British, after a sharp encounter; she was set on fire, and allowed to go to destruction over the Falls. Lord Durham was appointed governor-general of Upper and Lower Canada in January, 1838. He at once acted with great promptitude and decision. A number of prisoners who had surrendered and made confession, he caused to be removed to Bermuda, knowing that it was impossible

The Piratical Steamer "Caroline."

to get them tried impartially in Canada. In 1840 the recommendations of Lord Durham for the government of Canada were to a great extent carried out. The two provinces were incorporated under one governor-general. The new constitution was found to work satisfactorily.

The Chartists and their Claims.

At this time the Chartists came into prominence. They formed the extreme party among the Radicals, and took their name from a charter, which they pledged themselves to support. The six points of this charter included universal suffrage, vote by ballot, the abolition of the property qualification in the House of Commons, the payment of members, restriction of parliament to one year, and equal electoral districts. Various meetings were held. At Pontypool in Monmouthshire, at one of these meetings a magistrate named John Frost took a prominent part. With two accomplices, Williams and Jones, he organized a plan for raising the northern counties, and proclaiming the "people's charter" as the law of England. The three leaders, with a number of their followers, were captured. Early in 1840, Frost, Jones, and Williams were sentenced to death; but the punishment was commuted to transportation for life. Lord Melbourne became unpopular by the proposal to suspend the constitution of Jamaica. He resigned, and the Queen commanded Sir Robert Peel to form a ministry. Among the ladies in attendance on the Queen were the sister of Lord Morpeth and the wife of Lord Normanby, two prominent Whigs; and Peel required that they should be dismissed. The Queen refused to part with the ladies. Sir Robert abandoned the task of forming a ministry, and Lord Melbourne and the Whigs returned to office. A recurrence of the difficulty was avoided by the sensible arrangement that any lady of the Queen's household might, on a representation from the prime minister, be invited to retire voluntarily.

The "Frost" Riots at Newport.

The "Bedchamber Question."

Marriage of the Queen.

In February, 1840, Queen Victoria was married to her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg Gotha. The general feeling was one of satisfaction; for the prince was known as a man of pleasing appearance, gracious manners, and cultivated mind, and calumny itself had never breathed a word against his moral character. On the 21st of November, 1840, was born, Victoria, Princess Royal, married in 1858 to the Crown Prince Frederick of Prussia; and on the 9th of November, 1841, the Prince of Wales, Albert Edward. He married, on the 10th of March, 1863, the Princess Alexandra of Denmark, by whom he had two sons—Albert Victor and George—and three daughters—Louise, Victoria, and Maud. Seven other children were afterwards born to the Queen and the Prince Consort; namely, the Princess Alice, born 25th of April, 1843, who married Prince Louis, afterwards Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, in 1862, and died of diphtheria in 1878; Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, born the 6th of August, 1844, married in 1874 to the Archduchess Marie, daughter of the Emperor Alexander II. of Russia; Helena, born 25th of May, 1846, married in 1866 to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein; Louise, born on the 18th of March, 1848, married in 1871 to the

The Queen's Children.

Marquis of Lorne; Arthur, Duke of Connaught, born on the 1st of May, 1850, married Princess Louise Margaret of Prussia in 1879; Leopold, Duke of Albany, born on the 8th of April, 1853, married Princess Helen of Valdeck-Pyrmont, in 1882, and died at Cannes in 1884; and Beatrice, born on the 14th of April, 1857, and married in 1885 to Prince Henry of Battenberg.

The early part of Queen Victoria's reign was signalized by various foreign wars. The first of these was the somewhat inglorious "opium war" with China. The importation of opium into China had been prohibited by the Chinese government, and in February, 1835, a quantity of opium was burnt by the Chinese as contraband. British commissioners were appointed, at Canton and elsewhere, to watch over the interests of British subjects. British traders continued to supply the Chinese market with opium, in complete disregard of the prohibition of the authorities. At length the English government very tardily announced that protection would not be given by the British authorities to traders who thus violated the laws of the country with which they had dealings. But the merchants still thought their traffic would be protected, and continued to carry it on. In defence of a traffic in which it had declared it would not interfere, the British government drifted into war with China.

Seizure of Opium by the Chinese.

From the first there was no doubt as to the issue. The Chinese were as ill able to encounter the discipline and weapons of the English armies as the barbarians of old to cope with the Roman legions. The Chinese authorities, moreover, took exceedingly high ground, and the Emperor prohibited for ever all communication between the English and his subjects. A blockade was established by British ships along the Chinese coast. The island of Chusan was captured. From 1840 to 1842 the war continued, one place after another falling into the hands of the British. The Bogue forts were taken, and 459 guns captured, on the 26th of February, 1841. Canton was soon afterwards threatened. Amoy was taken, and the Bogue forts were destroyed. Tinghae, Chusan, Chinghae, Ningpo, and various other places fell into the hands of the British; and the Chinese were at last convinced, by the capture of Shanghai, in June, 1842. On the 29th of August, under the walls of Nankin, a treaty was signed. The stipulations were that the Chinese government should pay 21,000,000 dollars, equal to £4,500,000 sterling, as an indemnity; Canton, Amoy, Foochoofoo, Ningpo, and Shanghai to be thrown open to British commerce; the island of Hong Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to the English; £1,250,000 to be paid for the opium seized at Canton.

Inequality of the Struggle.

Treaty of Nankin.

Very different from this parade-war was the struggle in Afghanistan. In 1837, Dost Mohamed ruled in the capital, Cabul, with vigour and discretion. Captain Alexander Burnes, the agent of the East India Company, was directed, in spite of his frequent representations, to treat Dost Mohamed as an enemy, by Lord Auckland, the governor-general of India, who set up, engaged with the representative of the exiled dynasty of

Dost Mohamed and Shah Soojah.

Afghanistan, Shah Soojah. Captain Burnes was directed to act under the orders of Sir William Macnaghten, an official who was sent to carry out the work of dethroning Dost Mohamed and setting up Shah Soojah on his throne. Dost Mohamed was compelled to fly, and Shah Soojah entered Cabul under the protection of the British.

But so soon as the larger portion of the British army had left Cabul, the Afghans attacked the English forces who remained at Cabul in their cantonments, and cut them off from their supplies. On the 5th of November, 1841, Sir Alexander Burnes and Lieutenant Burnes, with twenty of their comrades, were murdered at Cabul. Sir William Macnaghten was compelled to negotiate with Akbar Khan, a son of Dost Mahomed, concerning the evacuation of Afghanistan by the British and the reinstating of Dost Mohamed. A conference was arranged to discuss this plan. On the 23rd of December, Sir William Macnaghten, with three British officers, met Akbar Khan, who was surrounded by a great retinue. Suddenly the treacherous chief drew a pistol, and shot him dead. The news of this murder caused consternation among the British force at Cabul. Major Eldred Pottinger proposed that they should defend themselves to the last. But it was arranged that the army should retire through the Khoord Pass to India. The retreat began in January, 1842. The four thousand fighting men who composed the little army were encumbered with twelve thousand camp-followers and children. The fierce and fanatical Ghazees hovered on the flanks of the retreating force, and soon began to attack the British even before they reached the tremendous pass of Khoord Cabul. As the army struggled through the five miles of the pass, the attacks of the Ghazees were incessant, and three thousand men are said to have perished. Akbar Khan proposed that the English ladies should be placed under his charge, as he declared himself unable to restrain the Ghazees. Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sale, and their companions in misfortune, became the guests of the fierce Afghan chief. The rest struggled onward, incessantly harassed by relentless enemies. The extremity of the pass had been barricaded by the pitiless foe; and here the end came. The whole remaining force was cut off. One survivor alone, Dr. Brydon, reached Jellalabad.

The English attacked at Cabul.

Murder of Sir William Macnaghten.

Captivity of the Women and Children.

Sir Robert Sale, meanwhile, continued to hold Jellalabad. General Nott held out at Candahar, and Sale knew that General Pollock was advancing to his aid. Presently Pollock reached Jellalabad. Pollock and Sale advanced upon Cabul in July, and Nott was able to leave Candahar to join them. Ghuznee was recaptured and destroyed. Cabul was entered by the British; captives were released. The great bazaar was destroyed, and various forts were taken. Jellalabad and other fortresses having been dismantled, the Afghan war concluded. Dost Mohamed Khan was restored to the throne.

Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad.

Vengeance at Cabul.

Another war occurred in the East in 1840. Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, had made himself master of Syria. Ibrahim Pasha, his son, had gained such important victories over the armies of the Porte, that

Mahmoud had been obliged to leave him in authority for a time; in 1839, the war was renewed. The energy of Mohammed Ali would most probably have enabled him to establish his independent rule over Syria and Egypt; but the general policy of the West considered the maintenance of Turkey necessary. Accordingly, England, France, and Austria joined with Turkey to put down Mohammed Ali. The Pasha was attacked by a combined fleet at Acre, which was obliged to yield. He was utterly over-weighted in the contest, and was deprived of all his Asiatic dominions. There was a jealous feeling abroad in France that England was bent upon seizing Egypt for herself, in the interests of her Indian empire; and M. Thiers, at that time prime minister of France, indulged in some very ardent language on the subject. His successor, M. Guizot, was, like the King Louis Philippe, bent on maintaining the good understanding with England. The French Chamber, on the 12th of May, 1840, decreed the removal of the remains of Napoleon from St. Helena to France. The English government, on being applied to, sanctioned the removal. Prince Louis Napoleon considered himself authorized to make a desperate attempt to overturn the Orleans dynasty. Accompanied by some fifty followers, he landed near Boulogne. The police captured him, and in the struggle an unfortunate gendarme was shot. The prince was put on trial for his life, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in the fortress of Ham. On the 25th of May, 1846, he contrived to escape. He proceeded to England, where he remained until the revolution of 1848.

Mohammed Ali and the Syrian War.

Jealousy of France.

Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon.

Imprisonment of Louis Napoleon.

In 1841, Lord Melbourne resigned office and retired from public. Sir Robert Peel came into office with a very strong body of colleagues. Mr. W. E. Gladstone was vice-president of the board of trade, and master of the mint. It was during this administration of Sir Robert Peel that the great question of free trade in corn as against protection was destined to be settled.

Sir Robert Peel's Administration.

Already, in September, 1838, there had been established at Manchester the Anti-Corn-Law League. Among the most prominent members of this League were Richard Cobden, John Bright, the friend of Cobden, and Mr. Villiers. This association aimed at convincing the public mind of the soundness of Free Trade doctrines. Thus, in March and April, 1841, meetings were held at various places. A great and excited gathering came together at Manchester on the 18th of May. It was resolved to raise £50,000, and to increase the staff of travelling lecturers and the number of pamphlets.

The Anti-Corn-Law League.

Among those who may claim the credit of procuring the triumph of Free Trade principles, the chief credit may be given to Richard Cobden. The more forcible and vigorous eloquence of Mr. Bright was of almost equal value.

Sir Robert Peel from the first saw the necessity of legislation in the direction of relieving the burdens on foreign corn. Accordingly, he soon introduced and passed through parliament the second Sliding Scale Act, which regulated the duty on corn in inverse proportion

to the price obtained for home-grown produce. This measure gave qualified satisfaction for a time, but the Anti-Corn-Law League saw in it only a reason for increased exertion. Cobden used to declare that Sir Robert Peel was a Free Trader at heart. In 1844 the Tory party had become seriously alarmed at the attitude taken up by the premier. When the Free Trade bazaar in Covent Garden brought in £25,000, it was considered another significant indication of the course events were taking. But it was the Irish famine that ultimately brought the question to a solution. In the autumn of 1845 the potato crop failed. In some portions of Ireland, this failure of the crop meant starvation of the direst kind. The natural remedy was the opening of the ports for foreign corn duty free. The Dublin Relief Fund at the Mansion House, in November, 1845, censured the conduct of the government in not at once opening the ports, and proclaiming similar sentiments. Sir Robert Peel was now at variance with some of the principal members of his cabinet on the question of the Corn Laws. Accordingly he tendered his resignation on the 8th of December; and Lord John Russell, to whose Free Trade views Sir Robert Peel signified his adhesion, was requested to form a cabinet. Lord John could not succeed, however; and Sir Robert Peel, being requested by the Queen to withdraw his resignation, resumed his office as prime minister. Some of the opponents of Free Trade withdrew their resistance. Among these was the Duke of Wellington. Lord Stanley quitted office, his place as secretary for the colonies being taken by Mr. Gladstone. The extreme Protectionists denounced the foreign corn as likely to bring agricultural ruin upon England.

The Duke of Richmond and the Anti-League.

Admission of Protectionist Opposition.

The Queen in person opened the important session of 1846. The prime minister declared his complete conversion to the principles of Free Trade. The Protectionist squires sat listening aghast. Mr. Disraeli denounced Peel, who, like Balaam, instead of cursing Free Trade, had blessed it altogether. From that night he became virtually the leader of the Protectionist party, and acquired an influence in the House that he never afterwards lost. Sir Robert soon set all doubts at rest by proposing that all duties on imported corn should cease within three years. The Corn Importation Bill was carried in the Commons on the 15th of May, 1846; the third reading in the Lords passed without a division.

Though the party opposed to the premier could not defeat him on the Corn-Law question, they had their revenge. The Irish Coercion Bill had been proposed. Lord George Bentinck, the leader of the Protectionists in the Commons, declared it unnecessary. The government was defeated, and the prime minister resigned. The Whigs now came into power, with Lord John Russell as premier.

The Coercion Bill.

Among the most prominent of the acts of Peel's ministry was the revival of the income tax, which proved so important and reliable a source of revenue that it has been continued ever since. An important measure was the Factory Act, regulating the employment of children in factories, and the total pro-

The Factory and Mines Act.

hibition of the employment of women in mines. Another feature was the putting down of the repeal agitation in Ireland. O'Connell had for years been insisting on the necessity of repealing the union between England and Ireland. Enormous meetings were held at Tara and elsewhere, and at these the "liberator" addressed enthusiastic audiences. At length the government prohibited a meeting at Clontarf. O'Connell immediately issued orders to his followers to return to their homes. But the great leader's power was gone so soon as it was found he did not intend to fight. The government prosecuted him and his chief coadjutors for sedition. In May, 1844, O'Connell was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, and a fine of £500. But the conviction was quashed by the House of Lords, on appeal. A grand celebration was held in honour of his liberation. He died on the 15th of May, 1847. The leadership of the "Young Ireland" party devolved upon Mr. Smith O'Brien.

O'Connell and Repeal.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Prosecution and sentence of O'Connell.

In Wales, the singular disturbances of "Rebecca and her Daughters" took place. Mobs assembled generally under the leadership of a man disguised in woman's clothes, and destroyed the turnpike gates. The female disguise was in time assumed by followers as well as leaders. At length these lawless proceedings culminated in open riot. The military were called out against the Daughters of Rebecca. The chief offender was transported for twenty years, and various others suffered shorter terms of imprisonment.

The Rebecca Riots in Wales.

In 1842, serious differences with the princes or Ameers of Scinde led to a war in India, followed by annexation. Lord Ellenborough, the governor-general, sent a large force to Scinde under Sir Charles Napier. About six miles north of Hyderabad, at Meeanee, Sir Charles, on the 17th of February, 1843, gained a complete victory, 5,000 of the enemy being killed or wounded. Soon afterwards Napier attacked and defeated Shere Mohamed of Meerpoor, at Dubba. Scinde was annexed to the British dominions.

War against the Ameers of Scinde.

Battle of Meeanee.

The war was followed by differences with Gwalior. Sir Hugh Gough was ordered to advance with 14,000 men. At Maharajpore, on the 29th of December, 1843, the enemy was defeated with a loss of 56 cannon and 3,000 men. A second victory was gained near the village of Punniar; whereupon the Maha-

War in Gwalior.

ranee and Maharajah came into the British camp, and a treaty was signed.

Soon afterwards Lord Ellenborough was recalled from India. He was succeeded by Sir Henry Hardinge, who found himself involved in a war against the Sikhs. Dhuleep Singh, a child four years of age, a reputed son of Runjeet Singh, was placed on the throne; and in the hands of Chunda, the mother of Dhuleep Singh, affairs soon fell into such confusion, that the interference of the British authorities became absolutely necessary. A quarrel ensued between the British and the Sikh army. Chunda ordered an advance to the British territories. The Sutlej was accordingly invaded, in November, 1845, by 60,000 men, with 200 guns and nearly 40,000 armed followers. Sir Henry Hardinge marched against the formidable Sikh force. On the 13th of December, 1845, Sir Hugh Gough gained a complete victory at Moodkee. On the 21st and 22nd a still more severe battle was fought at Ferozeshah, where the Sikhs were again defeated by Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Henry Hardinge. The Sikhs intrenched themselves on the left bank of the Sutlej, at Aliwal, not far from Loodiana. Here they were attacked on the 28th of January, 1846, by Sir Harry Smith; their camp was taken, with fifty-six pieces of artillery. On the 10th of February their new position, at Sobraon, was attacked, and they were again defeated with terrific slaughter, estimated at between 15,000 and 20,000 men, the British loss being about 2,500 in killed and wounded. Dhuleep Singh was presently restored to his throne, under the protection of the British government.

Battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, etc.

Aliwal and Sobraon.

Lord Hardinge was succeeded by Lord Dalhousie as governor-general. Lord Dalhousie made great efforts to improve the condition alike of the Europeans and the natives in India. A new war with the Sikhs was provoked by the treachery of Moolraj, the governor of Mooltan. A civilian and a military officer, Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, were barbarously murdered by order of Moolraj, who thereupon attacked Lieutenant Edwardes, at Kineyrie, and was defeated. He then took refuge in the fortress of Mooltan, and contrived to procure the assistance of Dost Mohamed Khan, of Cabul. Mooltan was taken by storm on the 2nd of January, 1849. Moolraj died a captive a few months later. A general revolt of the Sikhs presently broke out under Chuttur Singh, and the help of Dost Mohamed was again secured by the rebel, who promised to put him in possession of the important fortress of Peshawur. Most of the old Sikh soldiers rallied round Chuttur Singh and his son, Shere Singh. Lord Gough collected his army at Ferozepore, to encounter the rebels. On the 13th of January, 1849, a great battle was fought between Shere Singh's army, and the troops of Lord Gough, at Chillianwallah, in the Punjaub. Some confusion occurred during the battle, which gave the Sikhs, who fought with desperate courage, a temporary advantage. Night put an end to the struggle, and in the darkness the Sikhs retired. In this disastrous battle the English lost above two thousand men in killed and wounded.

Moolraj and the Second Sikh War.

Chillianwallah.

For some weeks the two armies continued in the field watching each other. On the 21st of February, 1849, was fought a tremendous battle at Goojerat, in the Punjaub, on the high-road from Attock to Lahore. It ended in a complete victory for the English, purchased with the loss of some 800 men. Lord Dalhousie ordered the pursuit to be continued as far as Peshawur. But Dost Mohamed retired into Afghanistan through the Khyber Pass. Shere Singh and Chuttur Singh, with their whole army, 16,000 strong, rode into the British camp, on the 14th of March, 1849, and laid down their arms; and thus the second Sikh war was brought to a triumphant end. It was determined to annex the Punjaub to British rule. The young Maharajah Dhuleep Singh was provided with an annuity of £50,000, and proceeded to England, where he purchased an estate, and lived for many years. Among the treasures given up to the East India Company was the great diamond, the Koh-i-noor, afterwards presented to Queen Victoria. Before the glorious news of Goojerat arrived in England, orders had been sent out for superseding Lord Gough. Sir Charles Napier was sent out as his successor. But when the full news arrived in England of the glorious issue of the second Sikh war, the brave commander was advanced to an earldom; and Lord Dalhousie received the title of marquis.

Battle of Goojerat.

End of the Second Sikh War.

In 1846, the state of Ireland was most deplorable. The famine and distress were inconceivable. Added to this, the spirit of lawlessness had almost reached the height of rebellion. Thus it was that the Irish Coercion Bill was introduced, on which Sir Robert Peel was turned out of office. The government had made various efforts to alleviate the terrible distress in Ireland. More than £800,000 had been voted by the Peel administration for relief; but the people had lost all strength, energy, and hope, and thousands were dying in their mud-cabins and by the roadside. The inhabitants of Ireland decreased by more than one-fourth during this period of famine. In another direction Sir Robert Peel had tried to conciliate the Irish people by increasing the grant made to Maynooth College, for the education of Catholic priests.

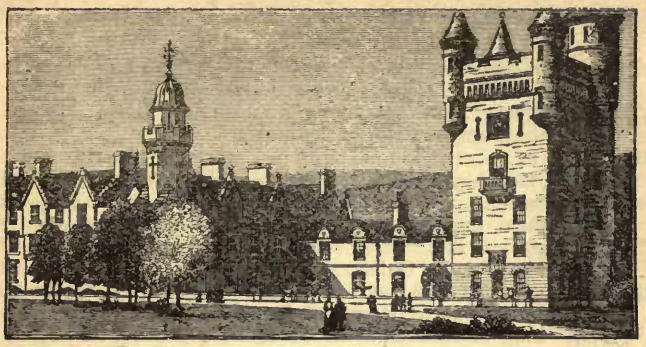
Distress and Disaffection in Ireland.

A singular feature of the year 1845 was the popular delusion known as the "railway mania." The great success that had attended the development of railway traffic in England gave rise to the wildest speculation. A fever of speculation seemed to pervade all classes of society. Over-confidence was followed by panic. Numbers were ruined. But the extension of the iron roads proved of infinite service to the nation.

The Railway Mania.

The year 1847 witnessed a commercial panic, brought about in no small degree by the over-speculation of the "railway mania" period. Great commercial failures took place. Consols were down to 79½, and at length the Bank rate stood at 9 per cent. At length, when the failure of the Royal Bank at Liverpool threatened the commercial community with fresh troubles, a remedy was found for the immediate difficulty in an extension of the powers of the Bank of England.

Commercial Panic of 1847.



CHAPTER XLII.

The House of Brunswick—Victoria I. (*continued.*)

SECOND PERIOD.—1848–1856.

France and King Louis Philippe. The Spanish Marriages. Queen Isabella and her sister Mercedes. The Liberal Party and the Reform Banquets. Guizot and Thiers. The French Revolution of February, 1848. Flight of the Royal Family. Second French Republic Established. Revolt of June, 1848. Election of Louis Napoleon as President for Four Years. Disturbances in Glasgow. Lawlessness in England. The Chartist Movement of 1848. The Great Petition and the 10th of April. The "Young Ireland" Party. Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and Mitchell. The Irish Rising of 1848. Austria. Prussia. Italy. Action of Pope Pius IX. Charles Albert of Sardinia. The Universal Exhibition of 1851. Papal Aggression of 1850. Cardinal Wiseman and Lord John Russell. Lord Derby's Ministry. Coalition Ministry of Lord Aberdeen. Death of the Duke of Wellington. The Eastern Question. War between Russia and Turkey. Oltenitza and Sinope. Anglo-French Alliance. War with Russia. Invasion of the Crimea. Battle of the Alma. Balaklava. Inkermann. Hard Winter of 1854. Death of the Emperor Nicholas. Sir Charles Napier and the Baltic Fleet. Capture of Kertch. Capture of Sebastopol. Kars. Treaty of Paris in 1856.

THE year 1848 will always be remembered as a period of revolutions, commencing with the outbreak in Paris in February. For a long time the government of Louis Philippe had been growing distasteful. The king lost what popularity still remained to him by his conduct in the affair of the marriage in 1846 of Isabella, the young Queen of Spain, who was mar-

Louis Philippe and France.

ried, in spite of her strong remonstrances, to the Bourbon prince Don Francis of Assisi, Louis Philippe's son, the Duc de Montpensier at the same time marrying the infanta Mercedes, the younger sister of the queen.

The Spanish Marriages.

By the end of 1847 the Liberal party in France had greatly increased in numbers and influence; and various public banquets were arranged, at which the leading politicians propounded their views. The government interfered with several of these banquets, and the popular indignation was aroused against the king and his minister, M. Guizot. On the 23rd of February, 1848, a collision occurred between the troops and the people, and on the 24th, Paris was in open revolt. Guizot resigned; and the king abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Count of Paris. It was too late. The royal family were obliged to escape as best they could from the capital; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the moderate party prevented the raising of the red flag and the proclamation of the "red republic." A provisional government was appointed, M. de Lamartine taking the responsible direction of foreign affairs in the moderate republic that was declared.

The Liberal Banquets.

French Revolution of 1848.

But the new republic was surrounded with difficulties. An utterly impracticable plan was attempted to establish "ateliers nationaux," or national workshops. It became necessary to close these workshops, whereupon the "red" republicans, in June, organized a terrible revolt, and the streets of Paris were for some days the scene of fighting and bloodshed. Generals Cavaignac and Lamoricière, had four days' hard fighting before the insurrection was put down. Sixteen thousand persons had been killed or wounded. A national assembly had already been organized, and Louis Napoleon, who had returned to Paris, elected president of the French Republic for four years.

Second French Republic.

From the time when he became President, Louis Napoleon began to cultivate the good graces of the army, and to establish camps at Châlons and elsewhere. He surrounded himself with men on whose co-operation in any sudden change he could depend, and he made progresses through the country to increase his personal popularity. In the night between the 1st and 2nd of December the chief deputies opposed to him were suddenly arrested, and a new ministry was announced by proclamations placarded over Paris. After some terrible street fighting the soldiers got the better of the people, and a few months afterwards Louis Napoleon had mounted the French Imperial throne with the title of Napoleon III.

The Coup d'Etat of December, 1857.

In England, Scotland, and Ireland, the overthrow of the French monarchy naturally gave an impulse to attempts at disturbing the public peace. In Glasgow there were serious riots. But the outbreak ended with the capture of some thirty of the ringleaders; and the failure intimidated the intending insurgents in other places. In England the Chartists again came to the front. It was resolved that a petition should be presented to parliament on Monday, the 10th of April, by a gathering of forty thousand of the brotherhood. But the

Disturbances in Glasgow.

The Chartist Movement of 1848.

authorities acted with great judgment. Troops were brought to the capital, but kept out of sight. Numbers of private persons were sworn in as special constables, to act if necessary for the safety of the city. Feargus O'Connor, and other leaders, assembled a large gathering on the morning of the 10th, on Kennington Common, to the number of about 150,000 persons who were not allowed to cross the bridges into Middlesex. The petition was conveyed by a deputation in three cabs to the House. On examination half the signatures were evidently spurious. The Chartist movement died out after a few further spasmodic efforts.

The Great Petition—the 10th of April.

The "Young Ireland" party had become emboldened by the successful revolution in France, and the leaders, Smith O'Brien, Thomas Meagher, John Mitchell, and others openly preached insurrection. The government passed the Treason Felony Act, which declared that those who by speech or writing advocated sedition were liable to detention in prison without bail before trial, and to transportation if convicted. In May, Smith O'Brien and William Meagher were put on their trial in Dublin for sedition, but the jury was in each case discharged without agreeing to a verdict. They were afterwards released; but John Mitchell, tried soon afterwards for treason-felony, was convicted, and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. Warrants were issued for the apprehension of Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and others, who were endeavouring to stir up revolt. Then followed the "cabbage garden" insurrection. A party of police established themselves in a cabin belonging to a widow named Cormack, whence they sallied forth, and fired upon an armed mob headed by Smith O'Brien and others. The rebels at once broke and fled; and thus the Irish rebellion came to an end. The leaders were captured. Smith O'Brien and his fellow-chiefs were condemned to suffer death, but the sentence was commuted to transportation; and at a later period, Mitchell and Meagher escaped, and the rest were pardoned.

The "Young Ireland" Party.

Rebellion in Ireland.

Fate of Smith O'Brien and his Friends.

On the continent of Europe the revolutionary movement shook almost every throne, and caused much bloodshed. In Austria the imbecile Emperor Ferdinand was compelled to abdicate in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph. Hungary rose in revolt; and Austria was at length compelled to apply to Russia for aid. The legions of the Emperor Nicholas at length compelled the submission of the country. In Prussia there were also grave disturbances, and conflicts between the people and the military in the streets of Berlin. Constitutional privileges were promised by the king, Frederick William the Fourth, to his subjects; and for a time a German national parliament sat at Frankfort. In Saxony, also, the people rose against their rulers, and there were barricades and slaughter in the streets of Dresden. In Bavaria the old king Louis was compelled to abdicate. But Prussian troops were summoned to put down the movements in the various principalities as they arose. In Italy the Pope, Pius IX., was driven from Rome by the revolutionists. A republic was proclaimed in the

Austria—Abdication of Ferdinand I.

Prussia, Baden, etc.

Italy and Pius IX.

holy city, and for a time General Guiseppe Garibaldi, with the political leaders Mazzini, Saffi, and others, had the upper hand. But Louis Napoleon procured the despatch of a French army to Rome. The capital was taken, after a vigorous resistance; Pius IX. returned under the protection of French bayonets, and a French garrison was permanently established in Rome. Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, had abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emanuel, and went away into exile to die broken-hearted. Insurrectionary movements in Poland were put down with merciless severity by the Russian government.

The Universal Exhibition of 1851.

The year 1851 was rendered memorable by the great Exhibition of the industry of all nations, held in Hyde Park. The Exhibition was opened on the first of May, 1851, by the Queen in person. Its success was triumphant. It was visited by more than six millions of people. The receipts amounted to more than £500,000, and a surplus of £150,000 remained after all expenses had been paid. The building was re-erected in a somewhat altered form on the heights of Sydenham.

Success of the Enterprise.

Pope Pius IX., in September, 1850, issued a bill dividing England into twelve bishoprics; Dr. Nicholas Wiseman being appointed at the same time Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Soon afterwards the cardinal was installed at St. George's Cathedral, Southwark. Dr. Ullathorne at the same time became Catholic Bishop of Manchester. Thereupon Protestant England burst into a cry of indignation. Lord John Russell brought forward, in February, 1857, the "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill," which declared that any one acting under the bull of the 26th of September might be prosecuted and subjected to a fine of £100. At a later period, the act was repealed, a piece of unnecessary useless legislation.

The Roman Catholic Hierarchy.

Dissensions arose in the cabinet from the action of Lord Palmerston. Lord John Russell insisted that Lord Palmerston should be dismissed, which was accordingly done. Two months afterwards the ministry resigned. The Earl of Derby came into office as prime minister, with Mr. Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer.

Mr. Disraeli's financial arrangements provoked a discussion in which ministers were defeated, in December, 1852; whereupon the Derby government resigned and a coalition administration was formed, with Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Gladstone.

Death of the Duke of Wellington.

On the 14th of September, 1852, the great Duke of Wellington died. His corpse lay in state in Chelsea Hospital, and he was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, amid all the pageantry of such a public funeral as the nation had never before witnessed.

Russia had been making vast strides in power during the space of a century. On the other hand, Turkey had been declining. On January 9th, 1853, at a ball at St. Petersburg, the emperor Nicholas spoke to the English minister, Sir Hamilton Seymour, concerning Turkey. The proposal of the emperor seemed to be, in effect, that England should take Egypt, and that he should be left free to dispose

of the European part of the Turkish empire. The English government, however, showed no disposition to sanction the spoliation of the territories of a friendly power. The czar made similar advances to the French government, but found, to his surprise, that the French emperor sided with the English ministry. At the beginning of 1853 the Emperor Nicholas despatched Prince Mentschikoff to Constantinople to obtain a settlement of a quarrel concerning the Greek and Latin Churches. The demands he was instructed to make required that a protectorate should be given to the Russian emperor over all the subjects of the sultan who belonged to the Greek Church. The Sultan Abdul Medjid firmly refused to sign the treaty.

Protectorate of Russia—Mentschikoff's Mission.

Already in July, 1853, the Russian forces crossed the frontier river, the Pruth, into Moldavia. In October the sultan formally declared war against Russia. At Oltenitza, on the 4th of November, 1853, the Turks gained an important victory over the Russians; but they sustained a terrible reverse on the 30th of the same month, their fleet being destroyed by the Russians in the harbour of Sinope. Thereupon an alliance offensive and defensive was signed by England and France with Turkey. Admiral Sir Charles Napier was despatched with a fleet to the Baltic, and in March, 1854, England and France declared war against Russia. These armies were respectively under the command of Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud. They assembled at Varna, on the shore of the Black Sea, at the end of May. The fortune of war at this time was adverse to Russia. The defence of Silistria against the Russians, and their defeat at Giurgevo, inspired the allies with confidence. In the Baltic, Bomarsund surrendered to the English fleet.

Oltenitza and Sinope.

Anglo-French Alliance.

The position chosen at Varna, unfortunately proved a very unsuitable one. Fever, dysentery, and cholera broke out among the troops, and also in the fleets.

The Troops at Varna.

At the beginning of September the allied armies embarked for the Crimea; and on the 14th, the bulk of the forces of French, English, and Turks, with a powerful artillery, landed at Old Fort, near Eupatoria. The entire force comprised 27,000 English, with fifty-four guns; 26,000 French, with seventy guns; and 6,500 Turks; the allied army thus consisting of 59,500 men. The chief object in the Crimean expedition was the reduction of the Russian stronghold of Sebastopol. Prince Mentachikoff, who was in command in the Crimea, had taken up the heights above the river Alma. On the 20th of September, he was attacked by the allied French and English armies. The battle lasted little more than three hours, and inflicted a loss of nearly 6,000 men on the Russians in killed and wounded, with 900 prisoners. The loss of the allies was about 3,000.

Invasion of the Crimea.

Battle of the Alma.

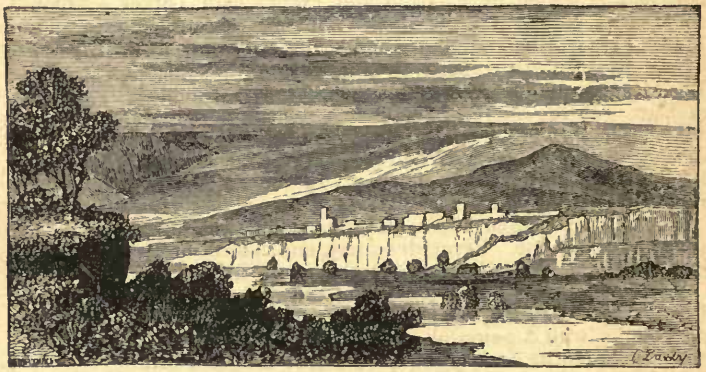
The allied army made a flank march towards Sebastopol, directing their course towards the heights of Balaklava; the fleet at the same time moving towards the harbour. The bombardment of Sebastopol by sea and land failed in its object.

The Russian army in the Crimea was, meanwhile, reinforced, until

its strength amounted to above 30,000 men, while casualties and disease had reduced the number of the English rank and file to 16,500. General Liprandi arrived in the Crimea to take the command, and on the 25th of October the Russians made a vigorous attempt, with their whole force, to drive the English from their position at Balaklava. The onset of the Russians was met with splendid valour, and vigorously repulsed. The heavy cavalry hurled back the enemy's horsemen in confusion, and all went well until the glorious but fatal charge of the six hundred. An order was sent from Lord Raglan to Lord Lucan, directing him to advance with the light brigade to drive the enemy from a battery they had taken from the Turks. There was some misapprehension. The light brigade, numbering 607 sabres, rode across the fatal field, to where, "half a league onward," the enemy stood. The men were exposed to a tremendous fire from batteries to the right and left. Men and horses were overthrown in numbers, but those who still remained in their saddles rode on, and silenced the batteries which opened on them in their front.

Battle of Balaklava.

Charge of the Light Brigade.



THE QUARRIES AND RUINS OF INKERMANN.

They then had to ride back, receiving the fire of the flanking batteries once more as they passed. Only 198 returned from that fatal charge. Within the next few days the Russian army received large reinforcements. In the grey dawn of a foggy and rainy November morning, the Russians crept in great masses towards the heights of Inkermann. The alarm was given in the English camp, and the soldiers came rushing forth to defend their position. Lord Raglan estimates that 60,000 Russians must have been engaged, while the brunt of the battle was borne on the English side by 8,000 men. The battle of Inkermann consisted of a series of hand-to-hand fights, and for hours the struggle on the plateau of Inkermann went on, entirely the result of a surprise which the commanders of the English army ought to have prevented.

Battle of Inkermann.

The Surprise at the Quarries.

Battle of Inkermann.

The day was decided by the arrival of a strong force of our French allies, and the Russians retired sullenly. They had lost 12,000 men in the desperate struggle, while the English had purchased victory at the cost of 2,500, and the French at that of 1,700 killed and wounded. Inkermann was destined to be followed by still more severe trials of the constancy of our army.

Losses of the Armies.

The winter of 1854 was ushered in by a violent hurricane, that wrecked many of our transports in the Black Sea. The winter clothing for the troops, provisions and ammunition, were lost, when most needed. The winter came on, and brought terrible suffering. No road had been made from Balaklava; consequently, when the winter came, Balaklava became practically cut off from the camp. The men endured, in silence and resignation, hunger and cold and misery of every kind, while close to their base of operations, and with abundant supplies of food, clothing, and fuel almost within reach. The year closed amid general anxiety and disquietude in England.

Winter of 1854-55. Sufferings of the Army.

Gradually, however, the aspect of affairs improved, and something like order arose out of the confusion. At the end of February, 1855, the Emperor Nicholas suddenly died. It was thought at first that the war would come to an end, now that the originator of the complication was gone; but the new ruler, Alexander II., would have risked his throne by submission. Accordingly the contest proceeded, and, indeed, with renewed vigour.

The fleet under Sir Charles Napier effected little beyond maintaining the blockade of Cronstadt. Afterwards, in parliament, Napier accused Sir James Graham, the head of the Admiralty, with neglect in failing to supply the fleet with necessary appliances. The treacherous destruction by the Russians of a boat's crew at Hango Head, in Finland, under a flag of truce, caused much exasperation.

Sir Charles Napier and Sir James Graham.

The operations in the Black Sea achieved important results. The Straits of Yenikale were forced, Kertch was taken, and the fleet entered the Sea of Azov. In the Crimea, the aspect of affairs brightened considerably with the advancing year. The allies now received a reinforcement, in the form of a body of Italian troops under General la Marmora. The French camp was also in good order; and General Canrobert chivalrously resigned his position to his experienced colleague, General Pélissier. The French captured the Mamelon Tower, an important outwork of Sebastopol, and an assault was made on the city, on the 18th of June. But the attempt failed, and Lord Raglan died a few days afterwards. Most unfortunately the authorities selected as his successor General Simpson, who was destitute of the qualifications for a post of such importance. Promotion by means of family influence and the power of wealth was one of the chief blemishes in the military system at that time.

Capture of Kertch.

The French. Canrobert and Pélissier.

General Simpson.

The Russians, on the 16th of August, made a desperate attack on the position held by the Piedmontese troops of the King of Sardinia at the Traktir bridge on the Tchernaya. The battle of the Tchernaya

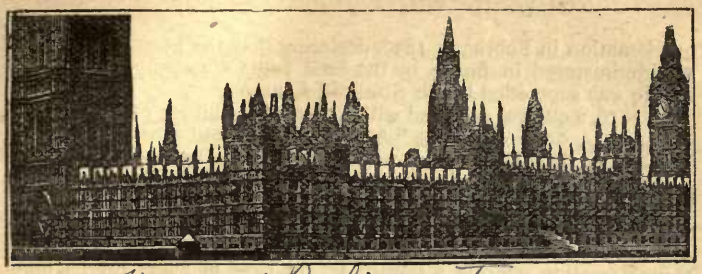
was added to the roll of victory of the allies. It was now determined to take Sebastopol by assault. The French had brought their position to within fifteen yards of the Malakoff Tower. On the 8th of September the attack was made. The English were to attack the Redan, a duty which obliged them to cross a large width of ground under the hottest fire of the enemy. As was to be expected, while the French succeeded in taking the Malakoff, the English attack on the Redan failed.

The Malakoff and the Redan.

Prince Gortschakoff had provided with masterly skill for the retreat of his garrison by constructing a bridge, across which they retired, leaving Sebastopol to the conquerors. The success decided the issue of the war. But one more disappointment was inflicted on the nation by the unaccountable supineness of the British authorities. In Asia Minor, Kars, with a Turkish garrison under the command of Colonel Williams and other British officers, held out in a truly heroic manner; and as the siege of Sebastopol was over, the defenders of Kars expected that a portion of that army would march to its relief. But nothing was done; and the brave garrison surrendered. General Simpson was succeeded by General Codrington. In February, 1856, an armistice was agreed to, and a peace conference was opened at Paris. On the 30th of March the Treaty of Paris was signed. The chief stipulations were, —that the integrity of the Turkish empire should be guaranteed; that Moldavia and Wallachia should be under the protectorate of the Western Powers; the Black Sea should be neutralized, and the Danube thrown open.

Defence of Kars.

Treaty of Paris.



Houses of Parliament.

CHAPTER XLIII.

The House of Brunswick—Victoria I. (*continued.*)

THIRD PERIOD.—1857–1867.

Disturbances in Burmah. Taking of Rangoon. Annexation of Jhansy and Oude. Lord Canning's Government. War with China. Taking of Canton. Treaty of Tientsin. Discontent in India. Great Conspiracy in India. The Greased Cartridges. Revolt at Delhi. Death of Generals Anson and Barnard. Capture of Delhi. Nana Sahib, Rajah of Bithoor. Massacre at Cawnpore. Sir Henry Lawrence. Havelock's March to Lucknow. Operations of Sir Colin Campbell. Taking of Lucknow. Battle of Bareilly. End of the Mutiny. Queen Victoria Empress of India. Famine in 1860–1861. Sir John Lawrence and Lord Mayo. Rifle Volunteer Movement. Orsini's Plot. Conspiracy Bill. Second Administration of Lord Derby. Reform Bill Agitation. Palmerston in Power. Commercial Treaty with France. Alliance of France and Sardinia. War in Lombardy. Battles of Magenta, etc. Treaty of Zurich. Revolt in Naples—Garibaldi's Victories. The Kingdom of Italy. Civil War in America. Battle of Bull's Run. The "Alabama." Lee's Surrender. Assassination of President Lincoln. Reconstruction.

THE course of the English government in India had been one of prosperity. In 1851 hostilities were undertaken against Burmah. Rangoon, Pegu and Bussein fell into the hands of the British. The Burmese were obliged to submit, and ceded Pegu to England.

Disturbances in Burmah.

On the death of the Nabob of the Carnatic without direct heirs, that territory was formally annexed to the British rule; and Jhansy and Nagpore were brought under the direct government of the English. The most important annexation was that of Oude. Lord Dalhousie, the viceroy of India, issued a

Annexations: Jhansy and Oude.

proclamation in February, 1856, declaring that the government would be administered in future by the East India Company. Lord Dalhousie was succeeded by Sir Stratford Canning.

Quarrel with China—the Lorcha, "Arrow."

In 1856, a quarrel occurred with China. A Chinese coasting vessel, or lorcha,—the "Arrow,"—which had taken out an English licence, was seized by Chinese troops in the port of Canton, on a charge of piracy. Sir Michael Seymour demanded an apology. The Chinese commissioner Yeh refused, whereupon the forts on the Canton River were bombarded and destroyed by Sir Michael Seymour, in October, 1856. Yeh issued a proclamation offering a reward for the head of every Englishman; and Chinese soldiers murdered the passengers and crew of the English steamer "Thistle." A Chinese baker, named A-lum, at Hong-Kong, tried to poison the English by mixing arsenic with his bread. Commodore Elliot destroyed the Chinese fleet, and presently Canton itself was taken. In 1858, Yeh was captured. Negotiations for peace were opened, resulting in the Treaty of Tientsin, on the 28th of June, to regulate commercial intercourse between England and China, for the residence of ambassadors, and for the suppression of piracy.

Contumacy of Yeh.

The Chinese authorities in September, 1860, expressed a wish to meet members of the British embassy, and when two secretaries and others accordingly landed at Langkow, they were seized and carried off as prisoners. Several afterwards died in consequence of cruelties. Thereupon a British and French force marched to Pekin, the capital, where the palace of the emperor was looted and burnt. The Chinese government then surrendered at discretion, and under the superintendence of Lord Elgin, an agreement was concluded, insuring a permanent peace.

Taking of Pekin by the English and French.

During the hundred years' rule of the English in India, between the year of Plassey and 1857, formidable mutinies occurred among the native troops. In 1806, 1820, 1844, and 1850, there had been risings. The flippant contempt expressed for the natives, by young and inexperienced servants of the East India Company, contributed to the rancour awakened by the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie. The year 1857 had, moreover, an especial cause of anxiety connected with it. There was a prophecy, widely believed throughout India by the natives, that the rule of the strangers was to last only a hundred years; and that hundred years was just completed.

Discontent in India.

Conspiracy in India.

A vast conspiracy was on foot in India, and it was fortunate that the outbreak came prematurely.

The Greased Cartridges.

A new weapon, the Enfield rifle, had been distributed among the troops in 1856, and greased cartridges were used. A rumour was circulated that these cartridges had been lubricated with cows' fat and hogs' lard—an abomination alike to Hindoos and Mahometans. A native regiment refused to receive the cartridges. It appeared that a certain quantity of cows' fat had been used. The cartridges were withdrawn from circulation. But this did not allay the excitement; and when, on the 23rd of April, ammunition was distributed to the 3rd native cavalry, eighty-five men

refused to receive it; and being tried by court-martial, were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour, loaded with chains, and led away to jail. A party of the 3rd Bengal cavalry rescued the prisoners; whereupon the native regiments rose in rebellion, killed their officers, and then marched away to Delhi.

Breaking out of the Mutiny.

At Delhi the native regiments in cantonments joined the mutineers, murdered their offices, the ladies and children, and burst into the city, where they put hundreds to death.

Revolt at Delhi.

Very fortunately there were some troops available, who had been ordered on the China expedition, and others who had just brought a Persian war to a successful conclusion, under Sir James Outram. Both these bodies were summoned to India in all haste. Lord Canning also took prompt measures. Sir John and Sir Henry Lawrence did splendid service. At Meean Meer, in the Punjaub, the native regiments were disarmed, literally at the cannon's mouth.

Forces available against the Mutineers.

Sir George Anson, the commander-in-chief, and Sir Henry Barnard died of cholera. Brigadier-General Wilson, with 7,000 men, took Delhi from at least 30,000 mutineers. The wretched old king and his sons, the princes of Delhi, were taken prisoners. The king was carried away in close captivity. The two princes were shot dead.

Death of Anson and Barnard. Capture of Delhi.

Seereck Dhoordoo Punt, generally known as Nana Sahib, considered himself defrauded by the Company's refusal of a pension, and became the malignant enemy of the English. At Cawnpore, not far from Bithoor, the veteran Sir Hugh Wheeler was trying to maintain himself and the English officers and soldiers, the native garrison having mutinied. By the intervention of Nana Sahib it was arranged that the English should evacuate Cawnpore, and should be conveyed down the river Ganges to Allahabad in thatched boats properly provisioned for the journey. But so soon as they had embarked, the native rowers set fire to the roofs of the boats, at the command of Nana Sahib's lieutenant, Tantia Topee. The men, all but four who escaped, were shot down then and there. The women and children, to the number of 125, were carried back to Cawnpore, and confined in a small building. Five men were sent one evening into the house; the women and children were slaughtered, and the bodies were afterwards thrown down a dry well. Nana Sahib himself fled towards Nepaul. He ultimately disappeared.

The Nana of Bithoor.

Massacre of Cawnpore.

Sir Henry Lawrence maintained himself in the Residency at Lucknow. On the 1st of July he was wounded by a shell, and died on the 4th. He was one of the grandest soldiers whom that time of peril called forth.

Heroism of Sir Henry Lawrence.

General Havelock, who had been detained, on his arrival at Calcutta, was at once sent against the mutineers. He marched towards Lucknow, to raise the siege. Sir James Outram joined his forces to those of Havelock, who, after defeating Nana Sahib decisively at Tuttipoor, arrived before Cawnpore on the 13th of July. The captured sepoys were executed by hundreds.

Havelock and Outram.

Havelock's March to Lucknow.

In September the English army reached Alum Bagh, about four miles from Lucknow; and amounted to only about 5,600 men, while at least 50,000 of the enemy were in the neighbourhood. The exhausted garrison under Colonel Inglis hailed their arrival as a great deliverance. They reinforced the garrison, Colonel Inglis remaining in the Residency, while Havelock and the newly arrived army occupied some large buildings not far off. The sepoys pressed the siege with more eagerness than ever.

The Alum Bagh.

But Sir Colin Campbell had meanwhile been appointed commander-in-chief of the troops in India. On his arrival he at once marched with a gallant little army for Lucknow. On the 14th of November he relieved the garrison of 400 men at Alum Bagh. Mr. Kavanagh, a civilian functionary, with remarkable courage made his way, in the disguise of a native, through the lines of the enemy to Sir Colin Campbell's head-quarters, to inform the general of the state of things in the garrison.

Operations of Sir Colin Campbell.

The good and gallant Havelock died of dysentery at Alum Bagh. Sir Colin Campbell considered it best to evacuate Lucknow for a time, while, leaving Sir James Outram to watch the rebels in the city, he advanced to Cawnpore to the relief of General Windham. By this time fresh reinforcements of troops arrived, and Sir Colln Campbell, on the 6th of December, 1857, completely defeated the allies of the rebels from Gwalior, and again, on the 8th, he routed them. Soon he proceeded to attack Lucknow. The revolted sepoys fought desperately; 3,000 of them were killed. On the 19th of March, 1858, the city was completely taken.

Lucknow taken.

Battle of Bareilly.

The strength of the mutiny was now altogether broken. Sir Colin Campbell, now Baron Clyde, again defeated the rebels with great slaughter at Bareilly, on the 5th of May. A proclamation was issued by Lord Canning, the governor-general, offering an amnesty to all rebels who would return to their allegiance by the 1st of January, 1859, excepting such as had been personally concerned in the murder of British subjects. On the 8th of July, 1859, Lord Canning issued a proclamation declaring that peace had been re-established. Towards the end of the year, however, Lord Clyde was compelled to march out once more against some insurgent chiefs. The capture of Gwalior by Sir Hugh Rose, afterwards Lord Strathnairn, may be considered as almost the concluding action of the great mutiny.

End of the Mutiny—the Amnesty.

The East India Company's Rule abolished.

The East India Company's charter had been renewed periodically. The Indian mutiny rendered the intervention of parliament absolutely necessary; and thus, in 1858, an act was passed by which the governing power of the East India Company was transferred directly to the Crown, all the territories till then ruled by the Company being vested absolutely in Her Majesty the Queen. A supreme or queen's court was established, with which that of the Sudder Adowlat was afterwards amalgamated; and natives were pronounced eligible for the position of assistant

judges. The most important event during the latter part of Lord Canning's viceroyalty was a terrible famine in the north-west provinces of India in 1860 and 1861. It is computed that 500,000 were swept away by the calamity, in spite of of the energetic efforts made for the relief of the starving population.

Famine in 1860-1861.

Lord Elgin, who succeeded Lord Canning in India, held office until 1864; and after him the heroic Sir John Lawrence administered the affairs of the government until in turn succeeded by Lord Mayo, whose useful career in India was cut short by the dagger of a convict.

Sir John Lawrence and Lord Mayo.

After the conclusion of the Crimean war, there was some amount of ill-feeling displayed by a section of the French army towards the English, though the emperor himself always remained steady in his friendship to England. A beneficial result of this scare was the rifle volunteer movement. The movement prospered, and steadily increased in importance.

The Rifle Volunteer Movement.

In January, 1858, Felice Orsini, an Italian, with three other conspirators—Pierri, Gomez, and De Rudio—threw at the French emperor's carriage some bombshells, filled with explosives, causing the death of six persons, while a large number were wounded. A great amount of indignation was caused by the fact that the bombshells had been manfactured in England. In the French army very violent language was used with regard to the countenance alleged to be given in England to the assassins and conspirators by some hot-headed addresses of the army, printed in the "Moniteur." In France, however, stringent measures were adopted, the country being divided into five military departments, each under the inspection of a general, and the notorious "Loi des Suspects" being passed, which enabled the government to arrest, imprison, and transport to Algeria or the colonies, any person suspected of plotting against the state.

Orsini's Plot of Assassination.

Stringent Measures in France.

Lord Palmerston, to conciliate the French government, in 1858, introduced the "Conspiracy to Murder" Bill, which made conspiracy a felony. This bill was defeated on the second reading, and Lord Palmerston resigned with his colleagues, and was succeeded by the Earl of Derby and Mr. Disraeli.

Conspiracy Bill. Fall of the Ministry.

The reform movement in England was re-opened in the parliament of 1859. Early in the session of 1859, Mr. Disraeli introduced his Reform Bill, the chief feature in which was the proposal to confer the franchise upon all possessors of property bringing in £10 per annum, or having £60 in a savings bank. Government was left in a minority. Thereupon parliament was dissolved, and on the meeting of the new assembly in June, ministers were beaten upon a vote of want of confidence; whereupon they resigned, and Lord Palmerston once more came into power.

Resignation of the Ministry.

A commercial treaty was concluded with France by Mr. Cobden, who was despatched as ambassador extraordinary to France, the duty on French brandy and wines being greatly reduced, and all other French articles being admitted into the United Kingdom free of duty.

Commercial Treaty with France.

Since the Crimean war the relations between France and the little kingdom of Sardinia had become more intimate, greatly to the jealousy and uneasiness of Austria. At the reception on New Year's Day, 1859, at the Tuileries, the emperor expressed his regret that the relations between France and Austria were not so satisfactory as could be wished. Sardinia had been increasing her army in a manner that excited the jealousy and apprehensions of Austria. A peremptory summons was sent by Austria, requiring Sardinia to disarm. The answer was a refusal, and at the end of April war was declared between Austria and the Piedmontese kingdom, France taking a part in the contest as the ally of Victor Emmanuel. The grand duchy of Tuscany and the duchies of Parma and Modena lost no time in displaying the Italian tricolor, and announcing their intention of casting in their lot with King Victor Emmanuel.

Alliance between France and Sardinia.

Revolt of the Duchies.

From the commencement, success was on the side of the French and Piedmontese. The first battle, at Montebello, in Piedmont, on the 20th of May, resulted in a victory for the French. At Magenta, on the 4th of June, the Austrians suffered a still more disastrous defeat. The victory of Solferino followed, on the 24th of June. On the 8th of July an armistice was agreed to, followed by a meeting between the Emperors at Villafranca, and an agreement afterwards embodied in the Treaty of Zurich. Austria ceded Lombardy to Napoleon III., who handed it over to Victor Emmanuel; the districts of Nice and Savoy being annexed to France.

Battles of Montebello, Magenta, and Solferino.

Villafranca. Treaty of Zurich.

The year 1860 proved a most eventful one to Italy. Ferdinand II., of Naples, had died, and had been succeeded by his son Francis II. The wretched misgovernment of Naples had several times called forth the remonstrances of the powers. Early in 1860 the ambassadors presented a memorial to the new king; but their recommendations were unheeded. On the 5th of May Joseph Garibaldi embarked with a few hundred followers at Genoa, and a few days later landed at Marsala, in Sicily. He took Palermo on the 22nd of May, and advanced towards Messina. On the 20th of June he encountered the army of Francis I. at Melazzo, and gained a victory. Early in July Garibaldi was in possession of the whole island, except Messina. Presently he crossed over to Calabria; a revolt had broken out in Naples. The people eagerly joined him, and he commenced a triumphant march through Southern Italy. Francis II. fled to the strong fortress of Gaeta. Garibaldi entered Naples on the 7th of September, and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel king of Italy. On the 1st of October he defeated, on the Volturno, the troops of Francis IX.; and at a plebiscite the people voted for the rule of Victor Emmanuel.

Francis II. of Naples.

Expedition of Garibaldi to Sicily.

Revolt in Naples—Garibaldi Dictator.

On the 7th of November the new king entered Naples in state. Garibaldi retired to the little island of Caprera. He caused some danger to the new kingdom, soon afterwards, by a premature attempt to rouse Northern Italy to the conquest of Venetia. As this would have infallibly brought

The Kingdom of Italy.

France into the field, to resent the new infraction of the Treaty of Zurich, Victor Emmanuel was obliged to send troops against Garibaldi, who was wounded and taken prisoner at Aspromonte. When his wounds had been carefully healed, he was sent back in peace to his island of Caprera.

Garibaldi at Aspromonte.

The Prince Consort died at Windsor Castle on the 14th of December, 1861, after an illness of a few days. The whole nation sympathised with the Queen in her irreparable loss, the public grief being increased by the fact that the Prince was only forty-two years old at the time of his death, and from his general excellent health seemed to have a long life before him.

Death of the Prince Consort.

For years the Northern and Southern States in the great American republic had been at feud. In the North the clamour against negro slavery had been increasing for years; while in the South the tendency was towards the extension of slavery. In November, 1860, Abraham Lincoln, an ardent abolitionist, was elected President of the United States. In December South Carolina seceded from the Union, and was followed by the Southern States generally, enrolling themselves as the Confederate States, and choosing as their president Mr. Jefferson Davis. President Lincoln declared that no state had a right to secede from the Union, and that those who did so must be brought to submission by force of arms.

Secession of the Southern States.

The Southern ports were presently declared by President Lincoln to be under blockade; for Jefferson Davis had announced his intention of issuing letters of marque to privateers. Lord John Russell publicly declared in the House of Commons that the Southern Confederacy and the North must alike be recognised as belligerents, and that England would observe a strict neutrality between them. On the 21st of July, 1861, was fought the battle of Bull's Run, in which the Confederates gained a decided victory over the raw levies of the Federals. The Confederates, anxious to secure the co-operation of England and France, despatched two agents, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, to Paris and London. Mason and Slidell made their way to Havanna, where they embarked for Southampton on board the "Trent," a small English mail-steamer. Captain Wilkes, the commander of a Northern ship of war, the "Jacinto," boarded the "Trent," and took them from under the protection of the English flag. They were presently lodged in prison at Boston, In England, the news of this high-handed proceeding aroused general indignation. A peremptory demand was immediately sent out from London, requiring that the prisoners should be set at liberty within seven days; and the regiments of guards were at once despatched to Canada. President Lincoln saw that Captain Wilkes had done wrong, and the two envoys were given up within the stipulated time, and sailed for Europe.

The Southern Privateers.

Battle of Bull's Run.

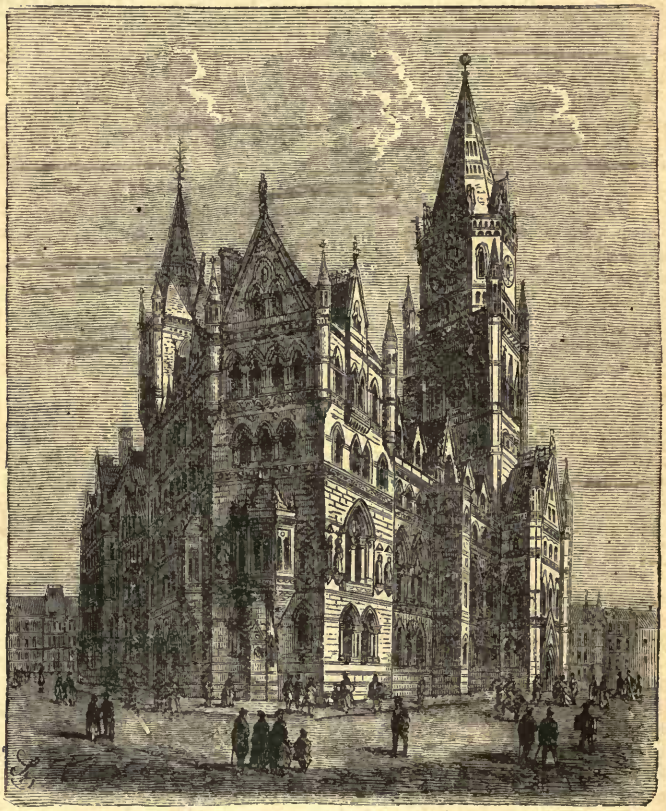
The Affair of the "Trent."

Presently another subject threatened to interrupt the peaceable understanding between England and America. The South had sent forth various privateering cruisers, from Charleston and elsewhere, such as the "Savannah," the "Sumter," the "Nashville," and the "Petrel"; and

these vessels, scouring the seas in search of Northern merchantmen, inflicted great damage on the commerce and shipping of the Federals.

The first Battle of Ironclads.

In the beginning of 1862, America was growing. A naval battle was fought, memorable as the first occasion on which ironclad ships were brought into action. The "Merrimac," a ship taken by the Confederates, and strengthened



THE TOWN HALL, MANCHESTER.

by their captors with iron plates and two iron rams or beams, made havoc among the wooden vessels of the Federals at the mouth of James's River, the "Cumberland," the "Congress," the "Minnesota," the "St. Laurence," the "Roanoke," and others. On the side of the Federals, Generals Fremont, Banks, McDowell, and Pope, on that of the Confederates, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson,

Beauregard, Breckenrige, and others fought with equal skill and gallantry. Though England maintained a strict neutrality in the contest, she was made to suffer indirectly. Among the Confederate cruisers was the steamer "Alabama," commanded by Captain Semmes. Her depredations struck dismay into the hearts of the New York merchants, and she appeared to be ubiquitous. Unfortunately she had been constructed by Mr. Laird, at Birkenhead. Notice had been given by the United States of the character of the ship while she was yet building; but by an oversight she was allowed to escape, and soon afterwards started on her destructive career. The "Shenandoah," another Confederate privateer, was built in the same yard. The English had in the sequel to pay, on arbitration, a sum of £3,196,874 for damage done by the "Alabama." The fate of the "Alabama" was peculiar. On the 19th of June, 1864, she encountered the Federal ironclad steamer "Kearsage," in the English Channel, opposite Cherbourg. After a sharp fight the "Alabama" was sunk by a shot from her opponent.

The Cruiser "Alabama."

Another consequence of the American Civil War to England was the Cotton Famine in Lancashire. A great relief fund was established to meet the widespread distress. The behaviour of the operatives themselves during the trying season was very praiseworthy.

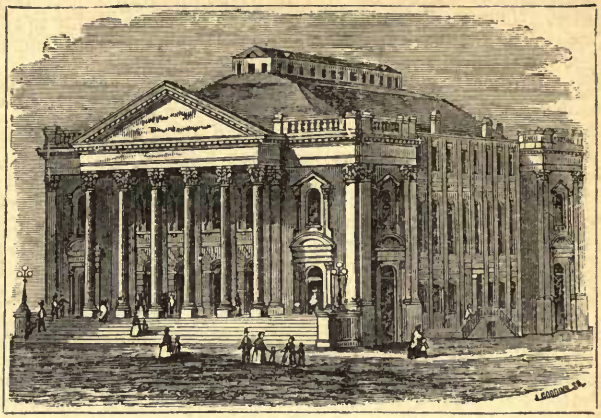
The Confederates fought to the end with exemplary courage. At Chancellorsville, in Virginia, the Federals, under General Hooker, engaged in a series of sanguinary conflicts with the Confederates under General Lee, during which, on the 2nd of May, 1863, General "Stonewall" Jackson was mortally wounded. A battle was fought by the Northern General Meade against General Lee at Gettysburg at the beginning of July; and the Confederates, though the result was indecisive, were soon afterwards obliged to evacuate Maryland and Pennsylvania. Towards the end of the year 1864 Lincoln was re-elected president, and in the beginning of 1865, General Lee took the chief command of the Confederate armies. At the end of March, 1865, after three days' terrible conflict at Five Forks, General Sheridan turned Lee's front, and gained a complete victory. On the 9th of April, Lee surrendered with his army at Appomatox court-house, and the surrenders of the Confederate general, Johnstone, Dick Taylor, and Kirby Smith brought the war to a close. Jefferson Davis had been captured, but his life was spared.

General Lee in Command.

President Lincoln was shot dead at Ford's Theatre, Washington, by Wilkes Booth, a half-lunatic actor. The death of President Lincoln was the result of a conspiracy of some desperadoes to assassinate the ministers. Several persons implicated in the plot were hanged in July at New York.

Assassination of Lincoln.

President Lincoln was succeeded by the vice-president, Mr. Andrew Johnson, who adopted a conciliatory policy towards the South.



CHAPTER XLIV.

The House of Brunswick—Victoria I. (*continued.*)

Third Period (*continued*), 1857–1867.

The Exhibition of 1862. The Taxes on Knowledge. Fenian Association. General Election of 1865. Death of Lord Palmerston. Deaths of Sir J. Graham, Lord Herbert, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, and Richard Cobden. Troubles in Jamaica. Capture of Gordon. His Execution. Prosecutions against Governor Eyre. Preparations for a new Reform Bill. The Hyde Park Disturbances. The Atlantic Cable. Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill. Fenian Outrages. Design on Chester. Murder of Brett at Manchester. Gunpowder Outrage at Clerkenwell. Foreign Events. The Schleswig-Holstein Question. Prussia and Austria at War in 1866. Prussia's Triumph. France and Mexico. The Sheffield Trade Outrages.

Exhibition of 1862.

IN 1862 a second Exhibition of the industries of all nations was opened at South Kensington. The recent death of the Prince Consort cast a certain gloom over the opening of this new Exhibition. Practically, however, the undertaking proved a great success, the number of visitors during the six months in which it remained open considerably exceeding six millions.

Among the important domestic questions of the time was that of the paper duty. The era of cheap educational works, periodicals,

and pamphlets had fairly set in; and especially, the old sixpenny newspapers had given place to successors published at a penny. Mr. Gladstone brought in a bill for repealing the paper duty in the session of 1860. But he found the task to be one of considerable difficulty. The bill was carried through the House of Commons only by a majority of nine; and this encouraged the opposition in the House of Lords to endeavour to prevent it from becoming law. Lord Derby, as leader of the Opposition, was especially determined and active in the matter. Thus the bill was thrown out, to the surprise of the nation and the temporary triumph of the House of Lords. But their action in this matter had given great offence, the general feeling was that the House of Lords had come dangerously near to a quarrel in an attempt to assert its importance. In the next session Mr. Gladstone introduced the repeal of the paper duty as part of the budget of 1861. One of the most powerful advocates for the repeal of the paper duty and of the taxes on knowledge generally was Mr. Milner Gibson.

Bill for Repeal of the Paper Duty.

The Rejection in the Upper House.

A movement, afterwards known as the Fenian conspiracy, began to manifest itself in Ireland in 1865. At Chicago a society was formed with the avowed intention of freeing Ireland from the British rule. Presently many persons joined the organization, which soon became a source of danger to the government with regard to Ireland.

Fenian Association, Chicago.

In 1865, there was a general election, the result of which was considered to have increased the strength of the Liberal party, especially of that section of it known as the Manchester School. On October 18th, Lord Palmerston died. He had almost completed his 81st year, and his parliamentary career had been exceptionally long and brilliant. A typical Englishman, ready and good-humoured in repartee, content to receive blows as well as to deal them, quick of resource, and zealous in upholding the honour and the power of his country, he had long been one of the most popular men in England. He had frequently startled his friends and exasperated his opponents by an appearance of jaunty carelessness and confidence in matters of grave importance; and yet the House emphatically endorsed the remarks of one of his opponents: "We are all proud of him."

General Election of 1865.

Death of Lord Palmerston.

Various other important public men had been removed by death within the last four years, including Sir James Graham, a prominent colleague of the great Sir Robert Peel, and the head of the Admiralty during the Crimean war; Lord Herbert of Lea, better known as Sidney Herbert, who passed away prematurely at the age of fifty-one; Sir George Cornewall Lewis, who, like Sidney Herbert, would probably have appeared at the head of an administration, if he had lived; Lord Elgin, the skilful negotiator of treaties and astute governor-general of India; Lord Canning and the Duke of Newcastle, had also passed away. Another loss to the country was in the death of Richard Cobden. He had long been in failing health, and the last public speech he delivered

Death of Sir J. Graham, Lord Herbert, etc.

was that to his constituents at Rochdale, in 1864, when he strongly and energetically urged the necessity of modern geography and history in education.

There had been frequent causes of dissension, prior to 1865, between the black population of Jamaica and the authorities, aggravated by quarrels on the question of the "black lands." These lands were tracts belonging to planters and others that had been allowed to fall out of cultivation, and the negroes had been encouraged to pay the arrears of quit-rent by the promise that they would be allowed to hold the abandoned lands. The agent of one of the proprietors endeavoured to turn the negroes out of possession, and instituted legal proceedings. Disturbances arose at Morant Bay, in the south-east of the island, and soldiers were despatched to the scene of the disturbances by the governor of the island, Mr. Edward John Eyre. Before the arrival of the troops, the court-house at Morant Bay had been attacked by a mob of negroes, and several persons were killed. In the House of Assembly was a representative of the name of George William Gordon. Believing him to be in complicity with the riotous movement at Morant Bay, Governor Eyre issued a warrant for his apprehension. Gordon proceeded at once to Kingston, and gave himself up to the authorities. Thereupon he was at once put on board a ship, and carried off to Morant Bay, where a kind of court-martial had been established for the time. This remarkable tribunal consisted of two young naval lieutenants and an ensign in a West India regiment, and by these the prisoner was tried. The youthful judges had no hesitation in finding the prisoner guilty, and within forty-eight hours he was hanged.

The "Black Lands."

Disturbance at Morant Bay.

Capture of Gordon.

Illegality of his Trial.

All danger was over after the execution of Gordon, but a strange frenzy appears to have seized the authorities. Avenging bands scoured the country, hanging, flogging, and imprisoning the inhabitants at their will. Indignation was aroused in England by the news that women were being flogged as well as men. The demand for investigation became too urgent to be disregarded. Governor Eyre, who had been suspended during the inquiry, was superseded by Sir J. P. Grant. The constitution of Jamaica was abrogated, and a new act passed for the government of the island.

Indignation in England.

In the session of 1866, a bill was brought in by Mr. Gladstone, proposing to reduce the county franchise from £50 to £14, and the borough franchise from £10 to £7. The bill seemed to please nobody, and aroused a strong opposition among a section of the Liberals themselves. Mr. Robert Lowe, a Liberal, came forward to denounce the measure. He quickly gathered round him a party of discontented Whigs, whom Mr. Bright likened to the little band who gathered round David in the cave of Adullam. Mr. Lowe's followers at once received the name of Adullamites. The bill was lost and the ministry resigned. With this resignation ended the political career of Earl Russell.

Preparations for a New Reform Bill.

Mr. Lowe and the Adullamites.

The Earl of Derby undertook the task of forming a ministry; Mr. Disraeli was chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote president of the Board of Trade, and Mr. Walpole home secretary. The acrimonious debates during the session had drawn public attention in the direction of reform. A monster meeting was arranged to be held in Hyde Park by Mr. Edmund Beales, the president of the Reform League. Various processions started on the day appointed, the 23rd of July, with banners and music. The processions were, however, not allowed to enter the park. Mr. Beales and his followers proceeded to Trafalgar Square, and held a short meeting to protest against interference on the part of the authorities with the right of free discussion. Soon there was a pressure against the park railings, which gave way, and presently the crowd had swarmed into the park. There were some skirmishes with the police, but the soldiers were not called upon to act. Mr. Walpole, the home secretary, resigned; and it was abundantly seen that the prospect of shelving the question of reform had passed away. The year 1866 witnessed one great triumph. The cable was at length successfully laid along the bed of the Atlantic, between Great Britain and the United States, through a distance of 2,000 miles, at a depth of two miles; and more marvellous than all, a former cable, which had broken in mid-ocean in 1865, was picked up, and its length completed, so as to form a second cable between England and America.

The Hyde Park Disturbances.

The Atlantic Cable.

The reform question, or, as it was termed, "the state of the representation of the people in parliament," was accordingly mentioned in the Queen's speech at the opening of the session of 1867, though in a somewhat vague fashion. Mr. Disraeli brought forward thirteen resolutions on the 11th of February; but as these were met with a storm of opposition, they were withdrawn a fortnight afterwards, and a bill was substituted which was afterwards known as the "Ten Minutes' Bill." At the end of March a new bill was introduced, of which the chief feature was household suffrage. The bill occupied the whole session in its passage through the Houses, and did not finally receive the royal assent until the 15th of August. Mr. Disraeli fairly astonished his supporters and his opponents by the concessions he made. The leaders of the Conservative party spoke of the measure as "a leap in the dark." But the general feeling was one of relief that the question was settled for a time.

Reform Agitation.

The state of Ireland appeared in the progress of the Fenian movement. Fenianism had been imported from America in Ireland, under the management of the "head centre" James Stephens, and his colleagues, a number of subordinate centres. Many men were enlisted and sworn in, pledging themselves to overthrow the British. On the 15th of November, 1865, at the office of a seditious newspaper in Dublin, the chiefs of the conspiracy were arrested, including O'Donovan Rossa, the proprietor of the newspaper; and Stephens, the "Head Centre," with three accomplices. Stephens escaped from prison and from Ireland, and took up his abode in Paris. A special commission directed to Justices

Arrest of the "Head Centre" Stephens.

Fitzgerald and Keogh was appointed to try the prisoners, most of whom were condemned to various periods of penal servitude. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in Ireland. An invasion of Canada was threatened to take place on St. Patrick's Day, the 17th of March; but the Canadians enrolled themselves with such cheerfulness as volunteers that the idea was abandoned.

Projected Fenian Attempt at Chester.

Early in 1867, the Fenians prepared to take Chester Castle, where a quantity of arms and ammunition had been stored. But a traitor in the camp betrayed the design to the authorities at Liverpool, and such prompt measures of defence were immediately taken, that they at once abandoned their enterprise. In Ireland there was a more formidable attempt, 800 Fenians assembling in Kerry. Many were taken prisoners.

Murder of Brett at Manchester.

A very lamentable event was the murder of Police-sergeant Brett at Manchester. An attack was made upon a prison van by a party of Fenians lying in wait; and they succeeded in capturing the vehicle. Upon his refusal to give up the keys Brett was shot dead. The murderers thereupon released the prisoners, and dispersed with all speed. The ringleaders, Allen, Gould, and Larkin, were hanged at Manchester on the 23rd of November, 1867.

The Gunpowder Outrage at Clerkenwell.

A still more lamentable occurrence took place in London. In Clerkenwell prison, in London, two Fenian prisoners were confined, named Burke and Casey. A conspiracy was set on foot to set these men free by blowing up part of the prison wall with gunpowder. A barrel of powder was driven on a truck into an adjoining lane, and ignited by means of a slow match. More than forty people were injured by the explosion, and five persons died from its effects. Several persons were taken into custody, and one man, Michael Barrett, was hanged.

The most important foreign events of the period are two wars. The first of these contests was between Denmark and Germany, the second between Austria and Prussia. When King Frederick VII. of Denmark died, in 1863, the Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg asserted his claim to the duchy, and he was proclaimed by the title of Frederick VIII., Duke of Schleswig-Holstein. On the other hand, King Christian IX., of Denmark, refused to give up the duchies; and at length Germany, in the persons of the Prussian and Austrian states,

Invasion of Denmark by Germany.

stepped in to decide the question by an armed invasion. From the first, the Danes were entirely overmatched; the great line of fortifications, the Dannewercke, had to be abandoned. Gradually the Danish forces retreated, and on the 20th of July, 1864, an armistice was concluded. On the 30th of October a treaty was signed, by which Denmark agreed to pay a large sum for the expenses of the war, to give up Schleswig and Holstein, and to consent to a rectification of the frontier of Jutland.

Government of Prussia—Bismarck.

The disposal of the duchies became the subject of a long discussion between Austria and Prussia. On the 14th of August, 1865, was signed the convention of Gastein, by which it was agreed that Austria was to have the temporary government of Schleswig, and Prussia that of Holstein. This was the time at which Count Bismarck openly showed his intention of support-

ing the king in a determination to settle questions of peace and war, taxation and finance, irrespective of the opinion and wishes of the Liberal section in the Chamber of Deputies. Early in 1866, preparations for war were actively pushed forward in Prussia. Austria thereupon demanded the demobilization of the Prussian army, and Bismarck proposed a German parliament. Nearly the whole of Northern Germany sided with Prussia: Saxony and Hanover took part with Austria, The march of events was unusually rapid, so that this Austro-Prussian contest was afterwards dubbed "the Seven Weeks' War." The crowning victory of the Prussians was at Königgrätz, or Sadowa, on the 3rd of July, 1866.

War between Austria and Prussia.

The triumph of Prussia was complete. By an annexation bill, brought forward by Bismarck in September, Hanover, Hessel and Nassau, Hesse-Homburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Lauenburg, a part of Hesse-Darmstadt, and the Hohenzollern principality were transferred to Prussia. Italy, though with less glory, reaped a corresponding benefit from the war of 1866. A plebiscite was held in Venetia, with the result that the voters almost unanimously declared for annexation to the kingdom of Italy, and that province was added to the territories of Victor Emmanuel.

One great benefit arose to Austria from the misfortunes and humiliations of the war of 1866—the reconciliation, namely, of the Emperor Francis Joseph with Hungary. The rights of Hungary were restored, and autonomy, or self-government within certain limits, was granted. While Prussia and Austria were strengthening themselves, the second French empire was exposed to a humiliating and damaging failure. The miserable misgovernment in Mexico had some years before called forth the combined action of France, England, and Spain. In 1862, Napoleon III. announced his project of establishing the Archduke Maximilian, a brother of the Emperor of Austria, as Emperor of Mexico, and induced Maximilian to try his fortune. Generals Forey and Bazaine, with a large force of French soldiers, invaded Mexico. For a time Maximilian succeeded in obtaining the Mexican crown. But after a time the Emperor of the French withdrew his troops from the country. Maximilian and several of his friends fell into the hands of his enemies at Queretaro. The unfortunate emperor, and his two chief advisers, Miramon and Mejia, were tried by court-martial, and shot on the 19th of June, 1867. For a long time diplomatic correspondence with Mexico was abandoned.

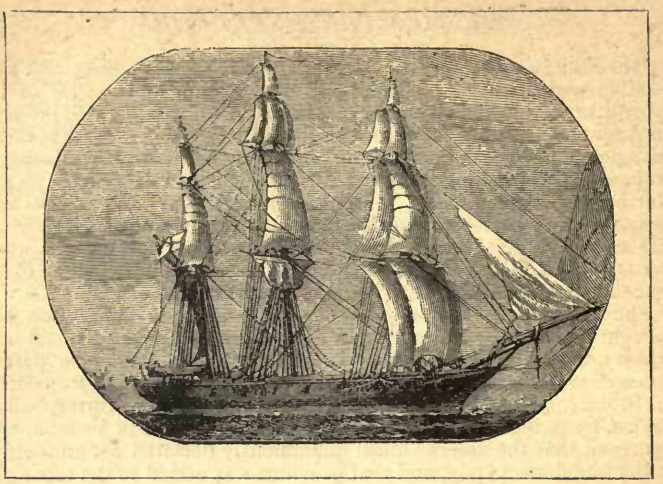
Austria reconciled to Hungary.

Mexico. The Archduke Maximilian.

Death of Maximilian at Queretaro.

In the summer of 1867, great excitement was caused in London by the revelations made before a commission appointed to investigate certain trade outrages perpetrated in Sheffield. Rattening, or the destruction of the property of unpopular workmen, even to the blowing up of their premises with gunpowder, had notoriously been resorted to; but the witnesses called before the commission deposed, under the protection of an indemnity, that under the auspices of one Broadhead, secretary to the Sawgrinders' Union, murders had actually been committed.

The Sheffield Trade Outrages.



CHAPTER XLV.

The House of Brunswick—Victoria I. (*continued.*)

Fourth Period, 1868–1875.

Retirement of Lord Derby. Mr. Disraeli Prime Minister. War with King Theodore of Abyssinia. Expedition of Sir Robert Napier. Storming of Magdala. Established Church of Ireland. Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions. Disestablishment in Ireland. Measures of Reform and Progress. Vote by Ballot. Mr. Forster's Measure. Irish Land Bill. Abolition of University Tests. The Army. Abolition of Purchase. The Royal Warrant and its Critics. Foreign Events. Fall of the Second French Empire. The Candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern. The War with Germany. Capitulation of Sedan. Siege of Paris. The Peace of 1871. Erection of the German Empire. Domestic Events and Changes.

EARLY in 1868 Lord Derby retired from public life, and Mr. Disraeli became prime minister. Among the pieces of good fortune that befel Mr. Disraeli was the fact that his assumption of power was signalized by a great success, of which the nation had cause to be proud.

Mr. Disraeli Prime Minister.

There had been for some time, in the hands of a barbarous potentate —Theodore, King of Abyssinia—certain English captives, the chief among them being Captain Cameron, the English consul at Massowah, with his followers, a Syrian Christian named Rassam, Lieutenant Prideaux, Dr. Blanc, and some missionaries with their families. Theodore suspected the English consul of intriguing against him. He also considered himself slighted by the English government; a

letter which he had addressed to Queen Victoria, requesting help against Turkey, having remained unanswered. He revenged his imaginary wrongs by seizing the missionaries, and Lieutenant Cameron, Rassam, Lieutenant Prideaux and Dr. Blanc.

Expedition to Abyssinia.

In 1867 a letter was despatched to King Theodore peremptorily demanding that the captives should be released within three months, and threatening war in case of refusal. If this letter reached the king's hands it was disregarded. Accordingly, the sum of £2,000,000 was voted for the Abyssinian war. Sir Robert Napier, an experienced general, was appointed to the command of the expedition, which was thoroughly well organized and carried out. The march to Magdala from the coast, through 400 miles of mountainous country, was effected. King Theodore gave up the captives into the hands of the English. But he refused to submit, and Magdala was taken. In entering it, the assailants came upon the dead body of the king, who had shot himself. The great feature about the expedition was its promptitude in finishing its work. Sir Robert Napier was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Napier of Magdala.

Storming of Magdala.

The Established Church of Ireland.

The important and difficult question of the Irish Church now came to the front. The great difference between the State Church in England and that in Ireland was, that in England it represented the religious convictions of the great majority of the nation; while in Ireland, where the Roman Catholics outnumbered the Protestants five to one, a very small minority of the people belonged to the State establishment. The State Church in Ireland was, moreover, maintained by tithes extorted in many instances by the help of legal process from a population in deep poverty.

Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions.

The position of supremacy of the State Church was felt as a wrong and an injustice; and on March 30th, 1868, Mr. Gladstone brought forward three resolutions, declaring that the Established Church of Ireland should be disestablished, and that no new appointments should be made with regard to that Church until the decision of parliament had been given. Mr. Gladstone's first resolution was carried by a majority of sixty-five. In consequence, Mr. Disraeli announced that the government would appeal to the country, and parliament was dissolved on the 31st of July. The general election gave an increased number of members to the Liberal party; the Disraeli ministry resigned, and Mr. Gladstone came into power.

General Election.

Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

The bill for disestablishing the Irish Church was at once brought on again, and was passed in July, 1869. A few months afterwards, on October 23rd, Lord Derby died.

Another measure, which only a few years previously would have been looked upon as preposterous, was Mr. Forster's measure for taking votes for parliamentary election by ballot. The Conservatives generally were against the measure for voting by ballot. Mr. Bright, at that time a cabinet minister, was strongly in its favour. It was not sent up to the House of Lords until August, 1871, which gave the peers an opportunity of throwing it out. In the next session it was

reintroduced, and was accepted. It has effected practical good in greatly decreasing bribery.

Irish Land Bill.

Already, before the Ballot Bill became law, the grievance of the Irish tenant farmer had been effectually dealt with by the Irish Land Bill, which secured to him, if disturbed in his tenancy, adequate compensation for unexhausted improvements, and in various respects placed him in an improved position with respect to his landlord, giving him an interest in the land. At the same period a great step in advance was taken by opening the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge on equal terms to students of all denominations. Mr. Forster also laboured zealously in the cause of popular education. The establishment of School Boards, where women were admitted as members, with good practical results, opened a new era in the mental cultivation of the country, which was roused more and more to the necessity of instruction, in view of the increasing competition with foreigners in every walk of life. The same recognition of the necessity for keeping abreast of other nations was displayed in the bill for the abolition of the purchase system in the army. It was generally admitted that a change was necessary, and that a system under which an officer purchased first his commission, and afterwards his successive steps of promotion, was not the readiest way to secure efficiency and zeal; for the officer naturally looked upon his commission as a property with a certain money value, which he was justified in disposing of or retaining, as best suited his interest. In the House of Lords the Duke of Richmond proposed and carried an amendment, by which the Abolition of Purchase Bill was to be postponed until the whole government scheme of reorganization should be before the House. Thereupon Mr. Gladstone suddenly declared that, as the purchase system rested entirely on the authority of the royal warrant, he had advised her Majesty to issue a new warrant, abolishing, after the 1st of November, all the regulations of former warrants, under which commissions had been purchased and sold.

School Boards.

The Army.—Abolition of Purchase.

Waning Authority of Napoleon III.

The second French empire and the fortunes of Louis Napoleon had been built up on military popularity. But his popularity with the army had been seriously damaged by the result of the unfortunate Mexican war. Much jealousy had been excited by the rapid advance of Prussia. The emperor accordingly endeavoured to regain his popularity by means of a war with Prussia.

The Demands on Prussia.

The pretext was found in the choice of a ruler for Spain. Among the candidates put forward was Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, a relative of King William of Prussia. France at once demanded that the King of Prussia should insist on the retirement of his relative; and with this peremptory demand King William complied. But a demand was made that the Prussian king should undertake not to support a similar candidature; and M. Benedetti, the French ambassador, declared himself insulted by the king's refusal to confer with him on the subject at Ems. War between France and Prussia was presently declared. The

British government thereupon published a proclamation of neutrality. From the first the fortune of the war was against France. In a succession of battles the result was uniformly defeat of the French, until, only a month after the commencement of active hostilities, the crushing defeat of Marshal Mac-Mahon at Sedan brought about the fall of the empire. Napoleon III. was obliged to surrender himself a prisoner into the hands of the Prussian king.

Franco-German War.

The Crown Prince of Prussia and the other chief members of the royal family took the field as commanders of the various armies that marched with a stern determination towards France. The completeness of the organization and of the plan of action were the best warrants for success. The catastrophe of the 2nd of September put an end to all hopes on the part of the French for a speedy successful issue. The result of the news was a rising in the capital. The hall of the legislative assembly was invaded by a furious mob, and the empire was at once pronounced "déchu," or abolished, a republic being declared, with a provisional government. The Empress Eugenie and the Prince Imperial contrived to escape to England. In the autumn, Paris was closely invested by the German armies. The hopes of the French were for a long time concentrated on the army of Bazaine, which force, it was confidently expected, would make its way out of Metz; but Marshals Bazaine, Lebœuf, and Canrobert surrendered at Metz with 170,000 soldiers. Various desperate sorties from the capital were useless; and in February, 1871, conditions of peace were definitely concluded under the auspices of M. Thiers. The province of Alsace and a large part of Lorraine had to be surrendered; and five milliards of francs, equal to £200,000,000, to be paid for the expenses of the war.

Capitulation of Sedan.

Fall of the Empire.

Bazaine's Surrender at Metz.

Siege of Paris.

The Peace of 1871.

The horrors of war were not yet over. Paris was in the hands of the extreme section, comprising the Commune; and the army was compelled to enter upon a sanguinary civil war and retake Paris. M. Thiers became president of the third French republic. Within an incredibly short time the country recovered from the great blow it had received. The army was reconstituted, compulsory service being substituted for the system of paid substitutes. The instalments of the huge indemnity were paid with promptitude; and the departments of the state were organized with efficiency. On the other hand, a feeling of enmity remained on account of the territory annexed by Germany; and the armies of both nations have been continually increased, to the great burdening of both.

The Commune in Paris.

Though England kept entirely aloof from the contest, Russia took advantage of the situation suddenly to declare, in November, 1870, that she would no longer consent to be bound by the clause in the treaty of 1856, that declared the Black Sea closed to the fleets of all nations. Lord Granville protested against the Russian claim. But as the Black

Russia Repudiates the Black Sea Clause.

Sea has justly been described as a Russian lake, it was considered that any effort permanently to shut her fleets out of her own waters could not be maintained. The matter was not considered sufficiently important for a new Russian war, and the great northern power accordingly carried her point. A way was found to save appearances, by the assembling at the suggestion, it is said, of Count Bismarck, of a conference in London, early in 1871, of representatives of the powers who had signed the Treaty of Paris in 1856. After laying down the principle that no state had the right to withdraw from a treaty, or any part of one, without the consent of the other contracting powers, the council rescinded the Black Sea neutrality clause of the treaty of 1856.

Changes in the Government.

The ministry of Mr. Gladstone was gradually losing its popularity. Mr. Lowe had not given satisfaction by his budgets. The triumph of Russia in the matter of the revision of the Treaty of Paris was looked upon as little short of a national humiliation for England; and the United States government was considered to have gained a similar victory in the matter of the Washington Treaty and the Alabama Claims. The discontents in Ireland, not allayed by the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the other concessions made by Mr. Gladstone, gave rise to the agitation for Home Rule, by which was meant the granting to the Irish people a national parliament, with a full power to manage their own affairs, both imperial and domestic. In the Home Rule movement many politicians saw a kind of secession movement, which should be combated at every point. On the 13th of February Mr. Gladstone introduced a measure for settling Irish university education. Sir Roundell Palmer, who, with the title of Lord Selborne, had succeeded Lord Hatherley as lord chancellor, introduced into the Upper House a bill for abolishing the jurisdiction of the House of Lords as a court of appeal. Mr. Gladstone's scheme was ill-received by the House of Commons. It failed to satisfy the aspirations of the Romanists, who wished for a Catholic university; while the prospect of the breaking up of the old university system in Dublin filled the Protestants with dismay.

Irish University Bill.

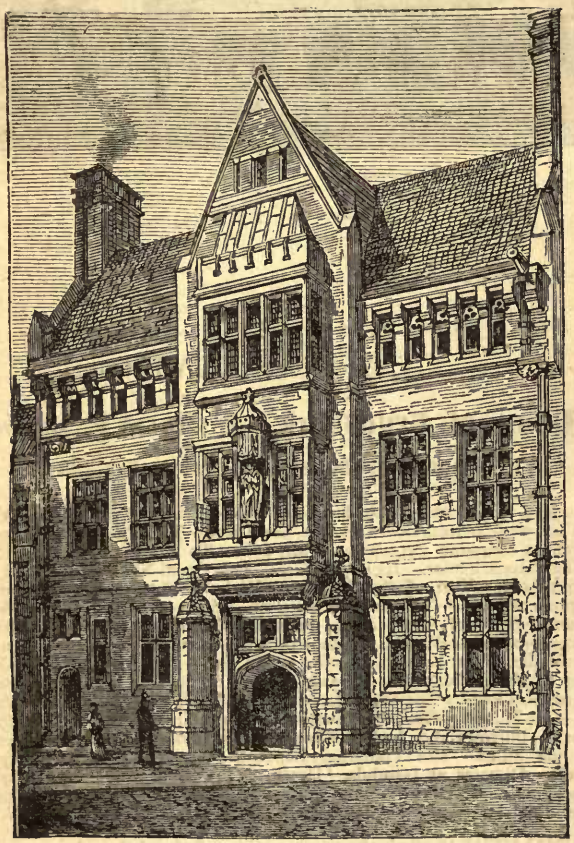
Defeat of the Ministry.

Mr. Disraeli taunted the government with pursuing during four years a policy of confiscation and spoliation, disturbing one interest after another. Mr. Gladstone was defeated on a division by a small majority of three. Thereupon he resigned office, and Mr. Disraeli was entrusted by the Queen with the formation of a ministry. But he declined; he could not carry on the business of the country with the existing parliament, and it was an invidious thing for a new administration to resort to a general election.

Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues returned to power for a time, but their influence was seriously impaired. Some changes were made; Mr. Lowe, resigning the chancellorship of the exchequer, became home secretary, and Mr. Bright, who had been absent from the House through illness, returned to the cabinet with the office of chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. At the close of 1873 and the beginning of 1874, the Conservatives won two seats at Gloucester and Stroud;

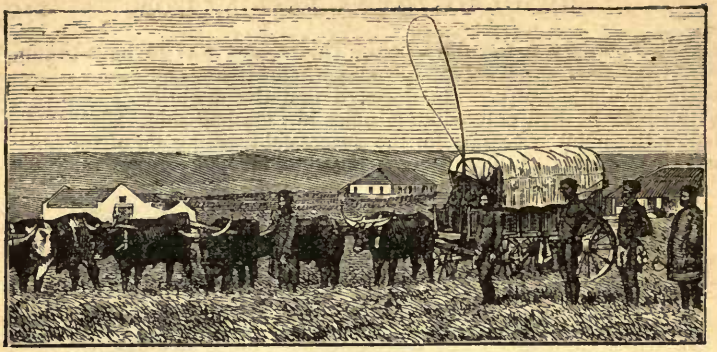
and in February, a few days before the session was to have begun, Mr. Gladstone suddenly dissolved parliament and appealed to the country. He declared that the majority with which he had entered upon office in 1868 had sunk below the point necessary for the successful carrying on of the business of the state. The sudden dissolution took the country by

Dissolution and Resignation.



THE ALBERT INSTITUTE, WINDSOR.

surprise; and though, in the general election which ensued, Mr. Gladstone exerted himself with all his old power and eloquence, the fight went against him and his party, and upon the assembling of parliament, the Conservatives had a majority of fifty at least in the new House. Thereupon Mr. Gladstone and his ministry resigned office.



CHAPTER XLVI.

The House of Brunswick.—Victoria I. (*continued*).

THE PERIOD OF IMPERIAL POLICY, 1875–1880.

The Ashantee Kingdom.—King Koffee Calcalli.—March of Sir Garnet Wolseley to Coomassie.—Retirement of Mr. Gladstone.—The Public Worship Act.—Merchant Shipping Legislation.—Mr. Plimsoll's Act to prevent Overloading.—The Slave Circular.—Its withdrawal.—Suez Canal Shares purchased by the Government.—Visit of the Prince of Wales to India.—The Queen made Empress of India.—The Eastern Question.—State of Turkey.—Berlin Memorandum.—Death of Abdul Aziz.—Bulgarian Atrocities.—Disraeli created Earl of Beaconsfield.—Warlike Attitude of the Government.—Conference at Constantinople.—War between Russia and Turkey.—Defence of Plevna.—English Fleet in the Dardanelles.—Treaty of San Stefano.—Congress of Berlin.—Cyprus acquired by England.—Lord Beaconsfield's Career.—War in Afghanistan.—Ali Musjid.—General Roberts in Afghanistan.—Murder of Cavagnari.—General Burrows and Ayoob Khan.—Africa and its Explorers.—Cetywayo and the Zulus.—The Transvaal Republic.—Sir Bartle Frere.—Cetywayo's Revolt.—Disaster at Isandula.—Death of the Prince Imperial.—Cetywayo's Deposition and Death.—War with the Boers.—Majuba Hill.—Transvaal Republic Acknowledged.—Election of 1880.—Mr. Gladstone in Power.

The Ashantee War.

IMMEDIATELY after the resignation of the Liberal government, news arrived of the successful termination of a war with which England had been engaged with the Ashantees, a fierce and pugnacious tribe, on the Gold Coast of Africa. In 1872, the English acquired, by purchase and exchange, some settlements formerly held by the Dutch, who had been accustomed to pay a kind of tribute to the King of Ashantee. That poten-

tate, King Koffee Calcalli, refused to evacuate the newly purchased territory unless the stipend was still paid to him; and he attacked the Fantees, a war tribe who were in alliance with the English. It was determined to march an army into the interior. The capital, Coomassie, was the point aimed at. The command was entrusted to Sir Garnet Wolseley, who completed his task with entire success. He penetrated to Coomassie, and compelled the king to submit. He then hurried his army back to the coast before the pestilential climate could do its deadly work upon them. The war was forced upon England by the necessity of keeping up the respect for her arms and prowess throughout her vast colonial empire.

Mr. Disraeli came into power with many advantages, among which the successful conclusion of the Ashantee war was not the least. He succeeded to a considerable surplus, and among his colleagues were statesmen of undoubted ability and character. Mr. Gladstone also at this time announced his intention of retiring from the leadership of the Liberal party; and the arduous duties of that position devolved on Lord Hartington in the House of Commons.

Retirement of Mr. Gladstone.

Among the first measures of the new administration were two bills relating to Church matters in Scotland and England respectively. The first took away the clerical patronage in Scotland from landed proprietors. The second measure, known as the Public Worship Bill, proposed to deal with the manner of conducting public services in English churches. A great deal of anger had arisen, and the two opposite sections of the English Church, the Evangelicals and the High Church party, were at issue, in consequence of the ornate manner of conducting service practised by the latter, whose vestments, incense, processions, and various ceremonies, were suggestive to their opponents of the Church of Rome. Indeed, the scenes of positive brawling enacted in some London churches were intolerable, notably in the instance of St. George's-in-the-East. The Public Worship Bill proposed to give the parishioners a ready means of appealing to the bishop, and the bishop the power of prompt and authoritative interference. Before the end of the session the bill became law. It has not been often put into action, and has produced no formidable effects.

Public Worship Act.

A very important question was raised by Mr. Plimsoll, a member of the House of Commons, with respect to the sending of ships to sea in an unsafe condition, and dangerously overloaded. He accordingly proposed that ships should be subjected to a compulsory survey before proceeding to sea, that deck cargoes should only be allowed under certain conditions, and that a load-line should be marked on the ship's side, to compel the maintenance of a certain amount of freeboard above the surface. This bill was lost in the Commons by a majority of only three; the government announced that its provisions would be included in a Merchant Shipping Bill in the next session. In 1875, accordingly, a new bill came before the House, but in July Mr. Disraeli announced that the measure would not be further proceeded with. There was a scene in the house, Mr. Plimsoll entirely lost his self-control

Mr. Plimsoll's Act.

and was obliged to apologise, having placed himself entirely "out of order." The attention of the nation had, however, been thoroughly called to the question, and something was effected towards the protection of the lives of sailors.

The Slave Circular.

Some excitement was caused through the issuing of a circular to captains of men-of-war, providing in some cases for the surrendering of the slave to his owner. This was felt to be against the broad principle, that a British man-of-war is a piece of British territory, and that when a slave sets foot on her deck he becomes free. The government wisely resolved to yield to public opinion, and the English flag gave full protection to fugitives, as before.

For a long time domestic questions had chiefly occupied the attention of the government, as the Artisans' Dwellings Bill, and similar measures. But now foreign matters became prominent, and first in a new phase of the Eastern question, with regard to which Mr. Disraeli indicated his intention of pursuing a vigorous policy. The government purchased, at a cost of £4,000,000, 176,000 shares of the Suez Canal from the bankrupt Khedive of Egypt. It was felt that unless England had a certain hold over the canal, at least in the character of a large shareholder, her interests in the direction of India might be seriously compromised. A popular measure was the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, during which the prince made the personal acquaintance of many vassals of his mother's throne, and everywhere gained golden opinions by his urbanity and kindliness of bearing. Some changes made in the position of the Viceroy of India, with regard to the secretary of state for India, caused Lord Northbrook, the governor-general, to resign his appointment, in which he was succeeded by Lord Lytton.

The Suez Canal Shares.

The Prince of Wales in India.

It was announced in the Queen's speech of 1876, that a change was to be made in the Queen's title, and in a short time Mr. Disraeli explained that this change was to consist in the adoption by her majesty of the title of "Empress of India." There was a tacit understanding that the imperial title should only be used in connection with the affairs of India, and a large section of the nation inclined to the belief that the innovation would bring with it no real accession of authority; though the reason indirectly put forward was the necessity of asserting the supremacy of the Queen as ruler over the whole of India.

The Queen "Empress of India."

The Eastern question now once more came to the front. The Turkish Empire had not advanced since the close of the Crimean war. There had been disturbances in the Herzegovina, in Crete, and other parts, and a revolt in Bosnia. On the other hand, Russia had advanced with rapid strides. Her armies had pushed forward far into Central Asia, and her power seemed a menace alike to Turkey and to India. In 1875, the principal Western powers addressed a joint note to Turkey, protesting against the neglect of that empire to fulfil the engagements of reform and improvement upon which it had entered. The government of the Sultan promised speedy action, but made no movement to carry

State of the Turkish Empire.

its promises into effect. Consequently Austria, Russia, and Prussia proposed to present a second note, called the Berlin Memorandum, intimating that if a settlement were not arrived at within two months, the powers would take the matter into their own hands. Lord Derby, who was foreign minister, declined to join in this note. Consequently the Berlin Memorandum was never presented. Meanwhile, affairs in the East went on from bad to worse. Sultan Abdul Aziz was dethroned, his nephew, the half-imbecile Murad, being set up in his place; and it was announced, a few days after, that the unhappy sovereign had committed suicide. At a later period, however, it was stated that he had been murdered. Murad remained on the throne only three months, and was then thrust aside for his brother Hamed.

The Berlin Memorandum.

A revolt that had broken out in Bulgaria had been put down by the savage soldiers of the Porte with even greater ferocity than usual, with torturing of prisoners, and the wholesale massacring of women and children. Mr. Disraeli and the government at first professed utter disbelief in these crimes; but in places where no combat had been waged, piled-up corpses of women and children appeared. Mr. Gladstone denounced the misrule of the Turkish government in the Christian provinces, declaring that it ought to be turned out of those provinces "bag and baggage." The country was soon divided into two parties, one declaring that Turkey ought to be upheld as a safeguard against Russia; while the other maintained that no consideration ought to induce England to countenance the Porte. The question had assumed a very serious phase, when it was suddenly announced that Mr. Disraeli had been elevated to the peerage by the title of Earl of Beaconsfield. Certainly no statesman had ever shown so astonishing an amount of perseverance, as had been exhibited by Mr. Disraeli during his leadership of the Conservative party; and it was generally felt that the reward had been fairly and honestly earned.

Bulgarian Atrocities.

The Earl of Beaconsfield.

But Lord Beaconsfield continued to take the foremost part in politics. The one power that seemed at the time likely to thwart the interests of the British Empire was Russia; and against Russia, accordingly, the speeches of Lord Beaconsfield and his followers were chiefly directed. In an oration he especially alluded to the resources possessed by England, which would enable her to prolong a struggle, if necessary, year after year, until the object was gained. Alexander II., at about the same time, declared that if Turkey were not compelled to grant the conditions he considered just, he would enforce those conditions, if necessary, by war. It was proposed to hold a conference of the great powers at Constantinople, with the view of obtaining a peaceful settlement of difficulties. The conference actually met at Constantinople, England being represented by the Marquis of Salisbury. But the Porte had no intention of making any real concessions, or of submitting to anything that appeared like dictation. Accordingly the conference broke up without effecting any result. On the 24th of April, 1877, Russia declared

Warlike Policy of England.

Russia declares War against Turkey.

war against Turkey. A Russian army crossed the Danube into Roumania, and a second was despatched to Asia Minor. The troops, under the grand Duke Nicholas, besieged Kars; and the fortress of Ardahan was taken by storm. General Zimmerman gained several successes; and on the 28th of June, the Czar himself crossed the Danube to Sistova, and was enthusiastically received by the Christian population. In the middle of July, Nicopolis fell into the Russian hands, and at Hain Bogaz, near Tirnova, the first passage of the Balkans was effected.

Defence of Plevna.

The fortune of war now turned in favour of the Turks. Osman Pasha earned great renown by his spirited defence of Plevna in Bulgaria, where many assaults of the Russians were repelled. But the immense resources of Russia told in the end. Plevna capitulated on the 10th of December, 1877, conquered at last by famine; and with the fall of Plevna the chances of Turkish success ended. In England the feeling was, as it had been in 1854, strongly against Russia. The excitement culminated when a report was spread that the Russian army was in full march upon Constantinople. The fleet, which had already advanced to the Dardanelles, took up a position near Constantinople. This decided action appears to have impressed the Russian commanders, and the threatened occupation of Constantinople was averted. On the 3rd of March a treaty was signed between Russia and Turkey. Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania were to be independent, and Bulgaria was to be a tributary principality. The port of Batoum was to be ceded to the Russians, together with Kars. Turkey was also to pay a heavy indemnity.

The Fleet in the Dardanelles.

Treaty of San Stefano.

But in England it was generally considered that the conditions of this treaty were too favourable to Russia, and that the stipulations of the treaty of 1856, in which England had been one of the contracting parties, were being recklessly disregarded. Accordingly, a secret compact was made with Turkey, stipulating that the whole question should be reconsidered at a congress of the great powers. This congress met on June 1st at Berlin, and was attended by Lord Beaconsfield in person, who, in defiance of all usage, accompanied the foreign secretary, Lord Salisbury, to Berlin. Prince Bismarck was president. Russia, Austria, and France were represented. The whole of the treaty of San Stefano was placed before the congress for revision, and General Ignatieff's arrangements made on that occasion were considerably altered. The great prize that Russia secured in the treaty was the cession of Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum by the Porte. The island of Cyprus was given up to Great Britain, and Sir Garnet Wolseley was presently sent there as lord high commissioner. Lord Beaconsfield, on his return to England with the announcement that he had secured "peace with honour," received something like a public ovation.

Congress of Berlin.

Cyprus acquired by England.

The Berlin Congress may be looked upon as the climax of Lord Beaconsfield's course, which in its marvellous success, and its triumph over apparently insurmountable obstacles, was unprecedented in the

history of English politics. The reaction that now set in against the Conservative party and its leaders was in the first place attributable to a general depression in trade. The aggressive and warlike "imperial" policy pursued by the cabinet was declared to have involved the country in various small wars, maintained at an expense entirely disproportionate to their importance.

Dissatisfaction in the Country.

The first of these was a contest in Afghanistan. Dost Mohammed, the old khan, had died in 1863, leaving his throne to his son Shere Ali, to whom the viceroys of India had behaved with great friendliness. Sir John Lawrence had assisted him with arms and money, and Lord Mayo had received him with honour at Umballah, and had effected a reconcilation between him and his rebellious son Yakoob Khan. He had been at various periods propitiated with subsidies; but when, in 1877, in view of the increasing influence of Russia, it was considered advisable to have a British resident at the court of Cabul, Shere Ali refused, and the subsidy was consequently withheld. Soon afterwards a Russian envoy named Stolietoff was received at Cabul with every mark of honour, and a treaty was signed, making Russia guardian of the ameer. Thereupon it was determined by the English government to send a large embassy, supported by a military force, to Cabul. It started in September, 1878, from Peshawur, under Sir Maville Chamberlain. At Ali Musjid, a fort in the Khyber Pass, the British advanced guard was threatened with attack, and compelled to fall back on Peshawur. In consequence of this defiance, a British army was collected at Peshawur, Quettah, and Kuram; the army advanced, and occupied Ali Musjid after a sharp fight. On the 2nd of December, 1878, General Roberts, at the head of the 72nd Highlanders and a force of Ghoorkas, defeated the Afghans. Jellalabad was presently occupied, and the Russian mission was withdrawn. Soon afterwards Shere Ali died, and Yakoob Khan, as his successor, on the 8th of June signed the Treaty of Gandamak, by which it was stipulated that the British should occupy the Khyber Pass and the Kuram and Pisheen valleys, and have a resident at Cabul, paying a subsidy of £60,000 to the ameer. But Sir Louis Cavagnari, with his escort, was cruelly murdered by some mutinous Afghan troops. To revenge this outrage, General Roberts marched to Cabul, proclaimed martial law, imposed a heavy fine, and caused eighty-seven Afghan mutineers to be executed, besides five mollahs who had been foremost in instigating the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari and his companions. Heavy fighting continued throughout the whole of 1879. In January, 1880, the hill tribes generally had been subdued. Soon after, Shere Ali, a cousin of the late ameer, was made governor of Candahar by the British, and Sir Donald Stewart took the chief command at Cabul in May, 1880. It was necessary to despatch a reinforcing army of 2,400 men under General Burrows from Bombay towards Candahar. The Wali's troops revolted and joined the rebel Ayoob Khan. On the 17th of July, 1880, General Burrows attacked Ayoob Khan at Marwand, and after

Shere Ali of Cabul.

General Roberts and the Highlanders.

Murder of Cavagnari.

General Burrows and Ayoob Khan.

a gallant contest, in which he lost 700 men, was compelled to retreat. General Roberts, on the 1st of September, totally defeated Ayoob Khan at Mazoa, near Candahar. Ayoob Khan fled towards Herat. Soon after, the inefficient Shere Ali resigned his position of Wali of Candahar, and retired to India. By the end of the year, the war had cost more than £23,000,000—5,000,000 of which had been defrayed by the British exchequer. Abdul Rahman, a nephew of Shere Ali, was proclaimed Ameer of Cabul by the British in the course of the year, and in 1881 virtually became the ruler of the whole of Afghanistan. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to General Roberts and his army. The publication of the Russian correspondence with the Ameer Shere Ali, in 1878, threw considerable light on the causes of this costly and unremunerative war in Afghanistan. In 1882 the new ameer accepted a British resident in his capital; and at a later period a commission for definitely fixing the frontier of Afghanistan was accepted by the ameer, Sir Peter Lumsden being appointed commissioner.

Cost of the War.

A war which caused even greater embarrassment to the ministry broke out in Southern Africa in 1878. The African continent had been for some years the object of great attention in Western Europe, and especially in England. The splendid services of Dr. Livingstone as a missionary and explorer, the brilliant exertions of Captains Speke and Grant, and of Sir Samuel Baker, Mr. H. M. Stanley and others, had let in a new light upon the dark continent. As a field for exploration and discovery, Africa was a kind of happy hunting ground. Its political aspect, however, was very different. It had been a difficult question to determine to what extent British authority could be maintained there. Among the countries of Southern Africa, the territories of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal were English settlements. There were two important regions inhabited by descendants of the old Dutch settlers, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal republic, whose independence was recognised by the English government. The Transvaal State had been established by the Dutch boers, or farmers, after various conflicts with the natives, in 1848, and its constitution had been declared at the capital, Pretoria, ten years later. There were, besides, a number of native governments under chiefs. These nations were generally known by the name of Kaffirs, and among them the Zulus were the most warlike and intelligent. In 1873 a powerful Zulu chief, Langalibalele, rose up against the English, and his revolt was put down with great severity, he himself being captured, deposed, and imprisoned. In 1872 the Zulus were under the dominion of Cetywayo, a chief of considerable ability and great determination, who organized a very formidable army with which he maintained his rule. Cetywayo looked upon the English with great suspicion and dislike, and is said to have been especially apprehensive that Langalibalele's fate, deposition and imprisonment, would one day be his own, unless he strengthened himself against them. His first enmity arose out of circumstances connected with the Transvaal republic of the Dutch Boers, with whom he was often

Livingstone and other African Explorers.

State of South Africa.

Cetywayo and the Zulus.

The Transvaal Republic.

involved in hostilities. A certain number of the inhabitants of the Transvaal republic, alarmed at the state of affairs, expressed a wish to be placed under the English government and protection; and the English commissioner, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, declared the Transvaal annexed to the English dominions. A dispute had been going on between Cetywayo and the Dutch with regard to a strip of territory claimed by each; and the English arbitrators, to whom the matter was referred, decided in favour of the Zulu chief.

Sir Bartle Frere.

Sir Bartle Frere, the governor of the Cape, regarded Cetywayo as a dangerous man, likely to give endless trouble. Accordingly the award was kept back for some time, and when it was made public, Frere insisted that Cetywayo should disband his army. Cetywayo set the authority of the government at defiance, and utterly disregarded his injunctions, increasing his army, and organizing raids into British territory. The governor thereupon applied to England for assistance, and the 90th regiment was despatched to the Cape, with a battery of artillery, in January, 1878. Presently another raid was made into British territory; and Cetywayo, on being required to give up the ringleaders, peremptorily refused.

Cetywayo's Contumacy.

A British force crossed the frontier river, the Tugela, on the 12th of January, 1879, under the command of General Lord Chelmsford. On the 21st of January, Colonel Pearson inflicted a defeat on the Zulus and fortified Echowe; but on the 22nd the English camp on the Tugela, at Isandula or Isandlwana, about ten miles from Rorke's Drift, was surprised by an army of 15,000 Zulus. Five companies of the 24th regiment were almost annihilated, the Zulus attacking with immense courage and determination. The English lost above 800 men, with two colonels, Durnford and Pulleine, and many other officers. The loss of the Zulus is estimated at above 2,000 men.

Disaster at Isandula.

The surprise at Isandula was fortunately an isolated disaster. Rorke's Drift was successfully defended by Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead; and on the 24th of January, Colonel Evelyn Wood inflicted a severe defeat on the Zulus, who attacked Inkanyana. In March the "Tamar" arrived at Maritzburg with 800 men; and Cetywayo's brother, Ohum, joined the English with 600 men. On the 29th of March, Colonel Evelyn Wood gained a victory at Kambula. In May, Sir Garnet Wolseley, having been appointed commander-in-chief and governor of Natal, set sail for the Cape, where he arrived on the 23rd of June, 1879.

Reinforcements from England.

Prince Louis Napoleon, the son of the Emperor Napoleon III. and the Empress Eugenie, had requested permission to accompany the expedition, and had joined as a volunteer some time before. On the 1st of June he rode out with a reconnoitring party under Captain J. Brenton Carey, at Imbabani, near the Mozani River. The party was surprised by some Zulus, who burst from an ambush, and the young prince was speared to death by the enemy. His death put an end to the prospects of the Napoleonic dynasty in France. On the 7th of July, 1879, the hopes of Cetywayo were destroyed by the crushing defeat inflicted on his army of 23,000 Zulus by Lord Chelmsford. The savages displayed great

Death of the Prince Imperial of France.

bravery, and repeated their attacks until more than 1,500 of their number had fallen. The chiefs presently came in, and offered their submission. Cetywayo was captured on the 28th of August, and sent as a prisoner to Cape Town.

Lord Chelmsford's Victory.

In 1881 Cetywayo sent in a petition to the Queen for reinstatement, but his prayer was refused. In 1882 he himself came to London, and succeeded better. He was received by the Queen, and restored to a part of his former dominions under certain restrictions. Thereupon he returned to Africa, and his restoration was proclaimed at Ulundi in January, 1883. But he became almost immediately involved in war with his brother Oham and other chiefs, especially with the powerful Usibepu. He was attacked and defeated at Ulundi; was for a time a fugitive, and delivered himself up into the hands of the English, by whom he was conveyed to Durban in October, 1883. In January, 1884, he escaped, but was speedily recaptured, and died of heart disease on the 8th of February, 1884. The struggle with the Transvaal republic occupied the attention of the home government simultaneously with the war against the Zulus. When the Transvaal was declared a Crown colony, many of the inhabitants objected to the arrangement. At the end of 1880, the South African republic was proclaimed by three men, Pretorius, Kruger, and Joubert, and troops were sent out from England to put down the rising—Sir George Colley, the governor of Natal, taking the command. On the 28th of January, 1881, General Colley was repulsed with heavy loss at the pass of Laing's Neck; and on the 8th of February the British again suffered defeat after a twelve hours' fight on the Ingogo River. Sir Evelyn Wood presently arrived with reinforcements, and the neutral Orange State offered mediation. A still greater loss was suffered by the British at Majuba Hill, to which place about 600 men marched under General Colley. The Boers attacked the British in great numbers. Among the slain was Sir George Colley himself. Sir Arthur Roberts was now sent to the Transvaal; peace was concluded and confirmed, and the Transvaal State was declared free.

Restoration of Cetywayo.

His Death.

War with the Boers.

The parliament which had met in March, 1874, entered upon its sixth session early in 1880. Suddenly in April, it was announced that the government had decided to appeal to the constituencies. In the new parliament, the Liberals had a majority of 120 in the House of Commons. Lord Beaconsfield accordingly resigned; and the Queen entrusted once more to Mr. Gladstone the task of forming a government.

General Election of 1880.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The Colonies of the British Empire in Australasia.

From the Beginning of the Present Century.

The Australasian World. First Settlement in Australia. Captain Cook's Explorations and Discoveries. The First Colony at "Botany Bay." Despotic Powers of the First Governors. Miserable Condition of the Settlement. Position of the Convict Colonists. Mismanagement and Scarcity. Governor Bligh. Exertions of John M'Arthur. Revolution in the Colony. Deposition of Bligh. His Temporary Reinstatement. Pastoral Pursuits. Governor Macquarie's Improvements. Establishment of West Australia. The Gold Discoveries. Rush to the Gold-fields. Rich Produce of certain Localities. Rapid Increase of Population. Decrease of the Aborigines. Modern Improvements and Civilization. Electric Telegraph, etc. South Australia. Queensland. Prosperity of Brisbane and other Towns. The West Australian Colony. Tasmania, or Van Diemen's Land. New Zealand. Captain Cook's Discoveries. Founding of Settlements. Wars with the Maoris. Native Outrages. The Act for the Government of New Zealand. Te Kooti's Rebellion and Discomfiture. The Fiji Group of Islands.

THE great and important possessions of the British crown in Australasia—now comprising, in Australia, the great island-continent, in the two islands forming New Zealand, and the various islands of the Pacific Ocean, besides a part of Papua, or New Guinea, and Fiji, an area of more than three millions of square miles, and a population of more than three millions of souls—are of comparatively recent origin. On the 28th of April, 1770, the celebrated explorer, Captain James Cook, landed on the east coast of the island-continent, to which the name New South Wales was given. In consequence of the wealth of the spot where

First Settlement in Australia.

he first landed, in plants of new and various kinds, he gave to it the name of Botany Bay. Cook earned for himself undying fame by his persevering exertions in exploring the coast of Australia and of New Zealand.

The American War of Independence put an end to the transportation of convicts to the American "plantations." Accordingly, in 1787, the "Sirius," a man-of-war, was despatched, with certain storeships and transports, to found a settlement, with something over 1000 persons, consisting of convicts and a small body of soldiers to guard them. In January, 1788, they landed at Botany Bay, and shortly afterwards, on a promontory of Port Jackson, founded the first Australian colony, on the spot now covered by the flourishing city of Sydney. The population was a most unpromising one, consisting as it did of prisoners of the most miscellaneous description. The convicts were virtually slaves, under an autocratic governor, whose word was law. Even the infliction of the death penalty only required the sanction of a kind of court-martial, composed of the higher officials, who seldom found it worth while to cross the governor's humour in the matter. In such things as making grants of land, fixing the price of provisions, or the rate of wages to be paid, the governor was also autocratic. The overseers, chosen from among the convicts, chiefly for their bodily strength, maintained a sort of discipline and subordination by incessant flogging; and this community of wretched slaves received accessions of shipload after shipload of new convicts before the land had been brought into anything like a condition to support them. To their other woes, that of semi-starvation was accordingly added. The officials were accustomed to make one great distinction, namely, between the convicts who were mechanics, or were in other ways able to be useful to them, and the useless and ignorant. The former were frequently pardoned, even after repeatedly committing serious crimes; the latter were treated with scant lenity, and many were executed for a first offence. There could hardly have been a more lamentable state of affairs, or a more wretched system, than that which prevailed under Governor Phillip and his successors, Captains Grove, Paterson, Hunter and King, the last mentioned of whom was succeeded, in 1806, by that Captain Bligh who had become famous by his marvellous voyage in an open boat over nearly 4,000 miles of ocean, with a part of the crew of the "Bounty" in 1789. Bligh was certainly not a man who could be safely trusted with arbitrary power.

Penal Colony of "Botany Bay."

Governor Bligh.

In spite of its inauspicious commencement, the colony gradually began to improve. A huntsman discovered a large herd of wild cattle, in the interior, the produce of a bull and four cows, which had been brought to the colony years before, and had escaped into the bush. The idea now arose that cattle-breeding might be made profitable; and John M'Arthur, an officer in the New South Wales corps, threw up his commission, and boldly went to try his fortune in rearing live stock. His success caused several others to follow his example; and M'Arthur, imported some of the Spanish merino sheep with complete success; not, however, without

Exertions of John M'Arthur.

much opposition. Bligh took every opportunity of thwarting M'Arthur, and tried to drive him from the colony. There was a rising, in 1808, against the tyrannical governor. The regiment marched to Government House, and solemnly deposed him from his office. The English government sent out Colonel Macquarie to restore the governor, which he accordingly did. But this was only for form's sake; for the next day it was announced that Bligh was to be superseded by Macquarie himself. Macquarie judiciously encouraged industrious convicts, by giving them freedom and grants of land. Bass and Flinders penetrated through the channel known afterwards as Bass's Strait, Tasmania was colonized, Hobart Town being afterwards established as the capital; and by the explorations of Wentworth, the boundaries of the colony of New South Wales were extended beyond the Blue Mountains.

The Revolution in the Colony.

By the time that the peace of 1815 had thrown numbers of naval and military men out of employment, the value of Australia as a field for emigration was gradually becoming recognised. The Bathurst and Wellington prairies opened out an inexhaustible extent of pasturage; and so greatly did the wool-exporting industry develop that whereas in 1821 the colonial exports amounted to 73,000 lbs. in weight, the year 1850 saw 40,000,000 lbs. exported. In 1829 West Australia was formed into a province, and a legislative council was established; the explorations of Sturt in South Australia a few years afterwards called attention to the capabilities of the new territory, and in 1834 the new region was erected into a province like West Australia. Melbourne was founded in November, 1837, and named after the English prime minister of the day. Fresh explorations were undertaken by Count Strzelecki, who explored the Australian Alps, discovered Gipps' Land, and was the first to entertain the notion, kept secret for a time, of the mineral wealth of Australia. In 1842 the city of Sydney was incorporated, and in the following years exploration was carried on by Dr. Leichardt and others. West Australia had already been explored by Eyre, who afterwards made such unfortunate mistakes in Jamaica. In 1845 the first of the great mineral sources of wealth in Australia was brought into definite action in the great copper-mine of Burra, the richest in the world.

Progress of the Settlement.

Establishment of West Australia.

More than once there had been rumours of gold in Australia. When at length it appeared beyond all doubt that gold was to be had in abundance, a rush was made to Australia, such as had never been dreamed of since colonies were first established there. It was in May, 1851, that the rumour reached Sydney that, within a hundred and fifty miles of the capital, a colonist who had been in California as a gold-digger, Mr. Edward Hargraves, had discovered a gold-field in the Bathurst district. Gold was found in quantities in the beds of the streams, and on the very surface of the earth. A great stone upon which the shepherds had sat many a time watching their flocks proved to contain a hundredweight of the precious metal. Fortunate it was that these startling discoveries took place after Australia had ceased to be merely a penal country.

Gold in Australia.

Port Phillip had just been erected into a separate colony, under the name of Victoria; and here, as in New South Wales, the one topic of absorbing interest was the discovery of gold. Soon other prizes were discovered, including the Victoria nugget, weighing 340 ounces, and soon afterwards a piece of pure gold was found weighing 106 lbs.

Rush to the Gold-fields.

The result was not only a rush of emigration from England, but also a great displacement of industry in Australia itself. The great flock-owners were the first to suffer; for the bachelor shepherds went off in numbers to the gold-fields, and an immense loss of property in flocks took place. The price of labour rose enormously. The surface gold was present in such abundance that it could be picked out of the crevices in the rocks, and washed, by means of hand-bowls and "cradles," from the sand in the rivers.

Though many of the thousands who arrived from Europe found gold-digging too severe a task, they found employment, and ultimately

Increase of Population.

prosperity and independence. Of the richness of the gold-fields of Victoria an idea may be formed by the fact that from those of Mount Alexander and Ballarat, from June, 1851, to October, 1852, the amount of 2,532,432 ounces, or 105½ tons, of gold had been extracted, the gold exported up to the same date representing £8,863,477 sterling. For years the extra-

Enormous Yield of the Gold-fields.

ordinary yield continued, the amount of gold brought to England from New South Wales and Victoria in the ten years ending in May, 1861, being valued at £96,000,000. In the colony of Victoria, the smallest in area in Australia, the population in the middle of 1887 numbered over a million. The death-rate was only fifteen in the thousand, while the birth-rate was more than double that proportion, showing the exceptionally healthy conditions of life in the colony. The aborigines, on the other hand, are fast dying out.

The construction of railways, of which more than 1,700 miles had already been completed before the end of 1886, was another important element in the country's prosperity, especially by opening up the way into the interior, where a boundless area is available for the

Modern Improvements and Civilization.

industry of the agriculturist. Wheat and oats are extensively grown; wine of good quality is produced in increasing quantities; and a great manufacturing industry has arisen. Melbourne, the capital, founded only half a century ago, now contains close upon 400,000 inhabitants. Ballarat, Geelong, and Sandhurst are also flourishing, and have become important towns.

The colony of South Australia no longer answers to its name; for its area was so far extended in 1863 that it now comprises the whole breadth of the island-continent from south to north, and includes an area of more than 900,000 square miles. It is essentially an agricultural and pastoral community, 125,000,000 acres being held on lease from the Crown for pastoral purposes. The population of Adelaide, the capital, with its suburbs, is about 130,000. As in the other Australian colonies, a system of state education, similar to that in England, has been introduced. In the mineral wealth of South Australia, copper takes the chief place.

The most recent of the Australian colonies is Queensland, which was erected into a separate government in 1859. It comprises a portion of what was formerly New South Wales, and occupies the north-eastern portion of the great island-continent. It includes an area more than five times as large as the United Kingdom, and is in some respects more favoured in climate than the southern part of Australia. It is by far the least populated of the colonies of Australia, containing, in 1886, a population of less than 350,000. The chief town is Brisbane, containing, with its suburbs, more than 73,000 inhabitants; Maryborough, Rockhampton, Townsville, Port Douglas, Bundaburg, and others, all sharing in the prosperity of the young community. The shipping industry of Queensland is one of the most important features of the colony.

Colony of Queensland.

One of the earlier of the Australian colonies, but for various reasons less developed than the others, is West Australia, formerly known as the Swan River Settlement, comprising an area of more than 1,200 miles in length by 800 in breadth. The inhabited part of the colony extends from the coast inland about 100 to 140 miles. Part of the country is heavily timbered, chiefly with trees of the eucalyptus kind. The climate is salubrious. The chief towns are Perth and Freemantle, on the Swan River.

Western Australia.

Tasmania, or Van Diemen's Land, may be considered as a supplementary Australian colony. The climate is more equable than that of Australia, being free from the excessive heats and droughts that sometimes affect the island-continent. Like Australia, Tasmania was at first used as a convict settlement, the first stations being formed on the site of the present capital, Hobart Town. The aborigines have become entirely extinct. As in the colonies of Australia proper, railways, the telegraph, and education have been systematically established.

Tasmania, or Van Diemen's Land.

New Zealand owes the exploration of its coast to Captain Cook. It consists mainly of two islands, separated by Cook's Strait, a third island of smaller extent making up the group. Captain Cook planted various European garden-seeds, etc., on his first visit, and found that the potato throve abundantly. The natives, or Maoris, were athletic, well formed, and warlike. They tattooed themselves, and practised cannibalism. In 1833 New Zealand was constituted a subordinate territory to New South Wales, and in 1839 it became a separate colony. The first governor, Captain Hobson, landed in 1840. The town of Wellington was founded, which afterwards became the capital of the colony. In 1841 New Zealand became a bishop's see, and the towns of Nelson, Otago, Taranaki or New Plymouth, successively arose. New bishoprics were erected between 1856 and 1859—those of Christchurch, Nelson, Wellington, and Waiapu.

New Zealand and Captain Cook.

Afterwards a war broke out with the natives, who were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the English. After various combats of minor importance between the Maoris and the militia and volunteers, in 1860, it became necessary to send troops from Australia. In the early part of 1861 the natives were beaten, and the war ended by their submission.

War with the Maoris.

In 1863 a new war broke out, a native Maori king having been chosen by the chiefs. General Cameron, after gaining various successes at Rangariri and elsewhere, compelled the Maori king to sue for peace; but in 1864 the war burst out afresh. General Cameron defeated the insurgents in 1865. After being worsted in several conflicts, they made overtures of peace, but treacherously murdered the envoys sent to them. They were finally put down by General Chute, in 1866. An act regulating the government of New Zealand was passed by the British parliament. In 1868 the peace of the colony was again seriously disturbed. A large number of Maori convicts escaped from Chatham Island, and placed themselves under the command of Te Kooti, a native chief. They were defeated by Colonel Whitmore in January, 1869. Te Kooti became a fugitive, and his followers were scattered in 1870; and with the submission of Wiremu Kingi and other chiefs to British rule, followed by that of the native king, Tawhaio, the supremacy of the English was once more assured.

Native Outrages.

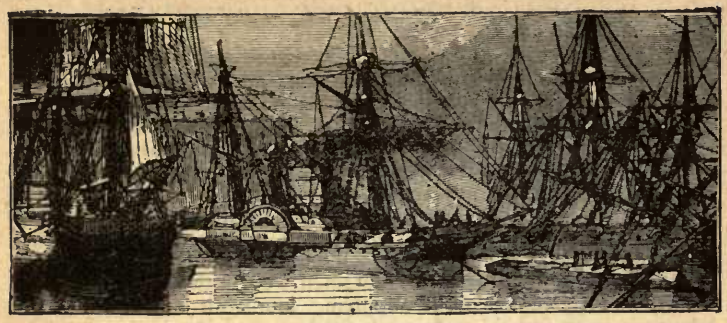
Discomfiture of Te Kooti.

New Zealand has many natural advantages as a colony, one of the chief being the climate, which is somewhat warmer than that of London, and hardly varies 20° throughout the year—excessive heat in summer and cold in winter being alike unknown. There is generally a difference of only 15° between summer and winter temperature. The white population in 1886 was reckoned at nearly 600,000, and the Maoris numbered about 42,000.

Advantages of New Zealand.

The Fiji group of islands in the South Pacific Ocean became a British possession by the submission of the native chiefs to the authority of the English government in 1874. The islands are above 200 in number, the principal one being that of Great Fiji, or Viti Levu, and the second great land, Vanua Levu. The capital is Suva, in Viti Levu. The white population comprises some 4,000 persons, and the natives number nearly 120,000. They have a fine climate, and abound in tropical fruits and plants.

The Fiji Group.



CHAPTER XLVIII.

The House of Brunswick.—Victoria I. (*continued.*)

The Period from 1880 to 1887.

The Question of Parliamentary Obstruction. The Condition of Ireland. The Boycotting System. Arrest and Prosecution of Irish Members. Irish Land Bill. Murder of Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke. Agrarian Outrages. Punishment of the Phœnix Park Murderers. Dynamite Outrages. Egypt and the Soudan. Position of the Khedive. Insurrection of the Mahdi of Dongola. Arabi Pasha's Revolt. Battle of Kassassin. Victory of Tel-el-Kebir. Hicks Pasha. Battle of El Obied. General Gordon's Mission of Pacification. Battle of El Teb—Defeat of Osman Digna. Earle's Expedition. Lord Wolseley in Dongola. Victory at Abou Klea Wells. Treachery at Khartoum. Death of Gordon. The Australian Contingent in Egypt. Home Affairs. Turbulence of the Parliament. Advance of Progress and Prosperity during Queen Victoria's Reign. The General Election of 1886. The Jubilee of 1887.

THE atmosphere in which the parliament of 1880 met for the transaction of the nation's business was a stormy one. The question of Home Rule for Ireland was assuming a more urgent form; and the aspect of affairs abroad, especially in Egypt, looked far from encouraging.

Parliament of 1880.

A serious difficulty arose, connected with Ireland's affairs. The distress in that country was great and undeniable; and early in the year 1880 various efforts had been made to provide help, the chief one being the starting of a relief fund, which up to July amounted to more than £177,000. In parlia-

The Irish Question

ment also the "Compensation for Disturbance Bill" was introduced, to safeguard the interests of the tenant, and secure him against arbitrary and ruinous eviction from his holding. The bill passed the House of Commons at the end of July, but was thrown out by the Lords. In the House of Commons the policy of obstruction was openly pursued, and on the 22nd and 23rd of August the House sat for twenty-two hours continuously, to defeat the motions for adjournment made by the Parnellite party. During the autumn, a persevering agitation was kept up, and a system of terrorism began. A Captain Boycott had rendered himself obnoxious to the league. Tradesmen were intimidated by emissaries, and prevented from supplying him with necessaries; the labourers were forbidden to work for him, and it was necessary to import labourers, who were protected by soldiers and police, to reap his crops. This method of social outlawry was afterwards developed into a system, under the name of "boycotting." Presently outrages and agrarian murders, such as that of the land-agent Wheeler, complicated the state of affairs. It became necessary to station 25,000 men in Ireland, and even this force had to be afterwards increased. Mr. Parnell, Mr. Healy, and others were arrested for intimidation, and for endeavouring to prevent tenants from paying their rents. Subsequently Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sexton, and others were again arrested, and lodged in Kilmainham jail. In January, Mr. Forster, the secretary for Ireland, brought in a bill for protection of life and property, known as the Coercion Bill for Ireland. Mr. Gladstone, anxious, if possible, to conciliate the Irish nation, introduced the Irish Land Bill, to give fixity of tenure to Irish tenants. After much opposition the measure was passed, with certain modifications. But presently the Land League denounced it as a sham, and openly forbade the payment of rents by Irish tenants. Thereupon, the lord-lieutenant proclaimed the suppression of the Land League as an illegal and seditious conspiracy, and more arrests followed, nearly 2,500 persons being incarcerated in the prisons of Ireland at one time, towards the end of 1881. Mr. Forster resigned, and Lord F. Cavendish succeeded him as secretary for Ireland.

The Boycotting System.

Arrest of Parnell, Dillon, etc.

The Irish Land Bill.

A horrible crime marked the commencement of Lord Spencer's viceroyalty. On the 6th of May, Lord Frederick Cavendish, the new chief secretary, and Mr. T. H. Burke, the under-secretary for Ireland, were assassinated in Phœnix Park, Dublin, by four men, who drove off on a car immediately after perpetrating the deed. A stringent bill for the prevention of crime in Ireland was at once introduced. The government incurred considerable odium for an alleged compact with Mr. Parnell and his party, called by the Opposition the "Kilmainham Treaty." Several persons obnoxious to the Irish Land League were shot dead, including Mr. Walter Bourke and Corporal Wallace, his escort, and Mr. Blake, agent of the Marquis of Clanricarde. The Coercion Act had, however, a great effect in repressing lawlessness and outrage; and by the time it expired, at the end of September, 1882, agrarian crime had been much diminished, partly owing, no

The Phœnix Park Murders.

Agrarian Outrages.

doubt, to the condign punishment of some of the worst criminals. At length, in 1883, eight men were arrested for participation in the murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke. Five men convicted of participation in the murders, were executed. Carey, the "approver," however, did not escape. He was sent out of the country by the government, but was recognised travelling under a feigned name, and shot by one O'Donnell, who was afterwards tried, convicted, and executed.

Punishment of the Murderers of Cavendish and Burke.

The extreme section of irreconcilables in America strove to show their hatred of English rule by means of the dynamitards, who on various occasions endeavoured to blow up buildings with explosive compounds. A favourite method was to plan an explosion on a railway. Thus the Metropolitan line, and the Victoria Terminus of the Brighton railway, each became the scene of an attempt of the kind.

For some time the condition of Egypt had been full of danger and difficulty. Ismail, the Khedive, who was an independent sovereign, had long been involved in debt, and the finances of his country had taxed the ingenuity, not only of his own officers and ministers, but of various European statesmen and financiers whom he had called in at various times to his aid. The exertions of the English and French commissioners, seconded by the exertions of the finance minister, Nubar Pasha, had placed matters on a better footing when Mr. Goschen returned to England in 1877; and the Khedive was relieved of another great anxiety through the successful labours of one of the most remarkable and exemplary of English heroes, Colonel, afterwards General Gordon, eminent alike as soldier, negotiator, and philanthropist, who more than once restored peace for the Khedive in Abyssinia and the Soudan territory, retrieving the disasters that had fallen upon the Egyptian troops. But the Khedive was continually halting between two opinions. After vainly appealing to the Sultan, he was obliged, in June, 1879, to submit to a sentence of deposition, and his son Tewfik was proclaimed Khedive in his stead. In the beginning of 1880, Colonel Gordon resigned the governorship of the Soudan, and there seemed every prospect of prosperity for Egypt.

Egyptian Finances.

Position of the Khedive.

The Khedive Ismail deposed.

But soon these fair prospects were overclouded. In the Soudan a formidable insurrection arose in July, 1881, headed by Sheik Mahomed Ahmed, of Dongola, who announced himself as an inspired prophet, or Mahdi. He was, however, defeated in the winter of 1881, and was compelled for the time to retire. At the same time other troubles arose. Some 4,000 soldiers under Ahmed Arabi Bey tumultuously demanded increased pay. Arabi was appointed under-secretary for war. In May, 1882, English and French squadrons appeared before Alexandria, and demanded the dismissal of Arabi Pasha. There were riots at Alexandria and attacks by Arabs on the Europeans. Arabi was still in the ascendant, and fortifications threatening the British fleet were thrown up at Alexandria. Admiral Sir Michael Seymour declared he would bombard the place if these works were not stopped. He carried his menace into effect. Arabi was obliged

Insurrection of the Mahdi.

Turbulence of Arabi.

to retire into the interior. A part of Arabi's army afterwards went over to the Khedive; and 800 marines, who were landed from the fleet, undertook the restoration of order. The Khedive declared Arabi a rebel; who thereupon proclaimed a "Jehad," or holy war.

The Jehad, or Holy War.

Troops were sent out from England, and already, before the arrival of the reinforcements, the British gained a success, under Sir A. Alison, at the Mahmoudieh Canal. Sir Garnet Wolseley presently assumed the command at Alexandria. The campaign was short, sharp, and decisive. Among the British troops was a force of the Household Cavalry, now engaged for the first time in foreign service since 1815. On the 28th of August, General

Battle of Kassassin, etc.

Graham was attacked at Kassassin by a force of 13,000 Egyptians, whom he put to flight. A second attack at Kassassin was similarly repelled; and the campaign was decided by the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, on the 13th September, 1882. At daybreak the British troops attacked the entrenched camp, completely surprising the Egyptians, who, after a short combat, were driven out of the trenches in headlong flight by their foes, and pursued for

Victory of Tel-el-Kebir.

some distance with great slaughter by the cavalry. Soon afterwards Arabi surrendered unconditionally. The authority of the Khedive was thus completely restored. The British entered Cairo in triumph, and the forces of Arabi were

Rewards to Lords Wolseley and Alcester.

soon completely broken up. Sir Garnet Wolseley and Admiral Seymour were raised to the peerage. Grants of money of £30,000 and £25,000 respectively were also made to them. Presently the British force in Egypt was reduced to about 7,000 men; soon peace was proclaimed, and the government of Egypt was reorganized.

But disastrous news arrived from the Soudan. Mahomed Ahmed, the Mahdi, had been able to reinforce his army. In June, 1882, he surrounded and cut to pieces an Egyptian force of 6,000 men under Yussuf Pasha. He fought with varying success during 1882, at one time defeating the Egyptian army, at another being himself driven back. In 1883 Colonel Hicks Pasha marched against the Mahdi, whom he defeated signally in April. But in the autumn, Colonel

Hicks Pasha and the Mahdi.

Hicks was surprised and utterly defeated at the battle of El Obied, or Kashgal. Colonel Hicks perished, with several European officers, and his army was annihilated. There was a general rising, and the British government sent gunboats to Suakim and other ports on the Nile, to defend them. It was felt that the Egyptians would never be able to hold the Soudan; and the task of restoring peace, and of saving the garrisons that still held out, devolved upon the English.

It was to General Gordon that the government turned as the man for the emergency. That distinguished officer was suddenly sum-

General Gordon's Heroism.

moned to undertake the task of pacification in the Soudan. The object of Gordon's mission was to treat with the chiefs or sultans of the Soudan. He was invested with ull authority by the Khedive. His advice, embodied in a memorandum to the English government, was that the rule in the Soudan should be handed over to the different petty sultans, who would, for

their own sake, defend their possessions against the Mahdi. In January, 1884, Gordon and Colonel Stewart left London, and made their way without loss of time to the Soudan frontier. Gordon was enthusiastically received, but the situation was a desperate one. Colonel Valentine Baker Pasha, was defeated with 3,500 men at Tokar. Admiral Hewett took the command at Suakim, which was besieged. At Sinkat, the garrison under Tewfik Bey was destroyed in attempting a desperate sortie; and Osman Digna, the able commander of the Mahdi's troops, besieged Kassala. A brilliant victory was at this time gained, on the 29th of February, 1884, by General Graham, who utterly defeated an army of 12,000 rebels at El Teb. On the 13th of March another victory was gained in the battle of Tamanieb, and on the following day Osman Digna's camp was taken and burnt. Gordon, meanwhile, wrote to Sir Evelyn Baring expressing his determination to hold out where he was so long as he could, and, if possible, to suppress the rebellion. In July he reported Khartoum and Senaar as still holding out, and in August he repulsed and defeated the enemy. An expedition under General Earle was organized to relieve Khartoum; and in September, telegrams were received from Gordon, urgently requiring assistance. Lord Wolseley arrived at Dongola at the beginning of November. Generals Stewart and Earle led their troops successfully across the desert and up the Nile valley. On the 17th of January, 1885, General Stewart defeated 10,000 Arabs near Abu Klea wells, about 120 miles from Khartoum.

Defeat of Valentine Baker Pasha.

Battle of El Teb.

Lord Wolseley at Dongola.

Immediately afterwards a cheery message was received from the heroic Gordon, dated December 29th, 1884, declaring that Khartoum was "all right—could hold out for a year." On the 24th of January, communications were opened with the town. But two days afterwards Khartoum was surrendered to the besieging enemy, through treachery. Gordon and his faithful followers were put to death by the rebels. The battle of Kirbekan, on the 10th of February, was another victory for the English, but was dearly purchased by the death of General Earle and Lieutenants Eyre and Coveney, and many brave officers and men. On the 16th, Sir H. Stewart died at Gukdul. General Brackenbury now took the supreme command. General Gerald Graham started for the Soudan from London with the Grenadiers and Coldstream Guards, who were soon followed by the 5th Lancers. Other battles took place, at Hashin, Suakim, etc. At the end of March the Australian contingent arrived to take part in the war, and the colonials were enthusiastically welcomed by their brothers-in-arms from the old country. They were commanded by Colonel Richardson. The Soudan was gradually evacuated.

Death of Gordon at Khartoum.

The Australian Contingent.

The feature that distinguished the parliament of 1880 was the turbulence of a certain section of the members, and the tendency to obstruct public business. It became necessary to invest the Speaker with new and extensive powers, and especially to give him the authority of the closure, or power of closing a debate, and directing the votes to be at once

The Turbulent Parliament of 1880.

taken, at the wish of a majority. On an important occasion in 1881 no fewer than thirty-six Irish members were suspended at one time for disorderly conduct. On the 19th of April, 1881, Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, died at Hughenden Manor.

It is gratifying to notice the splendid advance that has been made during the half-century to which the reign of our gracious Queen has extended, in the social, economical, moral and religious life of the nation. For a long time the prosperity of the nation was justly described as advancing "by leaps and bounds"; and though there have been intervals when deficient harvests and bad trade have for a time checked the flow of prosperity, the position of the nation, taking class for class, is far better than at the commencement of the Victorian era, in 1837. The towns have greatly improved in appearance, comfort, and sanitary arrangements. In London, for instance, broad streets have been made in regions that were formerly centres of poverty, vice, and disease. The Thames Embankment, with its broad line of quays and its Egyptian obelisk, stands where formerly at low tide a long stretch of black mud poisoned the air. Education has developed into a national system. The laws are more merciful. The enormous facilities afforded by railways and ocean steamers have increased the supply of cheap food.

Progress in the Victorian Era.

In 1885 a war seemed impending with Russia, on account of the encroaching policy of that power in Afghanistan. But by the mediation of Denmark a new agreement was made and war was averted. Mr. Gladstone's government resigned office in 1885, and Lord Salisbury came into power, with Sir Michael Hicks-Beach as chancellor of the exchequer, and Sir William Hart-Dyke as secretary for Ireland, an office afterwards assumed by Mr. W. H. Smith. But being defeated on the Allotments question, the government resigned, and Mr. Gladstone came back again, only to be defeated at the General Election of 1886, which brought Lord Salisbury into office for a second time, with Lord Halsbury, Lord Cranbrook (formerly Mr. Gathorne Hardy), and Mr. W. H. Smith.

The Russian Scare.

The Ministry of 1885.

The most notable event of the year 1887 has undoubtedly been the occurrence of the Jubilee of her Majesty's reign. The cordial unanimity with which this great occasion has been celebrated speaks volumes for the reputation acquired by Victoria I. throughout the world.

The Queen's Jubilee of 1887.

THE END.